# Does swapping the race and gender of Communicators affect perspectives on Leadership & Securitization?

Donald Trump and how people feel about his words coming out of other peoples mouths.

**Enrique Carrion** 

Master of Communication Thesis/ Thesis work in Communications

Report nr. 2017:067

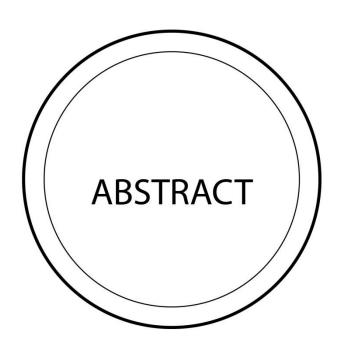
#### Acknowledgements

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Title: Does swapping the race and gender of Communicators affect perspectives

on Leadership & Securitization?

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to delve further into the social experiment undertaken by associate

professor of economics and political science at Insead, Maria Guadalupe, and associate

Professor of Educational theater at New York University Joe Salvatore, in their breakthrough

ethnodrama gender swapping study titled "Her Opponent", and see if through a quantitative

analysis it showed us similar results, when the dynamics of not only gender swapping, but also

race swapping were applied. The present research examines the perception of Donald Trump

through the interpretive guides and theoretical lenses of Symbolic Interaction Theory,

Communication leadership, Critical Theory of Communication in Organizations, and

Securitization theory, to see if what Donald Trump says and his ideologies would be perceived

differently, if what he says was stated by individuals of a different gender and/or race. This

research wanted to find out: <u>Does swapping race and gender of Communicators affect</u>

perspectives on Leadership & Securitization? The method used to test this research question

were two online surveys created using actual Donald Trump quotes concerning leadership or

securitization as their field of reference. The research was conducted with the participation of

30 respondents divided evenly into two groups, Group A and group B, with each group given a

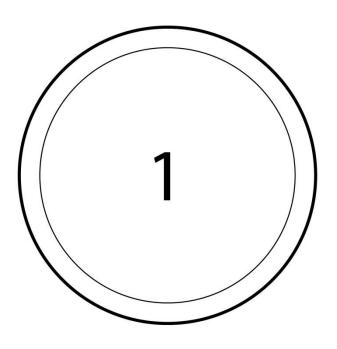
different survey. Each survey contained 12 questions asking survey respondents on their

5

feelings on each Donald Trump quote or scenario. Group A was given the Donald Trump Survey, which had 11 Trump quotes and one scenario all accompanied by a Trump picture. Group B was given the Gender/Race Swap Survey which had the same Donald Trump quotes and scenario, but was accompanied by a picture of an individual of a different race and/or gender. Also the Donald Trump quotes in Group B's survey were assigned and designated as originating from the particular individual in the picture, with survey takers in group B not made aware that the quote originally came from Donald Trump. The questions revolved around leadership communication and securitization.

The **results** showed that gender and race both played a large role in altering viewpoints on leadership and securitization when survey respondents were asked their opinions on specific quotes and statements from Donald Trump, versus when they read the same quotes and statements but these quotes and statements were assigned to an individual of a different race and/ or gender. The findings suggest that when the exact same remarks that were stated by President Donald Trump were attributed to another individual of a different gender and/or race, negative bias accredited to Donald Trump from group A was significantly reduced in Group B, and the remark was in many cases seen as a positive proclamation and point of view. Thus the gender and/or race, of the source of the viewpoint, may change interpersonal communication response attitudes, and therefore represent a compelling insight for examining communication phenomena, such as leadership, securitization, and intercultural communication.

**Key Words:** Securitization, Leadership, Ethnodrama, Symbolic Interaction, Donald Trump.



# **INTRODUCTION**

- 1.1 Academic Underpinning1.2 Objectives1.3 Research Implications & Limitations
- 1.4 Outline

#### 1. Introduction

"Having the discipline to observe leadership properly requires time, patience, **imagination** and the willingness to question constantly what one is observing, and to see for new and perhaps disconfirming evidence." (Jackson, Parry, 2011)

Donald Trump is not only the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, his rise to that position and all the great power it encompasses is one of the most talked about, and will be one of the most researched phenomena in many areas of academia for years to come (Lauter, 2017). From the minute he threw his hat in the ring as a nominee, 'till the day he won the election, and as of the current time of writing this research paper, he continues to be one of the most polarizing figures in recent historical memory (Lauter, 2017). The reverberations of his rise, and his impact in all areas of people's activity will be studied by academics from various branches ranging from Psychology, to Sociology, Political Science, and of course our discipline of Communications (Ashcroft, 2016).

President Trump is massively interesting for me as a communication scholar, and one reason why he is so engrossing is how people have used him as an avatar for their social identities as someone who is a villain or hero for the story they would like to tell, which from a communicative scholar's standpoint shows that he screams the Critical Theory of Communication in Organizations. Humans also create meaning of their environment, and this meaning governs how they interact with that environment, objects within it, and other people in that environment. Therefore President Trump also embodies Symbolic Interaction Theory, which is also a way that people interpret what his message means to them, which in turn governs how they view him (Griffin, 2010).

The inherent ability of President Donald Trumps' messages to cause people to construct various meanings, is also juxtaposed by his current station which is that as the leader of a Nation, and in this case the most powerful nation on the Earth. His ability to influence how people develop

their narratives and symbolically interact with what he represents, also effects how people shall situate themselves as either dissidents or followers in a Trump world. Lastly one of President Donald Trump's most powerful abilities that he has now gained with his new station as President of the United States, is his capability to communicate and frame almost any issue of his choosing into a Securitization issue.

#### 1.1 Academic Underpinning

The question stands though, would we interpret the statements of Donald Trump differently if they came from a person of different a gender, or a person of different race? The first aspect of this, that being gender, was touched on by associate professor at INSEAD Maria Guadalupe, who thought of the idea to swap the gender of the then Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton and then Republican nominee Donald Trump, by having them represented by actors in an ethnodrama research experiment titled "Her opponent", structured by associate professor Joe Salvatore. The role-play experiment has two actor's one male and one female, the female actor gender swaps for Donald Trump and the male actor gender swaps for Hilary Clinton. The actors then proceed to reenact excerpts from the presidential debates, but again in their gender swapped post (Aridi, 2017).

After the ethnodrama was presented on stage in front an audience there was a postperformance discussion with the audience members who had just watched the performance the results were astonishing with some of the responses being:

"There was someone who described Brenda King [the female Donald Trump] as his Jewish aunt who would take care of him, even though he might not like his aunt. Someone else described her as the middle school principal who you don't like, but you know is doing good things for you" (Aridi, 2017).

"I kind of want to have a beer with her! The majority of my extended family voted for Trump. In some ways, I developed empathy for people who voted for him by doing this project, which is

not what I was expecting. I expected it to make me more angry at them, but it gave me an understanding of what they might have heard or experienced when he spoke" (Aridi, 2017).

The findings showed that people's perspectives of Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton were altered when the gender was switched. This was a remarkable discovery, as it showed how gender affected how people interpret the narrative of what an individual is communicating. And as the above quote of "I kind of want to have a beer with her" also shows, how people varyingly symbolically interact if the same statement is said by a person of different gender.

Despite the showcased uniqueness of the Guadalupe's and Salvatore's ethnodramatic research experiment, there is still a deficiency in understanding the "swapping" effect on the perspectives of people. This gap is due to the fact that Guadalupe and Salvatore's experiment swapped only gender, while the race, that being white, remained the same to the nature of Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump. This presents us with a gap in the research, by not exploring the impact of also swapping race. Questions of particular curiosity that this raised were: 1) would a swap of gender and race showcase a difference between negative and positive perspectives on quotes and viewpoints originally stated by Donald Trump? 2) When the races and genders were swapped but ideologies remained the same, would this affect the communicative leadership-follower dynamic? 3) Would people be supporting of policies and an individual when they talked about issues that were framed in a securitization schema, if they came from a person of different gender and/or race from Donald Trump? Therefore we channeled the previous queries into one central research question: *Does swapping the race and gender of Communicators affect perspectives on Leadership & Securitization?* 

#### 1.2 Objectives

Our research question brings us to the objectives of our research paper:

The first Objective was to show how Symbolic Interaction Theory, and The Critical
 Theory of Communication in Organizations, are applicable as a viable lens for
 communication and securitization scholars to understand the interdependent dynamics

- of leadership, communication, and securitization. This was done by analyzing the survey results through these two theoretical lenses.
- 2) To show how by answering the research question we can understand how Leadership through communication, molds people's perspectives on securitization paradigms.
  Which is understood in the diagram: Leadership -> Communication -> Securitization.
- 3) To Understand how peoples perspectives on leaders and their ideologies can be altered when the gender and/or race of that individual is switched. This was done by using several attributes of leadership to frame questions.

#### 1.3 Research limitations/implications:

Implications: These results allow for a different perspective in communications, specifically the formation of meaning and its transmission through language. This study also has implications in showing the ability of race and gender to affect the psychosocial phenomenon of leadership and one of its most potent by-products, Securitization.

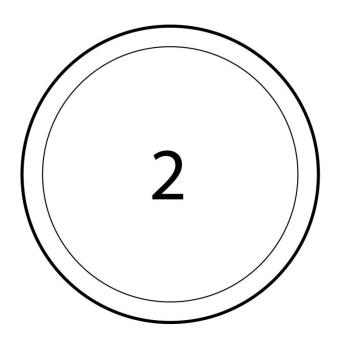
Limitations: There are two main limitations to the study.

- 1) The first limitation of this study is the fame factor of President Donald Trump having a threefold constitution of him already being internationally known as a business mogul, reality TV star, and now President of the United States. The fact that mostly everyone on the planet has heard of him, and that he embodies a very poignant set of meaning for many people, can bring a level of implicit bias to the study.
- 2) The second limitation of the study is implicit bias. Summed up by social psychologist at Harvard University, Mahzarin Banaji, when she says "Even the most well-intentioned person unwillingly allows unconscious thoughts & feelings to influence apparently objective decisions" (Handelsman and Fine, 2012 pg. 3 citing Mahzarin Banaji). The pictures that accompanied the questions in the survey of this study were displayed with the intention to see the effect of race and gender on the respondents perspectives on leadership and securitization, but the multimodal nature of the pictures, that being the still image and the descriptive text accompanying it, can lead to factors other than just

race and gender influencing respondents in multiple ways, as the multimodal images' embody different meaning to the various respondents. For instance all our questions are accompanied by pictures of individuals who are either corporate executives or politicians. If a respondent has a negative or positive bias towards either of those aforementioned occupations, implicit bias could possibly affect a respondent's answers.

