

After the Storm: Analyzing Chris Christie's Use of Hurricane Sandy in New Jersey's Gubernatorial Elections

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This study evaluates the role Hurricane Sandy played in Chris Christie's subsequent campaign strategy and more specifically, how the disaster altered his moral foundations and leadership style in the long-term. By analyzing television advertisements and speeches during the 2009 and 2013 campaign seasons, this study will consider his moral foundations and leadership style to assess how the governor's strategy has evolved. While Christie's motivations cannot be fully considered, this study finds that the governor has become increasingly focused on the harm v. care dichotomy moral foundation, while shifting to a Visionary Motivator leadership style in order to more widely appeal to voters nation-wide. The merging of these two methods should be explored to understand leadership styles during crisis. Recent events since the conduction of this study further present a new dimension of how political scandal, a kind of crisis, interacts with moral foundations and leadership.

Introduction

"I wasn't here to be elected Prom King." Chris Christie peppered many of his 2009 stump speeches with this signature mantra, emphasizing that principle, not popularity, would help him lead New Jersey. These kinds of sweeping, yet pragmatic statements acted as the crux of Christie's campaign and bolstered his reputation as a dynamic, determined problem solver who trivialized party lines.

Christie first began his work as a political troubleshooter while serving as U.S. Attorney for the State of New Jersey. Prior to his appointment, Christie was a lawyer and for a brief time, a lobbyist. He worked to deregulate state utilities and prevent securities fraud. As a U.S. Attorney from 2002 to 2009, Christie was distinguished for exposing public corruption cases. His administration notably found Republican Essex County Executive

James W. Treffinger and Democratic State Senator Wayne R. Bryant guilty of bribery and fraud (Rispoli, 2009). His aggressive, dogged approach to state corruption established his credibility and earned New Jerseyans' respect. Chris Christie resigned his post as U.S. Attorney in October 2009 with the intention of unseating Democratic Governor Jon Corzine ("New Jersey Local News," 2009).

New Jersey's 2009 gubernatorial race was highly contested, seen through week-by-week percentage marking periods throughout the election season. The state was politically divided, but Christie won 48.46% of the vote, in comparison in Corzine with 44.88%.¹ (New Jersey Gubernatorial Elections, Trends, Charts, and Analysis, n.d.).

Hurricane Sandy, the Category 3 storm that plowed through New Jersey in 2012, ranked the second costliest in US history. Occurring between Christie's first and second gubernatorial campaigns, the governor received both praise and disapproval for his response to the state crisis. Christie gained considerable media attention when he met with President Obama to survey the damage and to comfort survivors, suggesting a sense of bipartisanship. The governor also admonished the GOP for refusing to vote for Sandy aid unless pork barrel legislation was included (Henderson & O'Keefe, 2013). Conservative think tank analysts criticized Christie's response after Sandy and pointed to New Jersey's lack of emergency planning and dependence on federal disaster aid as a larger issue of poor state leadership (Bucci et al., 2013).

As discussed in this study, Christie's campaign used Hurricane Sandy, which most severely affected the state of New Jersey, to leverage his public image. In 2013, Christie emerged as a clear victor and defeated challenger Barbara Buono with 60.4% of the vote (New Jersey Governor," 2013). Christie's leadership, therefore, suggests that the governor's bipartisan appeals have minimized party politics. Understanding if and how the superstorm led Christie to change his political strategy is important to understanding the evolution of his moral foundations and leadership style.

Review of Previous Literature

There was a significant amount of literature regarding political communication and media before Christie's 2009 gubernatorial campaign and election. Relevant previous work in this discipline can be divided into three distinct groups: politics and rhetoric, leadership, and the differences between liberals and conservatives.

