



REGIONAL POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN A SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT: IMAGE, PR AND MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS

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Abstract: *The problem of the theoretical study of political leadership is one of the most controversial because the processes of globalisation and the dynamics of social transformations are attributed to the specified range of issues of particular importance. Over the past time, the range of research activities devoted to the issues of leadership has expanded significantly – from the studies by psychologists, lawyers, and neurophysiologists, to theoretical generalisations by social philosophers. Thereby this problem has been enriched by the advances in understanding of socialisation and group self-organisation, which make it possible to develop a number of promising directions in the study of the phenomenon of leadership. The novelty of the study is determined by the fact that the directions of the development of modern society necessitate the search of innovative approaches to this phenomenon, which has received a fundamentally new quality of scientific discourse. The authors show that the general public's ideas about the essential characteristics of political leadership were formed under the decisive influence of conceptions about the uniqueness of this social phenomenon, which can change the course of the historical process and provide its own ethnic group with a prominent place in social*

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progress. The practical significance of the study is determined by the fact that in the recent years, approaches of functional content have become increasingly popular, within the framework of which it is proposed to consider a public and political figure as a manager hired for public activities.

Keywords: *public administration; principles of governance; leader; leadership*

1. Introduction

The matter at issue can be quite exhaustively illustrated by the example of modern politicians, demonstrating their own bureaucratic abilities, showing complete helplessness in solving strategic problems, without even realising the existence of a system of means for their effective solution (Lowndes & Leach, 2004). Moreover, having received a good education at some point, having passed a high-quality bureaucratic training in public administration, the most conscientious of them rise to the highest crossbeams of the service hierarchy – they become presidents, prime ministers, heads of large international organisations. But in modern conditions the impression is that the higher the position they occupy, the less desire they have to foster even the slightest social innovations, if it implies creative problem solving (Lee & Koski, 2012). And the matter can hardly be explained solely by the growth of backward-looking sentiments of the top officials, which by such actions are afraid to show their own incompetence and helplessness in an extreme social situation (Elcock & Fenwick, 2012).

Probably, it should be admitted that the appearance of the “passionary” leaders is a rather rare phenomenon, due to integrity of the historical development of society (Mawdsley et al., 2017). In the authors’ opinion, it has a sporadic character and takes on real shape only when the overwhelming majority of members of this community begin to realise the complete hopelessness of their situation, which only gets worse under the attempts to improve the situation by traditional means (Kenny & Pearce, 2014). It is under such conditions, but far from always, that expectations of the emergence of a passionate leader who will be able cut the knots of traditionally existing social relationships begin to grow in society. The appearance of such people signifies the readiness of society to change, the ability of the most active and dynamic part of it to support social innovations, primarily in the sphere of political relations, the parameters of which, as a rule, undergo the most radical transformations (Gains et al., 2009). At the same time, it should be emphasised that the activity of the leader himself, the level of his ability for radical transformations, is determined primarily by the mobilisation preparedness of relatively small social strata, which, if necessary, can disturb the whole society (Brotherson, 1993). It should be remembered, however, that passionate innovators are simply incapable of acting within existing rules and regulations, the violation of which (often fundamental) is an objective prerequisite for transformative activity (Leach & Wilson, 2002).

Through a series of socio-political transformations, the leader is no longer perceived by society as an individual and a charismatic person who aims to change the world to the benefit of the general public and is an exponent of deep public aspirations (Tömmel & Verdun, 2017). In the context of the transition to an information society, leadership begins to be perceived as a team game, in which each participant performs extremely important and necessary work, and the leader, as the team captain, is just a good performer who got his role thanks to the coach and circumstances, often accidental (Bochel & Bochel, 2010). In the authors' opinion, it is worth making a comparative analysis of political leadership in the classical form and its postmodern interpretations (Haus & Sweeting, 2006). To do this, it is necessary to turn to the study of the typology of leadership in modern political science, which applies the following criteria: functions and role of a leader in society, style and methods of activity, value orientations, the nature of the participation of leaders in the organisation of political power, the scale and level of their influence on society, limits permissible exceptions from the rules and norms that the passionate leaders must rely on (Morrell & Hartley, 2006).