#### 1.4 Outline

In Section #2 we examine the interpretive guides used to create the survey questions. The survey questions where created using two interpretive guides, communicative leadership and Securitization. Communicative leadership is a branch of communication studies that focuses on several types of interactions, activities, and effects of leaders on organizations, followers and goals. The Communicative leadership aspects that we used to form the questions in the survey are Goal accomplishment, Charismatic leadership, Transformational leadership, Effective leadership and dark side leadership. The Second interpretive guide used as a theoretical foundation to form the questions within the survey is Securitization, which is how leaders through communicating, frame objects or people as threats. **Section #3** examines the measures and methods used to formulate the survey, and also the ethical considerations taken into account. Section #4 delves into the results of the survey. Here I display and interpret the findings of the survey. In section #5 is where the discussion on the research is had, examining and analyzing the results through several theoretical lenses that allow us to make sense of the findings. In this section the theory of Securitization as it pertains to our research is examined, and the practical implications of understanding it as a communication phenomenon and the vital importance of doing so is also delved into.



### THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

2.1 Question #2: Goal Accomplishment

2.2 Question #3: Socialized Charismatic leadership vs.

Personalized charismatic leadership.

2.3 Questions #4 -5: Transformational Leadership

2.4 Questions #1,7-10: Securitization perspective

2.5 | Questions #11-12: Effective leadership vs.

Darkside leadership

#### 2. Theoretical Foundation for Questions

This research paper used two Communication interpretive guides to frame its survey questions; they are communicative leadership and securitization. These guides were chosen because it was believed that they would best help answer the targeted research question of: Does swapping the race and gender of Communicators affect perspectives on Leadership & Securitization? Communicative leadership can be defined as the communication between leaders and followers, with the intention of defining his/her ideology, their organizational culture, and also setting goals and achieving results for and within that organization (Jackson & Parry, 2011). Securitization is when a leader defines an object, person, or group of people as a threat, and that perspective is taken on by that leader's followers (Balzacq, 2005). Throughout this section will examine how securitization and several communication leadership attributes were used to frame the survey questions. Some of the interpretive guides of communication leadership were used to generate several questions while some of the interpretive guides only generated a single question. The theoretical framework of Securitization was used to frame several questions. Questions sharing the same interpretive guide or theory are sometimes referred to as clusters.

#### 2.1 Theoretical foundation for Question #2: Goal Accomplishment

For question #2 we used Stogdill's (1974) criteria of goal accomplishment as the key factor of being an effective leader. Stogdill states that a leader is decided to be effective or not based on whether an individual achieves their planned goals, or the goals of the organization they lead. The author Keith Grint in his in his book "Leadership: Limits and Possibilities" (Grint, 2005) points out that there are four aspects to define leadership, and one of them is "Leadership as results: is What 'leaders' achieve that makes them leaders." (Jackson & Parry 2011). Therefore question two uses a statement scenario, that showcases Donald Trump in the Trump Leadership survey accomplishing a goal, and in the Gender/Race survey showcases a woman CEO by the name of Ginni Rometty, accomplishing her stated goal. 'Based on the scenario are

these people effective?' was a question to measure the survey takers perspective on 'goal accomplishment' and its impact on viewing an individual as an effective leader.

2.2 Theoretical foundation for Question #3: Socialized Charismatic leadership vs. Personalized charismatic leadership.

Question number #3 uses House and Howell's criteria to judge negative charisma traits and positive charisma traits, and their effect on audience and follower perspective. House and Howell label these traits as Socialized Charismatic Traits which they see as the positive ones, and attribute to it the qualities of being "based on egalitarian behavior, serves collective interests, is not driven by the self-interest of the leader, and develops and empowers others" (House & Howell, 1992). These aforementioned characteristics find their antithesis in the Personalized Charismatic Leadership Traits, which House and Howell label as the negative ones, and attribute to it the qualities of "personal dominance and authoritarian behavior, serves the self-interest of the leader, self-aggrandizing, is exploitive of others, shows disregard for the rights and feelings of others, and they tend to be narcissistic, impetuous, and impulsively aggressive (House & Howell, 1992)".

#### 2.3 Theoretical foundation for Questions #4 -5 Transformational Leadership

Transformational leadership is when a leader can effect a change in the mental outlook, and motivations of their followers, which therefore will change the behavior of their followers and constituents. Transformational leadership is an important sub phenomenon within the umbrella discipline of leadership studies. Phil Podsakoff observed six factors that define transformational leadership labeling them as the "six transformational leadership factors" (Jackson & Parry, 2011), these factors are: "articulates a vision, provides appropriate role model, fosters the acceptance of goals, communicates high performance expectations, provides individualized support, and supplies intellectual stimulation" (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990).

Transformational leadership is a key part in understanding the effect leaders have on their followers. Therefore its six aspects as defined by Podsakoff are used as measurements in this research study, as they directly showcase the leadership follower dynamic as it pertains to its potential ability to alter follower perspectives. Looking at this research on the impact of Gender and Race and their influence on leadership, this study uses questions four and five to see if survey takers will react differently in context to Podsakoff's six aspects of Transformational leadership, based on the given quote and the image of the individual, that being Donald Trump or a person of a different race and/or gender.

#### 2.4 Theoretical foundation for Questions #1,7-10: Securitization perspective

Securitization is defined as when "a political actor has cast it as an existential threat, an imminent peril to the physical, cultural, or social health of the community, and has gained a degree of public assent to use extraordinary measures to combat that threat" (Balzacq, 2005). Securitization is affecting many issues as a zeitgeist shift in our current sociopolitical time, and is greatly influencing both public opinion and governmental policy (Balzacq, 2005).

Framing leadership and its impact on its ability to change issues from their original frame work for example refugee migration from a humanitarian issue, into a securitization issue (Mofette and Vadasaria, 2016), is a highly significant and powerful aspect of leadership. In fact leadership is implied in Balzacq's definition of securitization, he defines securitization as when a political actor who has gained a degree of public assent (another path of donning the mantle of leader) has cast an object, event, person or group of people as a threat. Understanding the capability of a leader to alter the fabric of an issue and designate it as a security issue, is a very critical dynamic of leadership, and highly relevant to our current state of world affairs. As issues ranging from refugee migration, to global warming, to artic land development, can been seen at one moment as environmental and humanitarian issues, and then communicated as security issues by leaders and acted on as such and from the standpoint of securitization (Mofette and Vadasaria, 2016).

In our survey we represent several issues that have garnered a securitization tone. Again Group A was presented with the issues embodied in Trump quotes accompanied by his picture, and Group B was presented with the same quotes and a picture of an individual of a different gender and/or race. Here this research wanted to test if public perspectives of highly polarizing securitization issues would be different when President Donald Trump commented on the security issues, versus an individual of a different gender and/or Race.

2.5 Theoretical foundation for Questions #11-12: Effective leadership vs. Darkside leadership

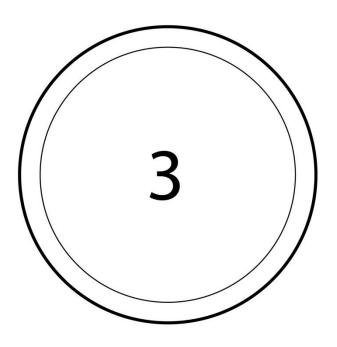
Questions #11-12 put the effective leadership traits defined by Jackson and Parry of,

Confidence, Integrity, Connection (which we supplant with the term empathy) Resilience and

Aspiration (Jackson & Parry, 2011). We then set them side by side against House and Howell's

(1992) antithesis traits of Dark Side charismatic leadership which are: Narcissistic, Exploitative,

Need for power, and being Authoritarian.



## **METHOD**

- 3.1 Measures
- 3.2 Methodology for data analysis3.3 Reliability & Validity
- 3.4 Ethical considerations

#### 3. Method

A Sample of 30 participants were recruited randomly through sending out of two Surveys. The participants had been notified by email or student groups and asked to participate in one of the two surveys. 66% of the respondents can be classified as white , 10% of the respondents being Asian, and the remaining 24 % being Latino, Black, other. 87% of the respondents were women and 13% of the respondents were men. The survey was first put out on student Facebook groups beginning March 29<sup>th</sup> 2017. Survey data was collected from March 29<sup>th</sup> to April 15<sup>th</sup>.

Half of the respondents, placed in Group A, received the control survey referred to as the Trump Survey which comprised of eleven questions which and one scenario statement. All the questions were preceded by a quote from President Donald Trump, the questions focused on an aspect of leadership, securitization and the survey takers perspective on the individual, in the case of control survey that individual being Donald Trump.

The respondents in Group B received a survey with the same quotes and questions as in the Group A "Trump Survey" but instead of pictures of Donald Trump accompanying the query, the question was accompanied with a picture of individuals of either different gender than President Donald Trump and/or a different race. Only one question in survey Group B displayed an individual of the same race and gender as Donald Trump, this was done as a control item. All quotes are statements made by Donald Trump. The survey questions were grouped in clusters; each cluster either followed a communicative leadership theme or a securitization theme.

#### 3.1 Measures

For this research the survey questions were divided into four subjects 1) Securitization 2) Goal accomplishment 3) Positive leadership vs. Negative Leadership 4) Leadership and effect. These allowed us to measure Leaders effect on followers, audience, and their ability to influence practical matters such as goal accomplishment, attitude transformation, and securitization.

#### 3.2 Methods for data analysis

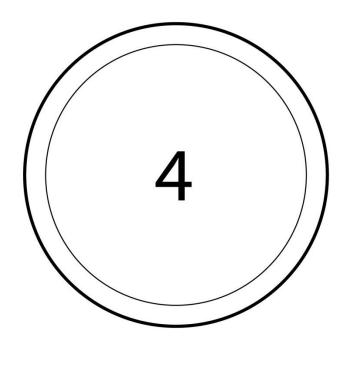
In Google forms the data was exported and placed in Google's data analysis tools Gsuite, which analyzed the input from respondents, and translated the data into various diagrammatical charts and graphs. These charts and graphs were refined visually without any alteration of the data, and used for visualization of the figures generated by the data. Questions #'s 3,6,11, and 12 allowed users to check multiple checkboxes, the total amount of choices for these questions selected exceed the number of respondents, this causes the sum of reply percentages to surpass 100%.

#### 3.3 Reliability and Validity

This research works at maintaining its fidelity by having the same theoretical foundation and interpretive guides for all the survey questions, sticking to having the internal consistency reliability criteria in all its measures. With the uniform use of the communicative leadership interpretive guides and Securitization theory to form the survey questions, this study was able to investigate the research question in a dependable manner. The Validity of the study is established by staying on course by making sure all survey questions probe the main research question, using the interpretive guides of communicative leadership and securitization theory established by experts and proven academics. The reliability and validity of the survey allow this research to be carried out in a professional manner, by taking high level concepts of communicative leadership and securitization, and using questions and reliable research methods to draw out valid data that allows us to visualize the interpretive guides and theory in action.

#### 3.4 Ethical considerations

A written description was provided at the beginning of the Survey. This description outlined why we were collecting the data, and explained that for the purpose of the research not all the quotes above belong to the individuals pictured and presented in the survey. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, there was a disclaimer that also stated that the opinions above do not reflect the opinions of the researcher and that this data will be used for academic purposes only. I also informed the respondents that the survey was anonymous and that they could contact us if they were interested in learning about the results.