In the field of political rhetoric, arguments have been made to consider the importance of a candidate's strengths when choosing a campaign theme and emphasized issues (Steinberg, 1976). Candidates additionally need to determine their targeted group in the electorate, although they should aim to appeal to the widest, most diverse support base as possible. Some media experts assert that natural disaster and crisis situations serve as prime examples to evaluate leaders' political ideology and public image. Studies have found that in crises, such as Hurricane Katrina, the media adopts a position to blame and criticize authority figures (Littlefield & Quenette, 2007). In addition, the media, and arguably similar, political campaigns, accordingly make rhetorical decisions about coverage. This study concludes that media portrayals can affect how authorities react to initial crisis. For example, Hurricane Sandy impacted the 2013 campaign in swing states, but the explanation is unclear. While political leaders are not always responsible for crisis, they are expected to respond quickly and appropriately, which gives citizens an opportunity to reflect on their leaders' competency (Velez & Martin, 2013).

In previous arguments about city and state authority, authors conclude that mayoral visibility, especially in noncontroversial events, is critical to developing a positive public image (Ferman, 1985). Crisis can impact one's political agenda, depending on their response to the situation. Effective leaders, such as 1968 Boston mayor Kevin White, turned a crisis scenario into an administrative success. After air conditioning units broke city-wide, White successfully created urban cooling centers, temporarily relocated housing, and worked with municipal authority to quickly rectify the problem. White's leadership earned Bostonians' respect. Helping citizens after a disaster or crisis situation makes governmental systems more accessible to thousands

of citizens. The manner in which a leader responds can either create a fresh image of community involvement and municipal responsiveness (Ferman, 1985) or decrease leaders' legitimacy (Burling, 1997).

In the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy, conservative policy experts made recommendations for disaster and leadership, emphasizing the importance of state defense. Recently, policy experts have made strong appeals to give states more responsibility in crisis management. Without stronger state leadership, conservatives propose that disaster preparedness will be deemphasized (Bucci et al., 2013).

The difference in liberals and conservatives' political ideologies has been studied at length, with some policy experts arguing that political distinctions can, depending on the issues, lead to more effective policies. When both parties' initiatives are consistent and based on a clear demarcation of the policy's effect, the conflict can positively contribute to policy development.² (Grafton & Permaloff, 2008).

Methods

This study collects data from Governor Chris Christie's 2009 and 2013 campaign television advertisements and public speeches, spanning from October 17th, 2009 to November 5th, 2013, when the last electoral results were determined. The television advertisements and taped speeches were chosen as clear, accessible examples of political rhetoric. The clips, in addition to Christie's public speeches, were used to compare how the campaign planned and executed their strategy in the two election seasons. Gubernatorial debates were initially collected and watched, but the researcher found that the clips included other candidates, such as Democrat Jon Corzine or Independent Christopher Daggett in 2009. The researcher realized that if gubernatorial debate data were to be collected, Christie's shift in moral foundations and leadership style would have to be compared to other participants in the debate. In addition, other candidates' shifts could not accurately be measured from 2009 to 2013, as

different candidates ran in the elections. The research concentrates on Christie's shift, and therefore, material that included other politicians was considered not relevant to the nature of the study. Therefore, clips of the 2009 and 2013 debates have been omitted. Exhibits were retrieved from C-SPAN or YouTube video archives, or the Vanderbilt University Video Library database. A few of the 2009 taped speeches were from New Jersey newspaper websites. Because the 2009 campaign was significantly less publicized outside of New Jersey, the number of clips and exhibits found was substantially less than the 2013 election season. Based on these parameters, a total of 15 television advertisements and 16 speeches were selected for analysis.

Both qualitative and quantitative analysis was used while reviewing the advertisements and speeches of previous hypotheses (Moral Foundations Theory and Leadership Styles perspectives). Qualitative analysis was utilized each theory's categories and their characteristics. Quantitative analysis was utilized for the coding of the Moral Foundations Theory and Leadership Styles in each individual video clip.