2. Materials and Methods

Examining the principles of governance, the mechanisms of consolidation of power, the authors focus on the analysis of the key concept of the specified range of problems, namely, political leadership, which is formed according to the transformative expectations of society (Gormley-Heenan, 2006). At the same time, any community, primarily for the sake of its own interests, is able to develop mechanisms for monitoring the activities of government institutions and preventing abuse of authority (Beardsworth, 2018). In the course of the study of the social phenomenon outlined above, first of all, consideration should be given to the dynamics of spiritual transformations of the initial positions of political leaders within the framework of modern civil society, that is, focus on the most effective functionality of a politician with leadership attitudes (Zhu et al., 2012). The concept that the political leader of our time is hired by society by voting for him has become quite widespread (Kelso, 2016). In general, its role can be interpreted as a manager-executor, whose activities are clearly defined in advance by electoral desires and sentiments (Goldsmith & Larsen, 2004). The main goal of this type of leader is to strive to meet the expectations of the majority of the people, which were proclaimed during the election campaign and appeals to society by presenting the "most perfect programme" (Lees-Marshment & Smolović Jones, 2018).

A man of today takes this for granted, because the above, in fact, is the work of a modern politician of a new type, although it is worth noting that in this way he is hired. As a manager, this type of politician performs specific functions that distinguish him from an official employee only by the way he comes to power – the politician is not appointed, but elected by popular vote (Morton, 2017). The authors believe that this is what radically takes the problem beyond the classical concept of leadership, because at the level of the general public there is a revolution in the interpretation of the essential characteristics of the leader himself, who, in fact, is presented to society through certain media projects by hired political strategists (Gane, 1997).

Applying the criteria for a theoretical study of the functions and role of a political leader in the system of power relations of a community with sustainable development, it is expedient to provide a fairly reasonable classification of political leaders, dividing them in following way:

- a “salesman” leader – he sees the meaning of his activity in the embodiment and satisfaction of a certain set of needs and interests of his supporters and followers. He considers himself a successful functionary, hired to perform a certain number of tasks and no more. Like an actor on stage, he plays a certain part. Then he considers his mission completed;
- a “fireman” leader – his activity consists in a quick reaction to the conditions of a non-standard social situation, that is, trying to act here and now, counteracting negative conditions or threats to the existence of his own community. Often, this type of leader reveals a whole range of qualities of a skilled organiser, able to upset the existing balance of power in the team. That is why this type of leader is identified in advance, either for neutralisation or for effective use;
- a “puppet” leader – he is influenced by an immediate entourage, whom he unconditionally trusts. Let us emphasise that in this group there is a considerable proportion of pragmatists who are not his personal followers, the interest of these people is more likely focused on their own values and desires, and, as practice shows, these pragmatists are not motivated by altruistic sentiments about society.

3. Results and Discussions

3.1. Characteristics of the Main Directions of Leadership Under Present-Day Conditions

Leadership is often divided into three main areas, which clearly define the main functionality of the three types of leaders. To analyse a modern political leader, it is worth paying special attention to the last, third type, namely, the “puppet leader”. It is clear that in real life it is extremely difficult to single out this type in its pure form, as a rule, it includes elements of the other two, however, within the framework of the information society, this type of leadership has become widespread primarily due to social factors. After all, modern management models necessarily imply theoretical comprehension and elaboration of decisions made by politicians in various fields – military, economic, educational, scientific and technical, and the like. It is clear that a modern politician is obliged to form a professional team of like-minded people, often talented individuals, where he represents only the interests of an elite group that directs the social transformations through compromise decisions between the main players and meeting the minimum requirements of the general public.

When considering the above range of problems, a natural question arises: how justified is the conceptualisation of the third type of leadership as determinative? Indeed, the processes of globalisation inherently presuppose various phases of social transformations, within the framework of which the emergence of other features of

leadership, or even their symbiosis, becomes an urgent social need. The determining factor here is the social situation and the level of cohesion of the passionary strata, the correlative factor of which is the social demand for a certain leadership algorithm. At the same time, the scale of a political leader's activities is determined primarily by his ability to overcome the corporate limitations of his own stratum and the ability to acquire the features of a nationwide opinion leader. Unfortunately, history gives us many examples of the opposite nature – when politicians nominated in the mass consciousness as leaders have not been able to rise above the local level of their own ideological dimensions. In order to more thoroughly analyse the phenomenon of political leadership, let us turn to the analysis of the behavioural models of leadership:

- active-positive is the most effective, because the leader who is inherent in this model is distinguished by productive work, rational awareness of his own tasks, reflexive correlation of personal abilities and capabilities;
- active-negative model, focused on satisfying one's own ambitions through career growth, which is motivated by the egocentric properties of a person;
- passive-positive model of the implementation of duties is aimed at preserving the leader's personal values, ideas, as well as the circle of supporters who force the leader to make political decisions within the framework of unchanging traditions;
- passive-negative model, assumes the minimum fulfilment by the leader of his duties within the framework of the existing system of professional relations, however, such a leader is characterised by either redirection of his own duties or impulsive adoption of rash decisions.

The psychological content of political leadership is an extremely important factor in the pragmatic attitudes of a person applying for a leading social role. At the same time, it should be noted that the psychological component, as a rule, acts only as a background of social expectations and moods of the general public. Considering the typology of political leadership and styles of psychological behaviour in the direction of the implementation of responsibilities, it is worth paying attention to the concept, which notes that, basically, leadership is a product of a social situation. In the various circumstances of the society functioning, among the most passionate strata, private persons who at least partially prevail over others with a certain set of abilities stand out. But it is they who are most acceptable for specific social circumstances, due to specific factors of the entire previous social experience of the community and are dominant in this society. Moreover, the behavioural models of political leaders in previous historical times were determined by mythologised archetypes and rather rigidly regulated the activities of public figures, adjusting them to predetermined algorithms. A person in whom these properties were best developed received a chance to take a leading role in society, and, provided that it is supported by active social strata and the most educated layers for that time, become a charismatic politician, whose real biography and legends about his deeds are striking in their incompatibility.

Indeed, the archetype of the ancestor leader provides for the interpretation of his superiority in all spheres of human activity without exception – political, military,

judicial, organisational, and the like. And even if such a leader loses, the responsibility for the failure is assigned to unfavourable circumstances or to untalented performers who failed to correctly implement the plan of their leader. Thus, the course of socio-political processes directly depends on the intuition and intelligence of the leader, but the influencing possibilities are determined by specific historical factors, within the framework of which the political community and, in fact, the politician himself are formed. This is a function of circumstances, and a person who can be a leader in a particular situation, under other life circumstances, simply will not be able to fully implement his leadership inclinations. A feature of this perspective is that leadership qualities are interpreted as rather relative, although adherents of the situational concept still recognise the need for competence, commitment, self-confidence, readiness to take responsibility for solving a particular problem.

In the authors' opinion, the weakness of the situational concept lies in the underestimation of a person's personal activity, which, having a leadership potential, is nevertheless capable of showing itself not only in the field of public policy, but also in other directions – say, spiritual-intellectual or military. In this context, the opinion of a researcher who has proposed four social models is important, which makes it possible to give a special interpretation to the fact why, after all, some people become leaders and why not only special circumstances determine their nomination:

- 1) if a person has become a leader in one situation, then his chances of taking an appropriate position in other circumstances increase;
- 2) if a person has proven himself as a leader, then he certainly acquired his own authority, which can contribute to the appointment to a leadership position and thereby formalise his leadership;
- 3) the perception of the group is stereotyped, so if a person becomes a leader in one situation, the group will perceive him in the same social role under other circumstances.
- 4) the leader becomes the one who strived for this more, because to strive is to believe in your own capabilities, and this, in turn, is a powerful social motivation that can become the driving force behind the activities of a passionate personality.

The modern theoretical approach to understanding the establishment of leadership is most fully represented in the system theory of leadership. According to it, the leadership is considered as a process of organising interpersonal relations in a group, and a leader is a subject of management of this process and an object of cognitive transformative activity. With this approach, leadership is interpreted as a function of the group, and it should be studied from the standpoint of the goals and objectives of the group, although the socio-psychological structure of the leader's personality should not be out of sight of the researcher. Returning to the topic of political leadership, it should be noted that the approach of the systemic theory of leadership also applies here, just in this case the political leader represents the interests of not a group of people, but civil society as such, which is his direct function. Each vote given by voters for a political leader is designed to satisfy the electoral interests. In other words, the leader's appeal to the interests of the people, as well as the people's faith, can lead a

politician to power, but a politician will only become a real leader when he begins to fulfil his own election promises, otherwise the credit of political trust will begin to fall, as, in fact, his reputation. Political leadership, like any other form of government, has its beginning and end, it is a resource that is fuelled by popular trust.