RESULTS

#### 4. Results

Now that section two explained the theoretical foundations of the survey questions, and stated that each question is based on a communication leadership interpretive guide or the theory of securitization, let us examine the results of our survey:

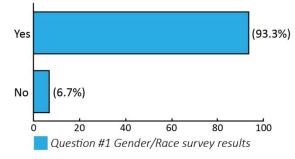
#### Survey Question #1: Securitization

One of the aims of this study was to analyze how gender and racial differences would affect a person's view on a leaders' opinion on issues such as securitization. In order to see if respondents would perceive securitization differently in association to gender and race, the survey presented the following Donald Trump Quote followed by the question. These were followed by a picture of Taiwan's President, Tsaiing-Wen. When the results began to come in for question #1, from the onset it was glaringly striking the dissimilarity of the results in the two versions of the same questions, when the only difference was obviously the variation in gender and race. Look below for the disparity between the two versions:



Taiwans-President Tsaiing-Wen

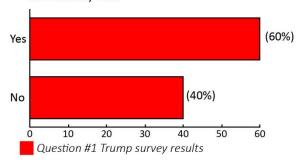
Based on this Quote: "No country has ever prospered that failed to put its own interests first" do you think its right for the President of Taiwan to put the interest of her own country first?





**United States-President Donald Trump** 

Based on this Quote: "No country has ever prospered that failed to put its own interests first" do you think its right for the President of the United States to put the interest of his own country first?



#### Survey Question #2: Goal Accomplishment

In the book "Leadership: limits and Possibilities" Keith Grint states that leadership has been comprehended through four distinct Lenses: 1) "Leadership as a Person: WHO Leaders are that make them leaders" 2) "Leadership as Results: is it WHAT leaders achieve that makes them leaders?" 3) "Leadership as Position: WHERE leaders operate that makes them leaders" 4) "Leadership as Process: HOW leaders get things done that makes them leaders" [7]

Within this survey it was decided to use question two to focus on what Keith Grint labeled *as leadership as results*. It was felt out of the four above mentioned features of leadership, that "results" were the most measurable and non-ethereal.

This research decided to approach this question instead of a quote a bit different, and give the survey takers a statement scenario. This statement scenario showcased two individuals

separately in each survey, CEO of IBM Ginni Rometty, and President Donald Trump, in a scenario that framed them as leaders that accomplished their goals, and had created results concurrent to what they stated out to do. Based on this criteria the research wanted to find out if a gender swap caused people to see the two figures as effective leaders or not.



Ginni Rometty-CEO of IBM

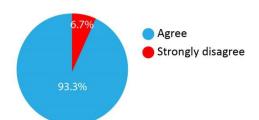
This is Ginni Rometty CEO of IBM. She is considered goal driven but fair and is well liked by her supporters. She uses a combination of concern for people and a concern for production. Last year she achieved her goal of making sure her company gained substantial profits. Based on this description do you think she is an effective leader?

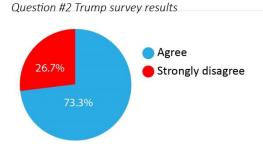


This man is Donald Trump. He is considered to be goal driven and fair by his supporters and is well liked by his supporters. He uses a combination of concern for people and a concern for production. Last year he achieved his goal to become the 45th President of the United States . Based on this description do you think he is an effective leader?

**U.S.A-President Donald Trump** 

Question #2 Gender/Race survey results





As stated earlier, we chose Keith Grint's 'results' criteria from the other four because we believed it was the most measurable, because after a set amount of time a leader either created the results she/he announced that they would, or they did not. The other of Grints' criteria can find themselves highly malleable to media articulation, and public opnion. On the other hand 'results' are 'results' and a loss or a win is marked in the history books as so, no matter how others may feel about it. Therefore when this research presented the survey takers with the statement scenerio that asked survey takers to judge whether or not Donald Trump and Ginni Rometty were effective based on their results, I saw how Implicit bias crept into some of the answers of the survey takers. Based on the statement scenerio in question cluster #2 Both Trump and Rometty had clearly accomplished their goals, and achived the results they set out to accomplish, but whereas 26.7% of the feedback Trump received about his effectiveness

was negative only 6.7% of Rometty's was negative. Measuring simply the effectiveness of a leader by only their ability to accomplish goals, we saw that when gender was switched the majority of the respondents felt that Ginni Rometty (female) was more effective than Donald Trump (Male).

#### Survey question #3: Socialized Charismatic leadership vs. Personalized Charismatic leadership

In survey question cluster #3 we explored aspects of Socialized Charismatic Leadership vs.

Personalized Charismatic leadership. This opposing dyadic group of leadership personalities is formalized by leadership scholars, House and Howell.

House and Howell formulated that *Socialized Charismatic leadership* is benevolent and altruistic. Socialized Charismatic Leadership is defined by the three following traits "as leadership which (1) is based on egalitarian behavior, (2) serves collective interests and is not driven by the self-interest of the leader and (3) develops and empowers others" (House, Howell. 1992).[8]

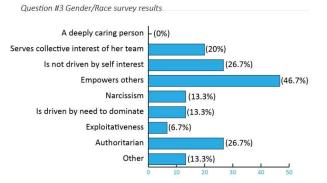
On the flipside they found the villainous antithesis to Socialized Charismatic Leadership in what they define as *Personalized Charismatic leadership*. This is also known as the "dark side" of leadership. Embodied by the following three traits as leadership which (1) is based on personal dominance and authoritarian behavior, (2) serves the self-interest of the leader and is self-aggrandizing and (3) is exploitive of others. These type of leaders show disregard for the rights and feelings of others, and they tend to be narcissistic, impetuous, and impulsively aggressive.[7]

Therefore for the purpose of this research I took House and Howells Socialized Charismatic Leadership and Personalized Charismatic Leadership, condensed each of their six traits into sharpened words or phrases, and used them as the attributes of choice that survey takers came to choose from. Also since these traits tend to be concerned with a leaders' empathy, I chose a Donald Trump quote I felt embodied that sociological and psychological attributes of Socialized Charismatic Leadership and Personalized Leadership.



Q3 Alexa von Tobel Founder and CEO of LearnVest.com

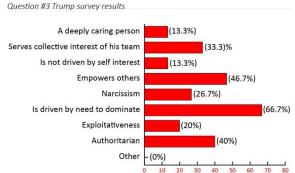
"You can't be scared. You do your thing, you hold your ground, you stand up tall, and whatever happens, happens." Based on the Quote which traits do you think the person in the picture below exudes? (You can choose more than one)





United States-President Donald Trump

"You can't be scared. You do your thing, you hold your ground, you stand up tall, and whatever happens, happens." Based on the Quote which traits do you think the person in the picture below exudes? (You can pick as many as you like)



The Cluster #3 Questions of Socialized Charismatic leadership vs. Personalized Charismatic Leadership produced several notable results. In particular was that President Donald Trump actually fared well compared to his competition in the Gender/Race swap Leadership survey. In all but one of the four positive, Socialized Charismatic Leadership traits he scored better or at worst equal to his Woman opponent, Alexa Von Tobel, in the Gender/Race swap Leadership Survey. In the attribute of 'A deeply caring person', President Donald Trump actually outscored Alexa Von Tobel by 13% to her 0%. In the Socialized Charismatic Leadership domain he also outshined his competitor in the attribute of 'Serves collective interest', he led here 33.3% compared to her 20%. President Donald Trump also matched Alexa Von Tobel in the criteria of empowers others, here they both had 46.7% of the respondents in unison with the idea that they both are representatives of the Socialized Charismatic Leadership trait 'empower others'.

When it came to the Personalized Charismatic Leadership, Trump scored worst in all criteria compared to Alexa Von Tobel. This was not surprising, but what was surprising is in the Personalized Charismatic Leadership criteria of 'Narcissism', he only scored a 26.7%, here I was under the expecting thoughts that he would score much higher on this particular feature. What he did sit on the throne of was the Personalized Charismatic Leadership attribute of 'is driven by a need to dominate'. President Donald Trump won a resounding 66.7% of the survey respondents to crown him with this style of leadership and charisma exuding that particular trait. Trump also scored very high on the personalized Charismatic Leadership trait of being 'Authoritarian' with an emphatic 40% of survey respondents leaning on that trait. The interesting feature about those results is that when looked at side by side, Alexa Von Tobel also scored a non-meek 26.7% in the negative leadership trait of being 'authoritarian'.

The Socialized Charismatic Leadership vs. Personalized Charismatic Leadership cluster of results gave back some surprises, with negative and positive traits being assigned to both entrants.

#### The Transformational leadership Cluster

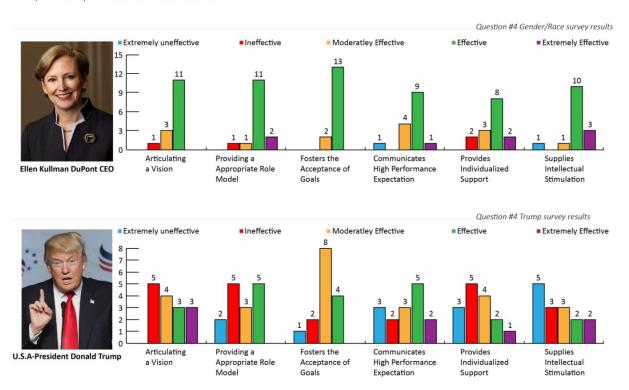
Again transformational leadership is focused on a modification "in the attitudes, motivations and consequently behaviors of followers". So the Transformational leadership cluster questions derived their structure from Phil Podsakoff, one of the academic pioneers in leadership study. Podsakoff recognized and labeled six facets of Transformational leader ship. 1) Articulates Vision 2) Provides appropriate role model 3) Fosters the acceptance of goals 4) Communicates high performance expectations 5) Provides individualized support 6) and supplies intellectual stimulation. [14]

Podsakoff's six Transformational Leadership factors formed the guidelines for question cluster #4 and #5 in the Survey.

Let's take a look at these questions and their results:

#### Survey Question #4: Transformational Leadership

Based on the Quote "Watch, listen, and learn. You can't know it all yourself—anyone who thinks that they do is destined for mediocrity..." Which criteria do you think the person in the picture below would be effective at?:



The Transformational leadership results showed most of the survey takers leaning towards a negative impression of President Donald Trumps ability to effectively enact Podaskoffs six attributes of Transformational leadership. Trump scored particularly low in the transformational leadership factors of *Providing an appropriate role model* with 46% of the survey participants thinking he would be ineffective or extremely ineffective.

The negative downtrend also continued within the facet of *Supplies intellectual Stimulation*. With 53% of the respondents holding the sentiment that President Donald Trump is ineffective or extremly ineffective in supplying intellectual stimulation. Only 26% of the respondents felt that he would be effective or very effective in providing intellectual stimulation.