Developed by social psychologist Jonathan Haidt, Moral Foundations Theory was developed to understand why morality varies cross-culturally, but exhibits similar patterns and themes. The theory proposes that systems are created through "intuitive ethics" with each individual culture developing "virtues, structures, and institutions based on top of foundations" ("Moral Foundations Theory," n.d.). As outlined, the proposed foundations are five dichotomies: harm v. care, fairness v. reciprocity, ingroup v. outgroup, authority v. respect, and purity v. sanctity. Harm v. care refers to values of "kindness, gentleness, or nurturance" (Haidt, Graham, & Nosek, 2009). Fairness v. reciprocity can be related to ideas about equality and justice. Ingroup v. outgroup underlines principles of commitment and self-sacrifice for a particular coalition. Authority v. respect is defined as one's ideas about leadership and followership, including respect for traditions. Lastly, sanctity v. purity is shaped by obedience, religious values, and morality. The Moral Foundations Theory has been applied to understand the dynamics of political culture. Haidt has studied the differences between political

liberals and conservatives and how the findings affect variations of opinion. MFT theorists have found that liberals stress only two of the moral foundations, care v. harm and fairness v. reciprocity in reasoning when “conservatives stress all six more equally” (Haidt, et al., 2009). The Moral Foundation Theory was chosen for its clarity in qualitatively analyzing an abstract topic, political attitudes. The first component of this study was to test the validity of Moral Foundations Theory in measuring Christie’s political reasoning, before and after Hurricane Sandy.

In addition, this study also analyzed the application of these moral foundations within Cameron and Green’s Five Leadership Models because when studying leadership, Christie’s long-term political agenda should be evaluated. Business consultants Cameron and Green provide detailed explanation for five different models of leadership managers and executives exhibit in response to change (Cameron & Green, 2004). The five leadership styles include the Edgy Catalyzer, the Visionary Motivator, the Measured Connector, Tenacious Implementer, and the Thoughtful Architect (Cameron & Green, 2008). In their studies, Cameron and Green found that while leaders are capable of all five models, individuals have a “default mode”³ Understanding the concept of default mode is critical in analyzing how Christie’s leadership styles evolved as a result of Hurricane Sandy, a primary focus in this study.

The leadership models were chosen because the method extended concepts of Moral Foundations Theory, but the Leadership Styles are apolitical. A Thoughtful Architect could be a liberal, conservative, or independent; leadership characteristics are not conducive to political ideology. In addition, the Leadership Styles provided a method to Moral Foundations Theory; Cameron and Green discuss how each style can be applied to management scenarios. The two significant leadership styles for this study were the Edgy Catalyzer and Visionary Motivator. The Edgy Catalyzer is a leader who asks the difficult, yet essential questions and creates discomfort and unease when conditions are not improved. Edgy Catalyzers are further described as not being intimidated by politics,

but respecting the system's history and power (Cameron & Green, 2008). The Visionary Motivator leadership model works to energize and engage people, but also has strong purpose, influence, and dynamism. These kinds of leaders focus on applying an organization's resources and talents to develop a sense of potential.

To determine whether Governor Christie's moral foundations and leadership style have changed between his first and second gubernatorial election, the exhibits were coded for the moral foundation dichotomies using the word list below. The specific words were a combination of phrases or in the case of leadership styles, attributes, in the original studies, in addition to the researcher's original contributions. When the author analyzed each exhibit, she coded for examples of language in Christie's speeches and clips that supported each moral foundation. Then, she looked for frequency and patterns from 2009 to 2013 to determine if the findings supported or breached MFT theory for liberals and conservatives. For more information on the coded MFT words, consult Table 1. Similarly, the author counted the number of times Christie's advertisements and speeches related to the criteria and definitions from the Five Leadership Styles. For more information on the three additional leadership styles and a summary of each model's attributes, consult Table 2.