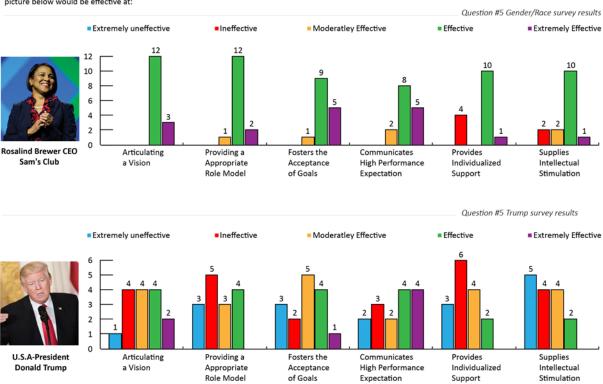
Another interesting finding was that President Donald Trump scored rather approvingly in two other facets. The first was *Communicates high performance Expectations*, where Trump scored comparatively well with 33% of the survey respondents of the assessment that he is effective at this, and 13% of them felt that he would be very effective at this facet. The Second Transformational Leadership facet that president Trump did very well in was *Articulating a vision*. Here President Trump scored 20% of respondents believeing he is effective, and 20% of respondents of the opinion that he would be extremely effective.

Another interesteing outcome was that compared to the gender/race swapped leadership survey of the same question, in the Trump survey the respondents chose moderatley effective as an answer a substantial amount of times, in all six of Podsakoffs transformational leadership facets. This didn't occur in the Gender/race swap leadership survey as we show next.

The first question in the Transformational leadership queries of the Gender/Race swapped leadership survey, showed an exact opposite outcome then in the Trump Survey of the same question. Where Question #4 in the Trump survey showed that many of the respondents leaned towards the ineffective and moderately effective range, on the other hand in the gender/race swapped leadership survey results showed that a mere swap in gender, correlated in positive responses across the board, with a minimum of 66.67% or better rating across the board on all of Podsakoffs facets of transformational leadership as shown in the results.

#### Survey Question #5: Transformational Leadership

The results here are quite interesting, as President Donald Trump only scored higher positively then he did negatively in the area of "Communicates High Performance Expectations", in this area he scored 33% of the survey respondents feeling that he would be effective at that aspect of Transformational Leadership.



The results also showed some very intriguing results when it came to the *provides an Appropriate Role Model* with many of the survey respondents seeming to be at odds with 33% respondents thinking that he is effective at *providing an Appropriate Role Model*, 20% thinking he would be moderately effective, 33% concluding that he is ineffective, and 13% thinking he is extremely ineffective at this aspect of Transformational Leadership. I assumed that the trait of *providing an Appropriate Role Model* would have the survey respondents going all negative when it came to President Donald Trump (Lauter, 2017), but as the results showed, many people felt he is effective at this trait which is very important according to Podsakoff when it comes to being an effective leader.

The second question in the Transformational leadership queries of the Gender/Race swapped leadership survey also show positive responses across the board, even reaching 80% agreeing that when it came to articulating a vision and providing an Appropriate role model the individual, Rosalind Brewer would prove to be effective. The individual here was of a different race and gender, and again like the previous Transformational Leadership query, the results

were in stark contrast to the parallel President Donald Trump Transformational question of the same type.

#### **Charismatic Leadership**

Our next cluster of questions focused on Charismatic Leadership. Which focuses on how a leader's personality and aura inspires followers, and causes followers to relate and internalize a leaders values. Leaders that are very confident and stay focused on their vision and accomplish what they set out to do tend to have a magnetic charisma. Therefore we chose a President Donald Trump quote that embodied that aspect of the "charismatical". The quote chosen talks about "enthusiasm" and "passion" and how that "spills over" to his followers or those he manages and "motivates", which is a form of affecting people as a result of charisma.

To form this question I used some of the characteristics of Charismatic leadership outlined by scholar Boas Shamir. The characteristic responses created by Charismatic leadership in followers are: "1) generate a heightened self-esteem and self-worth, 2) increased self-efficacy and collective efficacy, 3) a personal identification with the leader 3) identification with a prestigious social group 4) and internalization of the values of the leader" (Jackson and Perry, 2011; Shamir & Howell, 1999).

Therefore this research took three of those criteria and asked the survey takers do they think based on the quote and picture that the individual embodies those traits. I will explain why I chose each of the three questions now:

- 1) *Is someone who belongs to a prestigious social group* This criteria was chosen because if the individual in the picture, based on the quote and photo, is perceived as belonging to a distinct and prestigious social group, than they will have a value of charisma already.
- 2) Someone you would like to work for I chose this from the collective efficacy criteria.

  Collective efficacy is a sociological term which means the ability of a person to manage and control a person or groups activities in order to achieve certain results, also known as working for someone. This trait highly embodies leadership communication.

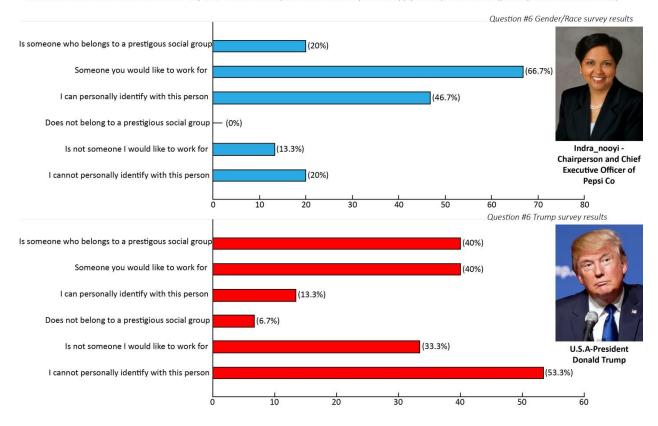
3) I can personally identify with this person – I chose this criteria because Boas Shamir explains the intricate psychosocial phenomenon of charismatic leadership as when an individual internalizes a leaders values he states this as "clan mode" and describes it as "It is based on socializing organization members in such a way that they see an alignment between their own and organizational [and the leaders] interests" (Shamir & Howell, 1999).

I then used the negative inverse of these criteria: Does *not* belong to a prestigious social group, Is *not* someone I would like to work for, I *cannot* personally identify with this person. In order to offer the negative option.

#### Survey question #6: Charismatic Leadership

For this question in the Gender/Race swap Leadership survey the person substituted for Trump is Indra Nooyi, the Chairperson and Chief Executive Officer of PepsiCo, who is of both a different Gender and Race than President Donald Trump. For this version of the question the survey takers responded with mostly positive results. The Survey granted a relatively straight forward method to find out how people think and believe in response to the charisma of leaders through this quote.

"Since I love what I do, I do it vigorously and I do it better. Because I inject it with enthusiasm and passion, it doesn't feel like work. My passion spills over to everyone around me and motivates them to do their very best." Based on the quote which traits do you think apply to the person below? (you may choose more than one)



Where the gender/race survey Questions had for the most part presented us with an overwhelming amount of Positive responses. In the Trump survey variant of question #6 I was confronted with a mixed bag of results. 40% of the individuals felt President Donald Trump was part of a *prestigious social group* also complimenting these mixed results were an additional 40% of the respondents feeling that President Donald Trump was someone they would like to work for. These positive numbers stand on the other end of an overwhelming amount of respondents, 53.3% approximately, who felt that President Donald Trump was not someone they could personally relate too, and 33.3% who felt that he was someone who did not belong to a prestigious social group.

The charismatic Leadership Cluster Indicates that many of the respondents were vastly one sided on the agreeable side when it came to someone of an opposite gender and race than Donald Trump. It also showed that when judged on the traits laid out by Boas Shamir of what

defines charismatic leadership, Trump fared much better than in other clusters. Many of the survey takers felt that based on his charisma gauges of evaluation, president Donald Trump is someone they would like to work for, and someone who belongs to a prestigious social group.

#### Survey question #7: Securitization

"Our country, our people, and our laws have to be our top priority." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



As shown above, Question #7 showed another vast difference within the perspective of Securitization when President Donald Trump presented a viewpoint, versus when Tamao Sasada an individual of a different gender or race presented the same view point. Showing us how securitization issue such as migration and nativism, can be seen so different when gender and race are swapped. In the President Donald Trump version we see more diverse results with 53% of the respondents agreeing, 20% of the respondents disagreeing, and 6.7% of the respondents strongly disagreeing.

The Gender/Race Swapped Leadership Survey showed us a more straight forward variance. With 73.3% percent agreeing with the quote, and the remaining 26.7% of survey respondents going the neutral route.

Here in question #7, the Securitization clusters of questions were continuing to show us a cavernous difference between the results when President Donald Trump presented his viewpoint, versus an individual in the case of this question, of different gender and also race.

#### **Survey Question #8: Securitization**

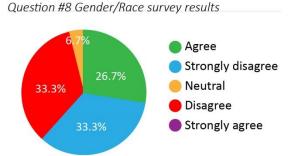
"I want good people to come here from all over the world, but I want them to do so legally. We can expedite the process, we can reward achievement and excellence, but we have to respect the legal process. And those people who take advantage of the system and come here illegally should never enjoy the benefits of being a resident-or citizen--of this nation. So I am against any path to citizenship for undocumented workers or anyone else who is in this country illegally. They should--and need to--go home and get in line." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?

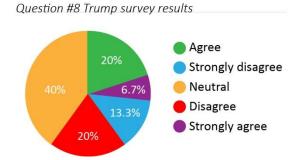


**State Representative Bernard Thomas** 



**U.S.A-President Donald Trump** 





The Trump survey version of question #8 gave results similar to the previous questions #1 and #7 in the securitization cluster, that being a large portion of responses in the negative realm with 13.3% strongly disagreeing, and 20% disagreeing, for a total of 33.3% negatively viewing the quote. 20% of the respondents agreed, and 40% inhabited the neutral zone.

But it was in the Gender/Race Swap survey version of question #8 of the securitization cluster that we get sideswiped by a contradiction to the previous securitization question results. The results that presented themselves were:

Results here showed 33.3% Strongly disagreeing, and 33.3% of respondents disagreeing for a total 66.6% seeing the quote and individual in an unfavorable light. Though in the gender/race swap leadership survey results did exhibit a 26.7% agreement ratio which was 6.7% greater than those who agreed in the Trump equivalent of the same question. Here the results where even more negative towards the opinions of an individual of different race than Donald Trump.

#### **Survey Question #9 (Securitization)**

"We're a nation that speaks English. I think that, while we're in this nation, we should be speaking English... that's how we assimilate." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?

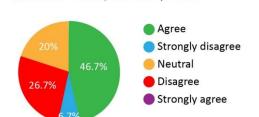


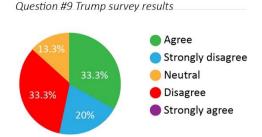
Susan Shank CEO of Siebert Financial Corporation

Question #9 Gender/Race survey results



**U.S.A-President Donald Trump** 





The Trump survey version of Question #9 brought us back to the usual outcome of more negativity for Donald Trump, with 33.3% of respondents disagreeing and 20% strongly disagreeing, for a total 53.3% having a dissenting view on that statement. Though 33.3% did agree with the statement. In the Gender/Race swap Leadership Survey question #9 when respondents were presented with a Securitization question in the realm of assimilation of migrants to English speaking countries, this research saw results that exhibited 13.4% increase in the amounts of people that agreed with the statement for an agreement outcome of 46.7% percent. I also observed less people disagreeing with the gender/race swapped version of the quote for a total of 26.7%. which is 6.6% lower than the Trump version of the corresponding President Donald Trump survey.

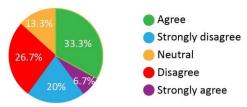
#### **Survey Question #10: Securitization**

"Citizenship is not a gift we can afford to keep giving away." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



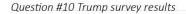
Annika Andersson CEO of Swedish tech start up BNV

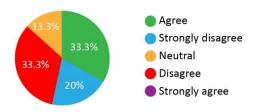
Question #10 Gender/Race survey results





U.S.A-President Donald Trump





Question #10 in the Donald Trump survey again in the Securitization realm by way of nativism shows that more than half, 53.3%, either disagreed or strongly disagreed. It further left 33.3% neutral, and only a small sampling of 13.3% of survey takers in agreement.

In Gender/Race Swap Survey equivalent to the Trump Survey Question #10, I switched the Gender but kept the Race, white, the same and added a focus on ethnicity by giving her a Scandinavian evocatory name of Annika Andersson. Here the results were almost the inverse of what was found in the Donald Trump survey. Here 33.3% of the survey respondents In Gender/Race Swap Survey agreed with Annika Andersson's statement, which is the mirror

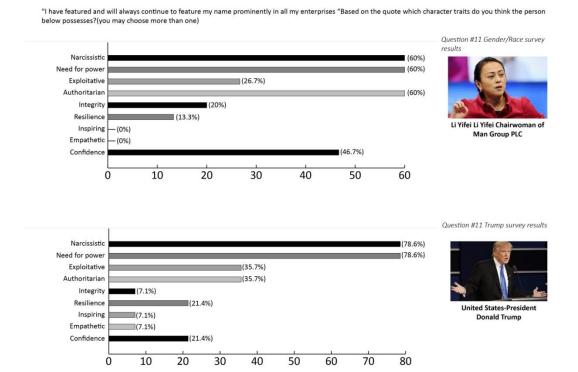
opposite of the 33.3% who strongly disagreed in the Trump survey version of the same question.

#### Survey Questions #11 and 12: Positive Leadership Traits vs. Negative Leadership Traits

The last two questions wanted to juxtapose the posture and attitudinizing of people in Leadership positions, and see if they were taken into account differently based on Gender and/or Race versus Donald Trump. In order to attempt to accomplish this I took House and Howells four traits of Narcissism, need for power, exploitative, and authoritarian found in personalized charismatic leadership (House & Howell, 1992) and placed them against Jackson and Parry's positive traits of Integrity Resilience, Inspiring, Empathetic, Confidence. I did come up with some interesting findings ( Jackson & Parry, 2011).

#### Survey Questions #11: Positive Leadership Traits vs. Negative Leadership Traits

In Question #11 we also found a notable finding. Li Yifei, chairwoman of the Chinese hedge fund Man Group Plc's was found to be more authoritarian, getting 60% of the votes for than category compared to President Donald Trump's 35.7% for the same criteria of Authoritarian.

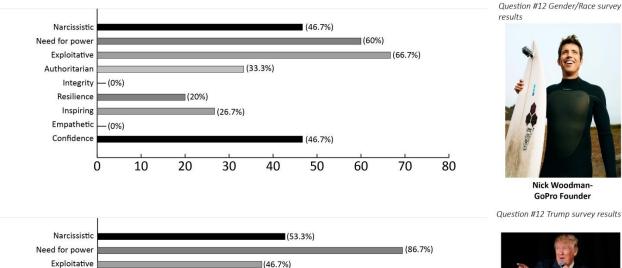


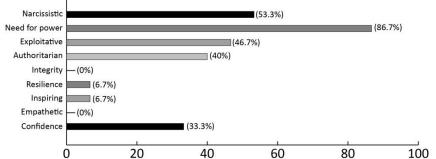
40

#### Survey Questions #12: Positive Leadership Traits vs. Negative Leadership Traits

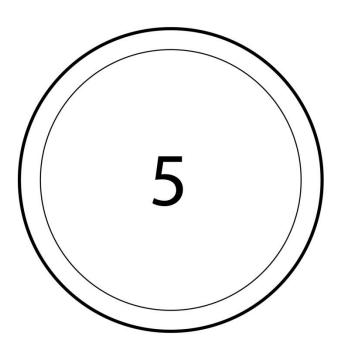
Question #12 showed that survey takers judged Nick Woodman, a white male, avid surfer and one of business insiders coolest CEO's to be more exploitative than President Donald Trump. With 46.7% of survey takers finding Trump exploitative and 66.7% of survey takers finding Nick Woodman to exploitative. This was of note because Nick Woodman was the only white male in our survey, the race and gender equivalent to Donald Trump. Even though Nick Woodmans picture may seem fun, and upbeat, but here the quote took precedence over the picture. The fact that he still scored 20% higher than Donald trump in the category of exploitative was quite notable.

"I like thinking big. I always have. To me it's very simple: if you're going to be thinking anyway, you might as well think big. Most people think small, because most people are afraid of success, afraid of making decisions, afraid of winning. And that gives people like me a great advantage." Based on the quote which character traits do you think the person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)





United States President-Donald Trump



# **DISCUSSION**

- 5.1 Symbolic Interaction Theory
  5.2 The Critical Theory of Communication in Organizations
- 5.3 Why Leadership?
- 5.4 Securitization
- 5.5 Limitations

#### 5. Discussion

The United States' unique and powerful place on the world stage causes the country to symbolize many things to many different people. To some the United States is a symbol of despotism, tyranny, greed and imperialism. To others the United States is a symbol of plentitude of freedoms, progressive thinking, safety, and equality. Therefore arguably no one person embodies the various symbolic characteristics of the United States more than the President of the United States. A position so unique and vaunted in its dynamics that it can be defendable that one need only say "the President" and your mind will automatically defer to the President of the United States, and not another head of state that may hold the title of president within their country, therefore the President of the United States can be seen as the president of presidents. Every United States President is an embodiment of a specific ideology, and on account of the aforementioned ideological influence of the United States, the person holding that position becomes the avatar for what that represents, and depending on their stance on certain policies, and use of executive powers, that person can be seen in a negative or positive light. Therefore in the communication sense the President is a symbol, and if a symbol is "Arbitrary words and nonverbal signs that bear no natural connection with the things they describe; their meaning is learned within a given culture" (Vigil, 2017). Than what a particular President of the United States symbolizes or means, is a description learned and bestowed upon him within a particular cultural state of mind.

#### 5.1 Symbolic Interaction Theory.

"...words don't mean things, people mean things..." (Griffin, 2011)

Therefore one of the aspects to frame the results we garnered from our Trump gender/race swap research is *Symbolic Interaction Theory*. Since United States Presidents in of themselves symbolically represent so much, how do they cause individuals to interact with the meaning of what they embody? In the case of President Donald Trump our research showed that people

assigned meaning to him on the basis of him being Donald Trump, and all the connotations that holds for people through his presentation of himself and by others through the media. But symbolic interaction theory holds to three core maxims, they being *meaning, language, and thinking*. Therefore though President Donald Trump's image is projected through the media in various ways the meaning of that will be absorbed and filtered through each individual's cultural matrix. These various *meanings* of Trump express themselves through *language* as you can see in our survey we used various descriptive characteristic traits to allow for the linguistic framing of the meaning of Donald Trump, which moves on to the last criteria of symbolic interaction Theory, thinking. After the *meaning* of what President Donald Trump Represented was framed in *language* you can see in our questions such as "Would you like to work for this Person?" how that stirred a person's *thinking*, in which their thinking was recorded in the survey results. Therefore all three core criteria of Symbolic Interaction theory are present in this study.

The three core maxims of Symbolic Interaction Theory as labeled by Griffin when placed in an interactional scientific diagram may look like this:

#### Stimulus → Interpretation → Response (Griffin, 2011)

The *stimulus* in this study has two parts the first part in our study is dependent on which survey a participant took, if they took the Trump survey the first part of the stimulus was Donald Trump if they took the Gender/Race swap survey than the first part there was mostly an individual of a different gender and race. The second part of the stimulus in both surveys was the quote or statement. As we can see here much of the symbolic weight was found in the originator of the quote, as shown in our results as Donald Trump tended to get a more negative response for certain quotes.

The *interpretation* was channeled through the various answer choices given to the respondents. The *Response* was the answer choices that they chose.

The gender/race swap condition of our survey explicitly shows its symbolic interaction theory roots. When we took the same Donald Trump quotes and assigned them to an individual of another gender and/or race we found that people delegated a different meaning to the quotes, usually a switch from negative to positive to the quotes, in turn the survey takers ascribed a different set of meaning to that language and in turn showed different modes of thinking. Therefore this research is rife with the Symbolic Interaction theory of George Herbert Mead, as Donald Trump has become a symbol of certain characteristics. A symbol that embodies different meaning to different people, no matter what quote we ascribed to Donald Trump, if it was recognized as coming out his mouth, the symbol and therefore the meaning of Donald Trump infused itself in the particular quote and or statement, and it was usually seen as negative by the survey respondents. But when placed on an individual of a different gender or race, the symbol became infused with a different meaning, and was usually seen as positive by the respondents. When looking at our results and following the three aspects of Symbolic Interaction Theory which are stimulus, interpretation, and response; our results show that gender was a more potent stimulus than race, for when gender was switched it caused statements of Donald Trump to be interpreted in a positive manner and result in an agreeable response.

## 5.2 The Critical Theory of Communication in Organizations of Stanley Deetz

Stanley Deetz's Critical Theory of communication is an excellent theoretical tool to help interpret this research work. It was one of the theoretical lenses that afforded various instruments that allowed me to really understand the gender/race swap component of this research. The Critical Theory of Communications' foremost analytical utensil is alluded to in its very namesake, that of the use of the word 'critical', it analyzes the very nature of the source  $\rightarrow$  message  $\rightarrow$  channel  $\rightarrow$  receiver conception of the communication concept, and is clearly critical of the stance that communication is simply the transmission of information and feedback response to that transmission. Instead Critical Theory of communication takes an emphatically

critical stance by saying that not only is language and the message it constructs the medium by which a meaning in conveyed, but that it doesn't stop there, the ideology of the person itself also takes part in constructing the meaning. The architect of Critical Theory of Communication in Organizations stated himself "Whose meanings are in people?" (Griffin, 2011 pg. 274 citing Stanley Deetz) which echoes new criticism and rhetorician Ivor Armstrong Richards when he says "meanings are in people, not in words". (Griffin, 2011 pg. 274 citing I.A Richards)

This theoretical pinning is a perfect explanation of our results. Throughout our finding we were repeatedly presented with huge swings in responses when we compared results in our Trump Survey, versus responses in our Gender/Race swap survey. As explained through Deetzs' Critical Theory of Communication in Organizations, one can come to the understanding that this has to do with the fact that language and meaning are more of eastern type concepts than a western one, a ying and yang type phenomenon, with each psychosocial phenomenon as a complementary and interrelated and interconnected force within the human mind that link each other, and are interdependent, and at the same time give rise to one another. The survey frequently showed this phenomenon though we placed the same language in the form of quotes of Donald Trump the meaning of the quotes, and that language, took on a different shape and form when it came from a person of a different gender and/or race. Which echoes I.A. Richards rhetorician quote of "meanings are in people not words". If President Donald Trump is an individual who many people have dissenting views of, than even though the language he used may seem rational, but when coupled with the meaning of his person, it was taken as antagonistic.