TABLE 1: MORAL FOUNDATIONS AND CODED WORDS

Dichotomy	Possible Words
Harm v. Care	Recovery; compassion; neighbor; children; friend; suffering; pain; harm; safe; hurt; exploited
Fairness v. Reciprocity	Opportunity; bipartisan; bipartisanship; compromise; everyone; reform; equality; fair; justice
Ingroup v. Outgroup	Different; difference; together; community; mission; unconventional; loyal; Washington D.C. v. NJ comparisons
Authority v. Respect	Commitment; leadership; honored; references to other national or state leaders; respect; obey; tradition; serve
Sanctity v. Purity	Integrity; honest; mess; corrupt; prevention; fraud; ethical; clean (in reference to record, morals)

TABLE 2: LEADERSHIP STYLES DESCRIPTIONS

Leadership Style	Definition and Characteristics
Edgy Catalyzer	Focuses on and enjoys discomfort; asks the difficult questions; spots dysfunction; troubleshooter; respects power; tackles difficult topics; confrontational; cares about “getting things right”; argumentative; robust.
Visionary Motivator	Articulates a compelling view of future; connects with and energizes people easily; wants to focus on organization’s strengths; uses emotionally charged language; good for low morale or complex situations; upbeat.
Measured Connector	Establishes a few ground rules; goal is “focused reassurance;” connects different agendas and strives for common purpose; slowly creates trust; influences in an unhurried way; well respected; not interested in power politics.

Tenacious Implementer	Driving force in projects; forward-thinking; uses persuasive logic; works on task-related progress; has continuous and targeted communication; has very high integrity; constantly seeks to make things better.
Thoughtful Architect	Designs plan or strategy; may appear introverted; values depth in ideas; respects competence and expertise; very passionate; focused on long-term; sometimes struggles to favor people over concepts; reflective

TABLE 3: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

		2009 Coverage		2013 Coverage	
Television Ads		H/C: 33%	EC: 100%	H/C: 100%	EC: 18%
		F/R: 66%	VM: 0%	F/R: 58%	VM: 100%
		I/O: 33%	MC: 33%	I/O: 50%	MC: 17%
		A/R: 66%	TI: 66%	A/R: 33%	TI: 50%
		P/S: 66%	TA: 0%	P/S: 17%	TA: 25%
		H/C: 40%	EC: 80%	H/C: 83%	EC: 8%
Speeches		F/R: FrFFDF F/R: 40%	VM: 20%	F/R: 42%	VM: 75%
		I/O: 40%	MC: 0%	I/O: 33%	MC: 42%
		A/R: 40%	TI: 60%	A/R: 17%	TI: 17%
		P/S: 40%	TA: 20%	P/S: 8%	TA: 17%

Findings

According to data, Chris Christie did shift his moral foundations and leadership style, largely because of Hurricane Sandy, from 2009 to 2013. As previous studies predicted (Haidt et al., 2009), Christie's first gubernatorial campaign strategy reflected typical conservative moral foundations in his commercials and speeches. His appeals to the five moral foundations were statistically equally distributed among the five dichotomies. Coding for Cameron and Green's Leadership Styles clearly demonstrated that the Edgy Catalyzer was Christie's default role in 2009. One hundred percent of both campaign commercials and speeches were sorted under this style. Christie's commercials were quantitatively based, presented facts and statistics, and were direct and frank (Cameron & Green, 2008). For example, in a TV spot entitled, "Corruption," Christie names the political officials his Attorney General office has thrown in jail and gives specific percentage increases for taxes ("Corruption," 2009). In another campaign advertisement, a diverse group of New Jerseyans discusses how Christie is a "fighter" for anti-corruption, affordability, and fairness in terms of unemployment and education reform ("A Leader," 2009). Christie's determination is further demonstrated through his 2009 Campaign Launch Speech. Christie explains that by his ability to cut expenditures and use the executive power of the line-item veto, the New Jersey government can become more accountable. In the speech, Christie says he has "never shied away from the tough decisions," which implies he understands and is willing to use his own political force to garner economic development ("Christie Launch Campaign Speech," 2009).

Findings show that Christie increased his appeals in the harm v. care dichotomy during the 2013 campaign; in television ads from 33 to 100 percent and in speeches from 40 to 83 percent. Christie also fully embraced the Visionary Motivator leadership model in 2013. In one of his television spots, a voiceover describes his leadership after Sandy: "When tragedy struck, he was there, every step of the way" ("The Difference," 2013). The researcher found Moral Foundations Theory and Leadership Models related when examining how Christie uses the former to bolster his latter position.