This is summoned up by Griffin analyzing the architect of Critical Theory of Communication in Organizations, Stanley Deetz, as Griffin sums up Deetz's theoretical outlook when he says:

"The question ...is not what do these mean? Rather, it is whose meanings are these?" (Griffin, 2011 pg. 278)

The above mentioned quote is the core embodiment of this research. The findings of the survey verified that it was less about what was said, and more about the meaning, and the meaning depended on who constructed the meaning.

## 5.3 Why Leadership?

The question you may be asking yourself is why did I frame this through leadership?

One prevalent definition of leadership is "the process of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts toward goal setting and goal achievement." (Jackson and Parry pg.12 2011, citing Stogdill, 1974). The way this is done is through communication, which would designate leadership as being a form of interpersonal communication, since interpersonal communication is the way people negotiate meaning. A leader is a person whose station is constantly communicating that they are the agenda setter of a particular group whether that group is a corporation or country (Jackson & Parry, 2011).

I decided to funnel this research through Leadership because Leadership is a communication phenomenon that has:

- 1) Influence over meaning and meaning making. Leadership itself is a concept that effects the phenomenon of meaning, and as we explored in the previous section on Critical Theory of Communication in Organizations, meaning is partially shaped by the individual sending the message, therefore if that person is designated as the leader of an organization, the sole aspect of them being the leader will create an impressionable dynamic on the meaning of messages within that organization.
- 2) So much human economy in various forms monetary (Leadership Training in the Billions) time (Citizenry of countries throughout the world investing so much attention on electing leaders) media (the amount of coverage time given to individuals designated as leaders)

At first in the beginning of his Presidential campaign Donald Trumps' words at first seemed laughable to many people, but as he got closer to attaining the mantle of leadership people began to take him more serious. When he finally won the United States presidency his words were now received very seriously because he attained the mantle of *leader* of the United States. This is an example of how leadership effects the construction of meaning, and underpins its importance of researching it as a communication phenomenon, and why I chose to use it as the communication angle to channel this research through.

#### 5.4 Securitization

Within my study I wanted to understand the practical, contemporary and relevant impact of this research. We live in a current world environment that seems to be able to be summed up by Sweden's Minister for Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström when she says "we live in worrisome times and a confusing and frustrating world" (HandelsHögskolan Göteborg, 2017). An example of these worrisome times is embodied by the migration crisis in Europe which is currently spawned from war in the Middle East, and economic turmoil and instability in Asia, Africa and also the Middle East. Due to the rise of populism and nativism sweeping Europe, the humanitarian issues that were created by these aforementioned problems, have now left the realm of humanitarian compassion, and into the realm of securitization (Mofette and Vadasaria, 2016). The transferring of the status of asylum seekers from a humanitarian issue to securitization issue, has been the cause of vast amounts of media attention, public discourse, and political headlining (Mofette and Vadasaria, 2016). Securitization is arguably one of the most potent powers of leadership, and is in its essence a weapon in the arsenal of communication theory, ergo securitization is a type of communication and the ability to securitize something, someone, or a group of people, is a capability that can be wielded by a leader (Balzacq, 2005).

First let us understand securitization at its essence for what it is, securitization is a dynamic form of communication and is widely regarded to be a speech act. It found these theoretical

roots when it was coined and conceptually developed out of the Copenhagen School by Ole Wæver, who stated that securitization generated essential attributes from speech act theory as in itself was a type of speech act. It is explained by Wæver "In this usage, security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real; the utterance itself is the act. By saying the word, something is done" (Weaver, 1995: 55) [viii]. "Therefore, security is not a subjective perception which refers to something more real, externally given, independently existing from this perception; speech act refers only to itself. By verbal labeling an issue a security threat, it becomes one" (Sulovic, 2010).

One of the pillars of J. L." Austin's speech act theory is what is known as a *performative*, which is a word or an act that can create or "perform" a certain action as long as it is in line with a specific social context. So even more specifically and in line with our subject, Securitization is a type of performative that performs the action of labeling an object or person as a threat when in line with certain social narrative or context. Still though securitization is not a speech act that creates movement and reaction lightly, many people can perceive something or someone as a security threat but it takes authority to legitimately frame it as so, that authority many times lies in possession of a leader.

Just like the three core maxims of Symbolic Interaction Theory as labeled by Griffin which states that communication is Stimulus  $\rightarrow$  Interpretation  $\rightarrow$  Response (Griffin, 2011), I formed the idea derived from my research that Securitization also has a three step process similar to Symbolic Interaction theories' Stimulus, Interpretation and Response, but in the case of Securitization the stimulus is Leadership, the communication is what leadership communicates, and the response is securitization. So diagramed and super imposed over Symbolic Interaction theory, Securitization may look something like this:

Leadership (Stimulus)-> Communication (Interpretation) -> Securitization (Response)

This was my "a-ha" moment of my research as it allowed me to realize the interconnectedness of the three aspects of my study, they being leadership, communication and securitization. By building off symbolic interaction theory and using at a lens to understand my research, it

dawned on me that Securitization also has a trifecta nature similar to symbolic interaction theory, and that it is not a phenomenon in itself, but it is a phenomena interdependent on two other equally powerful psychosocial phenomenon, they being leadership and communication.

Leaders play a tug-o-war with their constituents to constantly fight for the power to be able to frame subjects within a certain paradigm and securitization is no different and arguably the most powerful. Take the recent election of Marine Le Pen vs. Emmanuel Marcon. Marcon ran on a humanitarian platform of European unity, and benevolence towards immigrants, while his nationalist rival Marine Le Pen used her position as a leader to communicate to the people of France that the aforementioned subjects of European Unity and benevolence towards immigrants is actually a security threat to France. This shows the power of securitization as leaders use the position as leaders, the stimulus to communicate and interpret to their audience and try to de-securitize or securitize an object. As our research showed when the gender and/or race of Donald Trump was switched but the same question pertaining securitization was kept respondents tended to respond positively to the quote when it was attributed to a person of an opposite gender of Trump or of a different race than trump. One can argue that this was not the case, as when it came to the recent French election, as Emmanuel Marcon defeated his opponent Marie Le pen (Beauchamp, 2017).

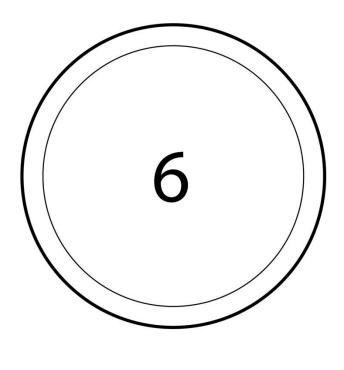
#### This brings us to the next phase of securitization

In conducting this research I was under the impression that securitization as a compelling and vigorous communication power is arguably the most important sociopolitical force at play today. Unlike economics, religion and politics that are constantly talked about and at the forefront of contemporary discussion, securitization is likened to electromagnetism which can be seen similarly as its contemporary in the natural sciences as a mostly invisible force, but it plays a weighty and significant role in determining the aspects of political, religious, and economic policies within countries and on an international level. This is why this study saw it as so important to add a securitization element to the research and why four out of twelve of the

survey questions were based on securitization, I wanted to see if gender and/or race affected a leaders command and influence of the securitization armament.

Seeing Securitization as a mechanism that a leader and political agent can wield, is explained when one understands Balzacq's definition of securitization which encompasses both of its aspects, those beings its communication speech act attribute, and it being a mechanism of force of leaders and political agents, this is exhibited when Balzacq states securitization is when " a political actor has cast it as an existential threat, an imminent peril to the physical, cultural, or social health of the community, and has gained a degree of public assent to use extraordinary measures to combat that threat" (Balzacq, 2005).

It is interesting to observe in our findings that when gender and/or race was swapped, the securitization issue leaned way more on the positive, than when the source of the securitization framing was acknowledged as stemming from Donald Trump.



**CONCLUSION** 

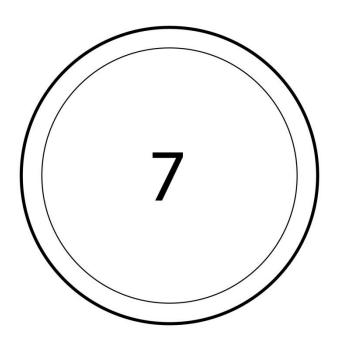
#### 6. Conclusion

The Ethnodrama study "Her Opponent" by Guadalupe and Salvatore (Aridi, 2017), was the first documented study to notice the importance of asking the question would people feel the same way about Donald Trump if his gender was swapped. I merely found a gap in that research in its lack of asking also about different races, and people of different genders and races. But it was Donald Trump's words that made him such a loved or hated figure, and it was his gaining position as leader of the United States that made his words so important, and his ability to frame various points of concerns as securitization issues and the power to act on his framing of issues as so, due to him gaining the position of leader of the United States, that made his words powerful. This "quadfecta" of Trump the person, Trump the Words, Trump the Leader of the United States, and Trump with the power of the securitization arsenal, is what makes studying him so interesting. His ability to cause people to be so polarized about him and his ideologies is why he was chosen as the comparative foundation in this research. The question this research sought to answer was, Does swapping the race and gender of Communicators affect perspectives on Leadership & Securitization? As our findings showcased, gender and race definitely do have an effect on people's perspectives on leadership and Securitization, with the data showing that people tended to respond more positively when it was an individual of another gender or race different from Donald Trump's, even though the statements and ideologies were the same.

The findings in this study extend conversations on communication, securitization, race and gender, and how leadership is reflected in and impacts meaning making. This research has practical implications for intercultural communication practices, inter gender communication practices, securitization studies and practices, and political and corporate communications. As well as organizational leader selection, and feedback. This study is also relevant due to its ability to display an analysis of recognizing the impact of leaders of different genders and/or race to encode an issue with a securitization paradigm.

This research also builds on Securitization theory by using Symbolic Interaction theory as a tool to bring another angle of understanding to Securitization. Through the processing of working on this paper and looking at the data, I was able to explore the nature of Securitization and understand it as not a solitary phenomenon, but as one that is interrelated to both communication and leadership.

The problem we wanted to find an answer to Does swapping the race and gender of Communicators affect perspectives on Leadership & Securitization? Though this research answered that question on one level, one can take it to another level by structuring the survey in a different manner. For instance this research divided the respondents into two groups, Group A was given the Trump Survey and Group B was Given the Gender/Race swap survey, possible **future research** can create several more survey taking groups and group them along ethnic and racial identities to gauge the perspective of various racial and ethnic groups when it came to their perspectives on leadership and securitization.



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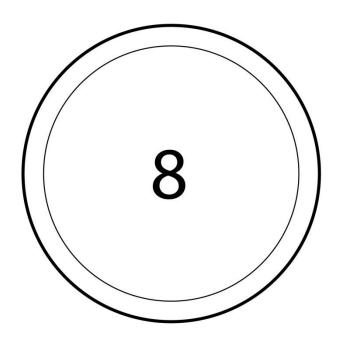
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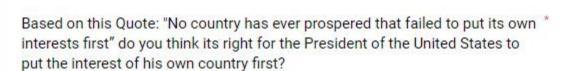
**APPENDICES** 

#### **Trump Survey questions**

## Leadership Survey

This survey is part of a Master thesis project. The Survey will gather your opinions on intercultural and gender aspects of leadership and securitization.

The survey is confidential and will take approximately 5-7 minutes to complete.





Donald Trump: 45th President of the United States.

Yes

NO

This man is Donald Trump. He is considered to be goal driven and fair by his supporters and is well liked by his supporters. He uses a combination of concern for people and a concern for production. Last year he achieved his goal to become the 45th President of the United States. Based on this description do you think he is an effective leader?



- O Yes
- O No

"You can't be scared. You do your thing, you hold your ground, you stand up tall, and whatever happens, happens." Based on the Quote which traits do you think the person in the picture below exudes? (You can pick as many as you like)



Don	ald Trump: 45th President of the United States.
7	A deeply caring person
7	Serves collective interest of his team
7	Is not driven by self interest
7	Empowers others
	Narcissism
	Is driven by need to dominate
	Exploitative
7	Authoritarian

Based on the Quote "Watch, listen, and learn. You can't know it all yourself anyone who thinks that they do is destined for mediocrity..." Which criteria do you think the person in the picture below would be effective at:



#### Donald Trump: 45th President of the United States.

Row 1. Articulating a Vision	Column 1. Extremely uneffective
Row 2. Providing a Appropriate Role Model	Column 2. Uneffective

Row 3.	Fosters the Acceptance of Goals	Column 3.	Moderatley Effective

Row 5. Provides Individualized Support Column 5. Extremely Effective

Row 6. Supplies Intellectual Stimulation

Row 4. Communicates High Performance E

Column 4. Effective

Based on the Quote "In the end, you're measured not by how much you undertake but by what you finally accomplish." Which criteria do you think the person in the picture below would be effective at:



#### Donald Trump: 45th President of the United States.

Row 6. Supplies Intellectual Stimulation

Row 1.	Articulating a Vision	Column 1.	Extremely uneffective
Row 2.	Providing a Appropriate Role Model	Column 2	Uneffective
Row 3.	Fosters the Acceptance of Goals	Column 3.	Moderatley Effective
Row 4.	Communicates High Performance E	Column 4.	Effective
Row 5.	Provides Individualized Support	Column 5.	Extremely Effective

"Since I love what I do, I do it vigorously and I do it better. Because I inject it with enthusiasm and passion, it doesn't feel like work. My passion spills over to everyone around me and motivates them to do their very best." Based on this quote the person in the picture below is...(You can pick as many as you like)



- Is someone who belongs to a prestigous social group
- Someone you would like to work for
- I can personally identify with this person
- Does not belong to a prestigious social group
- Is not someone I would like to work for
- I cannot personally identify with this person.

"Our country, our people, and our laws have to be our top priority." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- O Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree

"I want good people to come here from all over the world, but I want them to do so legally. We can expedite the process, we can reward achievement and excellence, but we have to respect the legal process. And those people who take advantage of the system and come here illegally should never enjoy the benefits of being a resident--or citizen--of this nation. So I am against any path to citizenship for undocumented workers or anyone else who is in this country illegally. They should--and need to--go home and get in line." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree

"We're a nation that speaks English. I think that, while we're in this nation, we should be speaking English... that's how we assimilate." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



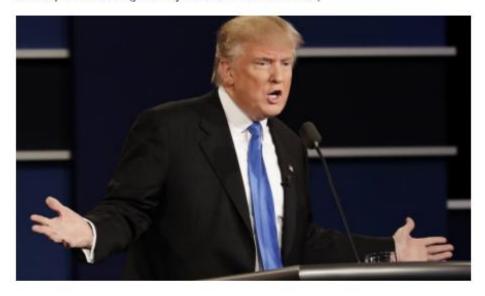
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- O Neutral
- ( ) Agree
- Strongly agree

"Citizenship is not a gift we can afford to keep giving away." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- ( ) Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree

"I have featured and will always continue to feature my name prominently in all my enterprises" Based on the quote which character traits do you think there person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)



Narcissitic

A need for power

Exploitative

Donald Trump: 45th President of the United States.

Authoritarian

Resilience

Inspiring

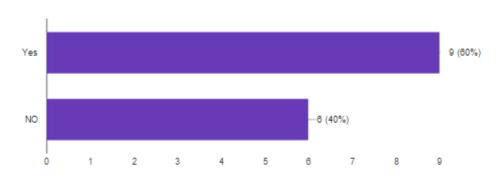
Empathetic

Confidence

## **Trump Survey Results**

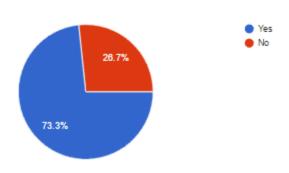
Based on this Quote: "No country has ever prospered that failed to put its own interests first" do you think its right for the President of the United States to put the interest of his own country first?

15 responses

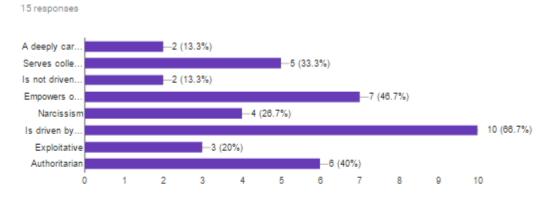


This man is Donald Trump. He is considered to be goal driven and fair by his supporters and is well liked by his supporters. He uses a combination of concern for people and a concern for production. Last year he achieved his goal to become the 45th President of the United States. Based on this description do you think he is an effective leader?

15 responses



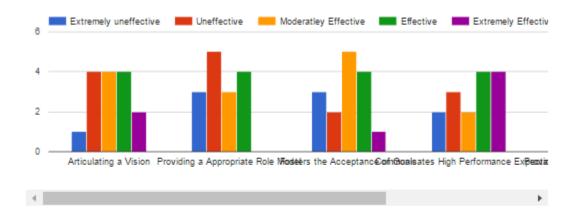
"You can't be scared. You do your thing, you hold your ground, you stand up tall, and whatever happens, happens." Based on the Quote which traits do you think the person in the picture below exudes? (You can pick as many as you like)



Based on the Quote "Watch, listen, and learn. You can't know it all yourself—anyone who thinks that they do is destined for mediocrity..." Which criteria do you think the person in the picture below would be effective at:

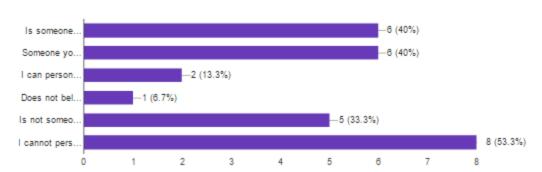


Based on the Quote "In the end, you're measured not by how much you undertake but by what you finally accomplish." Which criteria do you think the person in the picture below would be effective at:



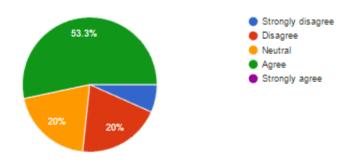
"Since I love what I do, I do it vigorously and I do it better. Because I inject it with enthusiasm and passion, it doesn't feel like work. My passion spills over to everyone around me and motivates them to do their very best." Based on this quote the person in the picture below is...(You can pick as many as you like)



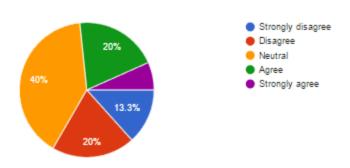


"Our country, our people, and our laws have to be our top priority." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?

15 responses

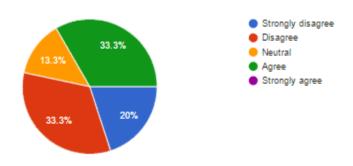


"I want good people to come here from all over the world, but I want them to do so legally. We can expedite the process, we can reward achievement and excellence, but we have to respect the legal process. And those people who take advantage of the system and come here illegally should never enjoy the benefits of being a resident--or citizen--of this nation. So I am against any path to citizenship for undocumented workers or anyone else who is in this country illegally. They should--and need to--go home and get in line." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



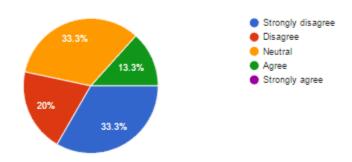
"We're a nation that speaks English. I think that, while we're in this nation, we should be speaking English... that's how we assimilate." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?

15 responses



"Citizenship is not a gift we can afford to keep giving away." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?

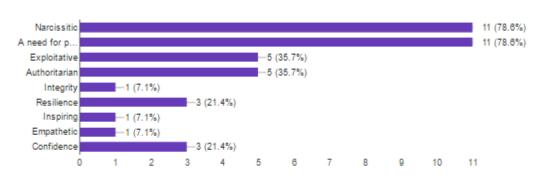
15 responses



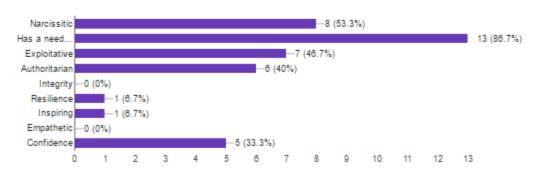
"I have featured and will always continue to feature my name prominently in all my enterprises" Based on the quote which character traits do you think there person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)

"I have featured and will always continue to feature my name prominently in all my enterprises" Based on the quote which character traits do you think there person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)

14 responses



"I like thinking big. I always have. To me it's very simple: if you're going to be thinking anyway, you might as well think big. Most people think small, because most people are afraid of success, afraid of making decisions, afraid of winning. And that gives people like me a great advantage." Based on the quote which character traits do you think there person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)



## **Gender/Race Swap Leadership Survey Questions**

# Leadership Survey

This survey is part of a Master thesis project. The Survey will gather your opinions on intercultural and gender aspects of leadership and securitization.