In 2013, campaign advertisements have taken a more personalized approach to economic stability and development. Several ads profile individuals who were affected by Hurricane Sandy, such as Leo, a restaurateur, and Frank, an EMT. Equal opportunity and teamwork is emphasized, not executive power. This finding reflects fairness v. reciprocity and harm v. care dichotomies from MFT. Frank claims he was shocked to see a governor checking up on ordinary citizens, saying Christie “brought a sense of normalcy.” Leo explains that Christie has dealt with the local economy “with compassion” (“Leo,” 2013).

Visionary Motivators seek to empower others by emphasizing their followers’ achievements and capabilities, not their own. As seen through the political issue of economic development, Christie’s campaign has shifted stratagem. By focusing on individual contributions and interactions, Christie is demonstrating that he understands his constituency and their concerns and more significantly, will support their resiliency through compassionate policy.

Discussion

The findings from this study questioned the validity of Graham, Haidt, and Nosek’s Moral Foundations Theory. The Moral Foundations Theory argued that liberals emphasize the harm v. care and fairness v. reciprocity dichotomies, while conservatives equally focus on all five, including ingroup v. outgroup, authority v. respect, and purity v. sanctity. In 2009, the Christie campaign generally reflected Moral Foundations Theory. In particular, the television advertisements uniquely emphasized Christie’s role as a U.S. Attorney in cleaning up government corruption, which is a form of the purity v. sanctity dichotomy. In Christie’s speeches, he demandingly told New Jerseyans the state needs “to change the way we budget” and promised an aggressive stance on public safety, improved education, and affordable housing in cities (“Christie Campaigns in Morristown Speech,” 2009). Christie does acknowledge his strengths in forging bipartisanship and eradicating corruption, but under the larger purpose of maintaining accountability and improving the system. For instance, the 2009 ads discussing education reform and

appropriations do not show Christie visiting schools or directly interacting with children or smiling and shaking hands with supporters. It is conveyed that Christie is running to get issues resolved, not to make friends. The ads and speeches followed the model accurately, with forty percent of speeches coded for each foundation. Therefore, Christie's rhetorical appeals in 2009 were consistent with a conservative platform.

The 2013 results suggested Christie's shifted approach in leadership and violation of Moral Foundations Theory. The purity v. sanctity dichotomy of 2009 was no longer emphasized nor were there equally emphasized appeals for Moral Foundations Theory. Chris Christie's second gubernatorial campaign's television advertisements overwhelmingly demonstrated Christie's stressed appeals to harm v. care and fairness v. reciprocity. This shift shows that Christie is increasingly adopting liberal moral foundations, which proves his self-reported bipartisanship. For example, one of Christie's speeches, entitled, "It's Not a Job Anymore," Christie discusses how his love for people has led him to him truly "love being your governor." He remarks that he has found his calling and passion and acknowledges that with a calling, "you do things for people may never even meet" ("It's Not a Job Anymore," 2013). These statements reflected Christie's humanitarianism and value of life, which relate back to the harm v. care dichotomy. The television advertisements and in particular, Christie's speeches, additionally emphasize fairness v. reciprocity. Christie's teacher tenure reforms and increased funding to public schools confirmed that he strongly supported equal opportunity" ("They Said," 2013). In one speech, he takes on a personal approach, explaining that his 3rd-grade teacher is in the audience. In his narrative, Christie becomes the direct connection between New Jersey's past and New Jersey's future. He uses his public education experience to demonstrate how children should be a fair and equal opportunity to succeed. Christie ends the teacher story by commenting that he "doesn't want to disappoint her," creating a form of an ingroup v. outgroup. By combining a personal anecdote with an underlying, accentuated message of fairness v. reciprocity, Christie humanizes himself.

In one 2013 speech, “Put People Ahead of the Party,” Christie explained that every citizen deserves to hear partisan arguments publicly in order to develop his or her own opinions. However, he declared, “It’s got to stop when we need to get things done” (“Put People Ahead of the Party, 2013). Christie expanded the definition of “fairness,” showing that he and other state leaders must give back and fulfill their executive duty for New Jerseyans. This pattern in his speeches showed a departure from the Catalyzer, “whistleblower” role and reiterated that Christie is not a government obstructionist. The concept of fairness v. reciprocity and harm v. care is further seen in how as a Visionary Motivator, Christie includes a variety of demographics in his campaign ads and speeches. In 2009, ads included some individuals of minority descent. In 2013, Christie seems to want to stimulate and support the inclusion of specific groups. Ads such as “Un Mejor Futuro Mas Brillante” and televised speeches to Chinese-American and Korean-American business and civic organizations reflect Christie’s message to support equal opportunities in business and education. By targeting Hispanic and Asian-American audiences, Christie is applying the dichotomy of fairness v. reciprocity, genuinely including and caring about underrepresented populations.

Christie’s default leadership style, an Edgy Catalyzer, may have influenced this campaign decision. While efficient, Edgy Catalyzers are not preferred leaders. Cameron and Green found that even individuals who identified as an Edgy Catalyzer in their natural, default roles were less inclined to favor their own leadership style. Ten percent of Edgy Catalyzers reported that their leadership style was the most attractive, the lowest percentage out of the five roles. This statistic is a sharp contrast to fifty-six percent of Visionary Motivators finding Visionary Motivators as the most preferred leadership style (Cameron & Green, 2008). This strongly indicates that either Edgy Catalyzers have an established belief of what a leader should be and find their style is undesirable or realize the importance of and admire other leadership models. As U.S. Attorney, Christie was known as a hard-hitting, determined leader who fought corruption and fraud. These results shows that campaign strategists wanted to show Christie’s differences, yet saw a need to earn the

Republican Party's respect. Also, they did not want to turn off voters through Christie's gruff image as a U.S. Attorney. Christie demonstrated resoluteness and gained esteem in his work with political lawbreakers, but the campaign needed to show him as a leader for all New Jerseyans. This reasoning possibly explains why the 2009 Christie campaign worked within the party platform and avoided taking risks when developing television advertisements and speeches.

Cumulatively, only four percent of participants found the Edgy Catalyzer style most attractive. New Jersey's circumstances, however, favored Christie's default leadership style. Edgy Catalyzers were rated most effective when improving management and tightening compliance. Christie acted as an Edgy Catalyzer in order to draw attention to the fact that New Jersey was failing socially, economically, and politically and without guidance, the state and its citizens would be direly affected. Screenshots from his television advertisements showed stiff posture, a roving eye, and direct eye contact (Cameron & Green, 2008). This body language matches that of an Edgy Catalyzer. Cameron and Green describe Edgy Catalyzers as effective in situations during which rapid change is necessary and traditions are getting in the way. In 2009, Christie took advantage of his natural leadership style and structured his rhetoric and campaign accordingly.

Hurricane Sandy, which occurred between the two campaigns, created an unusual political circumstance and as a result, provides an exception to Moral Foundations Theory. The superstorm, which severely damaged parts of New Jersey, was a catalyst for Christie to appeal to the harm v. care moral foundation. Hurricane Sandy allowed Christie, like White in 1968 (Ferman, 1985) to unite his community under a noncontroversial, nonpartisan event. Christie used the hurricane as a springboard to energize voters and discuss the importance of listening and working with local officials. This shift in strategy can be further seen through Christie's body language. He smiles more, seems to always be moving, and is quite expressive. Television advertisements illustrate Christie hugging fellow New Jerseyans, patting them on the back, or even affectionately tussling his son's hair. Christie's increased expression

of physical contact shows both his familiarity and warmth. Cameron and Green characterize this posture and outer presentation as a traditional Visionary Motivator (Cameron & Green, 2008). Hurricane Sandy gave Christie both the publicity and in turn, confidence to distinguish himself from the Republican Party. His appeals to harm v. care show a stronger dissent from conservative ideology. It is possible that Christie made deliberate attempts to appease moderates in preparation for a future presidential nomination. By showing his genuine care about his state and citizens, Christie continued to gain respect and support.