The survey is confidential and will take approximately 5-7 minutes to complete.

Based on this Quote: "No country has ever prospered that failed to put its own interests first" do you think its right for the President of Taiwan to put the inte of her own country first?



Taiwans-President: Tsaiing-Wen

Yes

· NO

This is Ginni Rometty CEO of IBM. She is considered goal driven but fair and is well liked by her supporters. She uses a combination of concern for people and a concern for production. Last year she achieved her goal of making sure her company gained substantial profits. Based on this description do you think she is an effective leader?



Ginni Rometty CEO of IBM

- O Yes
- O No

"You can't be scared. You do your thing, you hold your ground, you stand up tall, and whatever happens, happens." Based on the Quote which traits do you think the person in the picture below exudes? (You can choose more than one)



Alexa von Tobel Founder and CEO of LearnVest.com

A deeply caring person
Serves collective interest of her team
Is not driven by self interest
Empowers others
Narcissism
Is driven by need to dominate
Exploitativeness
At all and a standard

"Watch, listen, and learn. You can't know it all yourself—anyone who thinks that they do is destined for mediocrity..." Based on the Quote which criteria do you think the person would be effective at?:



#### -DuPont CEO Ellen Kullman

Row 1.	Articulating a Vision	Column 1.	Extremely uneffective
	rational and a ribion		entremely which the

	ow 2.	Providing a	Appropriate Role Model	Column 2.	Uneffective
--	-------	-------------	------------------------	-----------	-------------

	Communication   Disk Bodyman C	Column 4 Effective
ow 4	Communicates High Performance E:	Column 4. Effective

Row 5	Provides Individualized Support	Column 5	Extremely Effective
NOW J.	riovides individualized Support	Column J.	Extremely Effective

Row 6. Supplies Intellectual Stimulation

Based on the Quote "In the end, you're measured not by how much you undertake but by what you finally accomplish." Which criteria do you think the person would be effective at:



## Sam's Club CEO Rosalind Brewer

Row 1.	Articulating a Vision	Column 1.	Extremely uneffective

Daw 2	Providing a Appropriate Role Model	Column 2. Uneffective
ROW Z.	Providing a Appropriate Role Model	Column 2. Unerrective

Row 3.	Fosters the Acceptance of Goals	Column 3. Moderatley E	ffective
NOW S.	Fosters trie Acceptance of Goals	Column 5. Woderatiey b	Hecu

Row 4. Communicates High Performance E. Column 4. Effective

Row 5. Provides Individualized Support Column 5. Extremely Effective

"Since I love what I do, I do it vigorously and I do it better. Because I inject it with enthusiasm and passion, it doesn't feel like work. My passion spills over to everyone around me and motivates them to do their very best." Based on the quote which traits do you think apply to the person below? (you may choose more than one)



Business executive and the current Chairperson and Chief Executive Officer of PepsiCo

- Is part of a Prestigous Social Group
- Someone you would like to work for
- I can personally identify with this person
- Does not belong to a prestigious social group
- Is not someone I would like to work for
- I cannot personally identify with this person.

"Our country, our people, and our laws have to be our top priority." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



Tamao Sasada Managing Director Vice Chairman Of Investment Banking Division Merrill Lynch Japan Securities, Japan

- O Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- O Neutral
- O Agree
- O Strongly agree

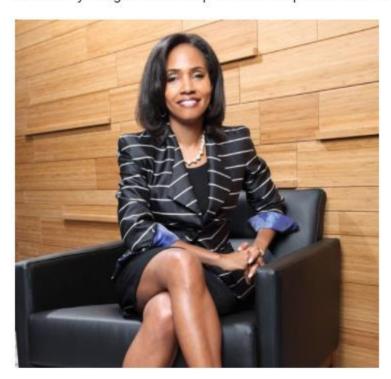
"I want good people to come here from all over the world, but I want them to do so legally. We can expedite the process, we can reward achievement and excellence, but we have to respect the legal process. And those people who take advantage of the system and come here illegally should never enjoy the benefits of being a resident--or citizen--of this nation. So I am against any path to citizenship for undocumented workers or anyone else who is in this country illegally. They should--and need to--go home and get in line." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



### State Representative Bernard Thomas

- O Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree

"We're a nation that speaks English. I think that, while we're in this nation, we should be speaking English... that's how we assimilate." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



CEO of Siebert Financial Corporation - a broker/deal institutional investment bank

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- O Neutral
- O Agree
- Strongly agree

"Citizenship is not a gift we can afford to keep giving away." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



Annika Andersson CEO of Swedish tech start up BNV

- O Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- O Neutral
- O Agree
- O Strongly agree

"I have featured and will always continue to feature my name prominently in all my enterprises" Based on the quote which character traits do you think there person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)



Li Yi	fei Chairwoman of Man Group PLC an investment management company
	Narcissitic
	Need for power
	Exploitative
	Authoritarian
	Integrity
	Resilience
	Inspiring

Empathetic

Confidence

"I like thinking big. I always have. To me it's very simple: if you're going to be thinking anyway, you might as well think big. Most people think small, because most people are afraid of success, afraid of making decisions, afraid of winning And that gives people like me a great advantage." Based on the quote which character traits do you think there person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)

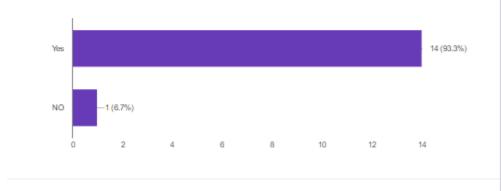


GoPro Founder: Nick Woodman
· Narcissitic
· A Need for power
· Exploitative
· Authoritarian
· Integrity
Resilience
Inspiring
· Empathetic
Confidence
Disclaimer: For the purpose of the Research not all the quotes above belong to the individuals pictured and presented in the survey. Opinions above do not reflect the opinions of the researcher. This data will be used for academic purposes only
Description (optional)
If you are interested in the result of this research, please leave your email down below and I will send it to you:
Short-answer text
Thank you for participating!!!

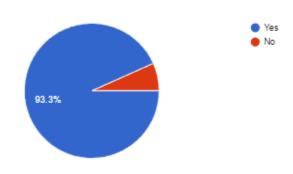
### **Gender/Race Swap Leadership Survey Results**

Based on this Quote: "No country has ever prospered that failed to put its own interests first" do you think its right for the President of Taiwan to put the interest of her own country first?

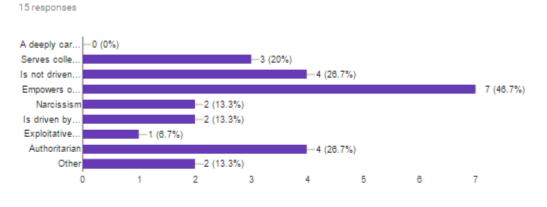
15 responses



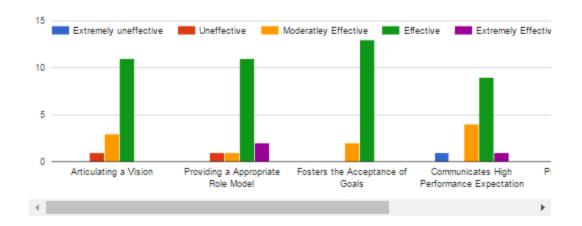
This is Ginni Rometty CEO of IBM. She is considered goal driven but fair and is well liked by her supporters. She uses a combination of concern for people and a concern for production. Last year she achieved her goal of making sure her company gained substantial profits. Based on this description do you think she is an effective leader?



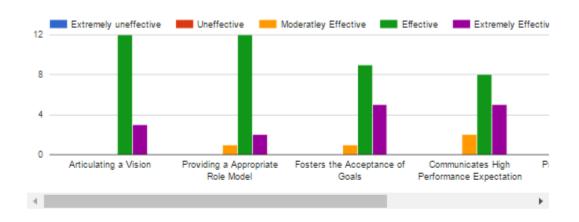
"You can't be scared. You do your thing, you hold your ground, you stand up tall, and whatever happens, happens." Based on the Quote which traits do you think the person in the picture below exudes? (You can choose more than one)



"Watch, listen, and learn. You can't know it all yourself—anyone who thinks that they do is destined for mediocrity..." Based on the Quote which criteria do you think the person would be effective at?:



Based on the Quote "In the end, you're measured not by how much you undertake but by what you finally accomplish." Which criteria do you think the person would be effective at:



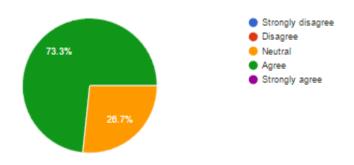
"Since I love what I do, I do it vigorously and I do it better. Because I inject it with enthusiasm and passion, it doesn't feel like work. My passion spills over to everyone around me and motivates them to do their very best." Based on the quote which traits do you think apply to the person below? (you may choose more than one)



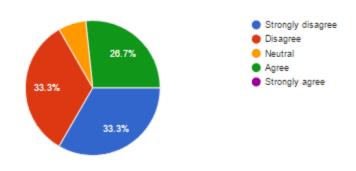


"Our country, our people, and our laws have to be our top priority." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?

15 responses

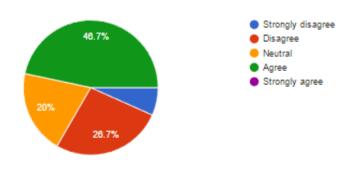


"I want good people to come here from all over the world, but I want them to do so legally. We can expedite the process, we can reward achievement and excellence, but we have to respect the legal process. And those people who take advantage of the system and come here illegally should never enjoy the benefits of being a resident--or citizen--of this nation. So I am against any path to citizenship for undocumented workers or anyone else who is in this country illegally. They should--and need to--go home and get in line." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?

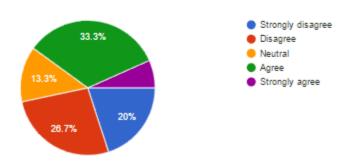


"We're a nation that speaks English. I think that, while we're in this nation, we should be speaking English... that's how we assimilate." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?

15 responses

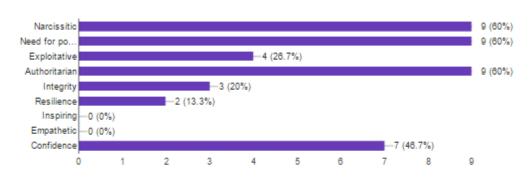


"Citizenship is not a gift we can afford to keep giving away." Based on this quote how much do you agree with the person in the picture below?



"I have featured and will always continue to feature my name prominently in all my enterprises" Based on the quote which character traits do you think there person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)

15 responses



"I like thinking big. I always have. To me it's very simple: if you're going to be thinking anyway, you might as well think big. Most people think small, because most people are afraid of success, afraid of making decisions, afraid of winning. And that gives people like me a great advantage." Based on the quote which character traits do you think there person below possesses? (you may choose more than one)