Christie's dramatic shift to the Visionary Motivator leadership model further suggests that his campaign is thinking long-term. Forty-seven percent of participants found the Visionary Motivator style to be the best leadership style in terms of both efficiency and popularity (Cameron & Green, 2008). As the most popular leadership style, it is natural that the Christie campaign encouraged Christie to adopt this model in 2013. It should be noted again that while each leader has a default style, each leader can exhibit attributes from the other categories. Christie is still an Edgy Catalyzer; Hurricane Sandy has softened his approach and helped him express the harm v. care dichotomy, in addition to the Visionary Motivator model. Harm v. care appears to be a central characteristic of being a Visionary Motivator. A Visionary Motivator needs to understand and relate with individuals' concerns before encouraging and inspiring them. In order to influence, one must be caring and approachable first.

In addition, Christie adopted many strategic tactics of a Visionary Motivator in his 2013 campaign, such as having dinner with people, speaking in large groups, and spending time with colleagues, such as other New Jerseyan politicians. He is shaping his leadership style based on the state's current situation. After Sandy, there is still a need for transition, risk-taking, and improved morale. Participants ranked the Visionary Motivator model highest (55%) for situations involving "Cultural Change" and fifty-three percent for "Growing a New Enterprise" (Cameron & Green, 2008). Under a Visionary Motivator model, Christie has articulated a compelling long-term view for New Jersey when further explaining the importance of a great public school system and continued economic

growth. The permanence of his niceness is questionable, but Hurricane Sandy has given Christie motivation to be a concerned Visionary Motivator.

On January 8th, 2014, such inconsistencies in Christie's political rhetoric and leadership styles were exposed (Zernike, 2014). Documents revealed that Christie's Deputy Chief of Staff Bridget Anne Kelly pressed for lane closures on New Jersey's George Washington Bridge. The stages of Christie's personal reactions have been repeatedly described as sarcastic, contrite, and later, outrage (Katz, 2014). At first, Christie joked that he was a construction worker on the road. Later, on a local radio show, Christie denied knowledge of the traffic jams saying, "Did I authorize it? Did I know about it? Did I approve it? Did I have any knowledge of it beforehand? The answer is still the same, it's unequivocally no" (Walshe, 2014). The Port Authority official who authorized the closures, David Wildstein, argues that Christie had prior knowledge of the September 2013 incident. Wildstein's lawyer wrote to the *New York Times*, claiming, "evidence exists" that contradicts Christie's public response from press conferences and interviews ("Letter from Wildstein's Lawyer on Lane Closings," 2014).

The motive behind "Bridgegate" is unclear; one theory is that Christie and his staffers sought retribution against local officials such as Fort Lee Mayor Mark Sokolich, who did not endorse Christie in his 2013 gubernatorial candidacy (Zernike, 2014). A ten-week probe conducted by the Christie administration vindicated the governor and supported his earlier reports ("UPDATE: 6-NJ Governor's Internal Investigation Clears Him in 'Bridgegate,'" 2014). The office that Christie once held, the US Attorney of New Jersey, is further examining the matter, along with the NJ legislature and Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

Whether Christie was a ringleader or bystander, he is still an extension of his administration and its leadership. Claiming lack of knowledge, especially for a confrontational, inquiring Edgy Catalyzer, is unusual. Christie did try to initially appeal to a harm v. care moral foundation as well. In statements, Christie said that he was both "outraged and deeply saddened," agreeing with constituents that Kelly and Wildstein's conduct was inappropriate (Geraghty, 2014).

Yet Bridgegate puts a chink in the governor's earlier campaign claims to demonstrate bipartisanship and unity. The media coverage is portraying and pushing Christie, whether he likes it or not, back into an Edgy Catalyzer leadership style with deemphasized harm v. care moral foundations. In responding to attacks on his administration and a damaged reputation, Christie defaults to an aggressive, robust troubleshooter, which as aforementioned is statistically the most unpopular, difficult leadership style for others to readily follow. The deemphasized harm v. care moral foundation can be seen in New Jerseyans' response to the investigation's findings. The report was quickly dismissed as "whitewash," with, in one survey, 56 percent of New Jerseyans doubting the investigation's legitimacy (Cavaliere, 2014). Few authorities, if any, outside of Christie's inner circle have defended him and his marred reputation. Adopting an encouraging, supportive Visionary Motivator role would be a poor rhetorical choice. Christie is in a challenging position, especially considering his potential presidential aspirations in 2016.

The Bridgegate scandal further demonstrates that the sharpest politicians, whether consciously or not, oscillate between varying moral foundations and leadership styles. They understand that ever-changing circumstances in the political sphere call for different means of engaging and maintaining their constituents. However, it should be noted that neither Cameron and Green nor Haidt explicitly discuss one's recovery from political scandal and media scrutiny. Bridgegate reflects both an individual politician's response to an obstacle in his agenda and the need for an ongoing research process.

Conclusion

The findings of this study revealed an intersection between two distinct methods: Moral Foundations Theory and Five Leadership Models. Hurricane Sandy influenced the New Jersey gubernatorial elections by causing Governor Christie to adopt a harm v. care dichotomy and Visionary Motivator leadership style, both of which he applied to revitalize his 2013 reelection campaign strategy. It is possible that a crisis situation like Hurricane Sandy causes generally conservative politicians to temporarily exhibit and emphasize more

liberal moral foundations. Moral Foundations theorists should further study whether different leadership models have propensities to exhibit certain dichotomies and how crisis change the prominence of different styles or roles. Understanding the relationship between Graham, Haidt, and Nosek's Moral Foundations Theory and Cameron and Green's Five Leadership Styles would further help business, media, and civic leaders understand their own approach to crisis while recognizing colleagues' roles and skills. This application has already been applied in the discussion of Chris Christie's campaigns and his January 2014 political scandal. More exploration from the Five Leadership Styles theorists would allow more connection between leadership, temperament, and responsibilities. Elements of different moral foundations and leadership styles could be further evaluated to determine the most effective leaders for a given scenario. This study serves as a valuable learning and development resource for leaders' crisis prevention, response, and management.

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List of Exhibits

2009

Chris Christie Television Ad—"Corruption"
Chris Christie for Governor 2009 Ad "A Leader"
Chris Christie Television Ad "Leadership"
Christie Launches Campaign Speech
Chris Christie Campaigns in Woodland Park Speech
Catching Up With Chris Christie on the Campaign Trail Speech
New Jersey Gubernatorial Debate (10/01/09)
Christie Campaigns in Morristown Speech
Chris Christie Victory Speech (11/03/09)

2013

"Leo" Christie for Governor Ad
"Frank" Christie for Governor Ad
Chris Christie: Right Direction TV Ad
Shaq Endorses Republican Chris Christie TV Ad
"The Difference" TV Ad

“Courageous Leadership” TV Ad
“Bipartisan” TV Ad
“Compassion” TV Ad
“Un Mejor Futuro, Mas Brillante” TV Ad
“They Said” TV Ad
“Meet Barbara Buono” TV Ad
“Governor Christie: Real Leadership for State” TV Ad
“Getting the Job Done” TV Ad
Both Parties Could Use a Seminar Speech
Don’t Disappoint My 3rd Grade Teacher Speech
I’m Honored to Stand with These Men and Women Speech
It’s Been An Incredible Honor to Be Your Governor Speech
Put People Ahead of the Party Speech
This is a Historic Day Speech
This Isn’t a Job Anymore; It’s a Mission Speech
“I Love You, New Jersey” Victory Speech
2013 New Jersey Gubernatorial Debate