However, there is another type of governance that can exist after the end of the resource of trust in the leader by his own people and it is called tyranny. Tyranny as a manifestation of political leadership has been well analysed by a significant number of both sages of past eras and modern scholars. It has many conceptual approaches, but all of the indicated intelligence concepts came to a common conclusion – the lack of support from a community is compensated by periodic bribery of a certain part of it and incredibly cruel reprisals against dissenters. And although this kind of government, as a rule, is short-lived and lasts maximum over the rest of the life of one dictator, a historical retrospective shows that entire countries were deprived of tyrants by revolutionary measures and, unfortunately, with massive losses of human lives, often so great that some states were trying to overcome demographic disaster over the centuries. Each tyranny, as a process of ruling, was not without the “will to power”, which is important in this context. In other words, “thirst for rule”, is the ambitious desire to conquer. The term “will to power” was coined by F. Nietzsche in his writings, investing in it the maximum motivation for domination. The will to power is a blind, instinctive, unconscious movement, a powerful impulse that guides and controls the world. In his works, the philosopher divides the types of will in the following areas:

1. The will to live – this concept was inherited from his talented predecessor A. Schopenhauer. The specified type of will personifies the instinct of self-preservation and the inherent desire of a person to live.
2. Internal will – expressed by the personification of the perseverance of thought, the character of a person, an unbending spirit and the ability to develop one’s own beliefs and goals that remain with a person for life.
3. Unconscious will. After analysing which, it can be argued that this idea is consonant with the idea of the essential characteristics of psychoanalysis by S. Freud. It involves the unconscious passions of a person, emotions, instincts that govern him.
4. The will to power – found in every person to a greater or lesser extent. F. Nietzsche emphasises that people are not always rational creatures, because they are not able to control themselves completely. This property, according to the thinker, is present in every living being, that is, everyone wants to conquer others, thus becoming free from the influence of the majority (others). Power is not something that can be used, but something that actually fills all people. It is the main criterion for all human actions. This is a universal principle, the activity of which can be noticed at almost every step of human existence.

The thinker notes that it is not “happiness”, but power that is the main reason, the ultimate goal of a person's struggle. It is the person's awareness of the will to power that is the main sign of happiness. Another component of Nietzsche's philosophy, which is worthy of attention precisely in the context of the study of political leadership, is the theory of the so-called “Übermensch”. This thesis is most fully stated in the work

“Thus Spoke Zarathustra”. The philosopher depicts the “Overhuman” as a person, possessing not only his own destiny, but also the destinies of other people. This phenomenon is interpreted as a carrier of new values, norms, moral attitudes, and viewpoints. The Overhuman should be devoid of generally accepted norms of morality, mercifulness, moreover, he should have his own personal view of the world, correlated with an absolutely free choice of his own behavioural models. According to the philosopher, such a person should be devoid of the ghosts of conscience, because conscience is a mechanism of manipulation, control of weak people. Conscience is an “invisible king” capable of managing the inner life of every person, it has no expiration date. The Overhuman is capable of not taking into account the feelings of others, not paying attention to the fact that someone considers his behaviour to be immoral or deviant.

The main features of the Overhuman are: spiritual creativity, full concentration of the will to power, individualism (total rejection of the norms of society, the rules of the masses). In order to be the Overhuman, says Nietzsche, you need to be an extraordinary (bright) person, you need to stand out from others, this requires constant self-improvement and, no less important, an optimistic life-affirming position. It is worth noting that the philosopher himself points to the fact that the Overhuman does not exist, thus, in passing, predicts its appearance in at least two centuries. According to Nietzsche, modern society is not ready for his emergence, it is not capable of raising it. The Overhuman opposes himself to kind people (including Christians), pointing out their thoughtlessness, such individuals are not capable of creativity, but they are prone to constant lies and hypocrisy, the philosopher emphasises. The Overhuman is the highest biological type, which correlated with the modern ordinary man in the same way, as the monkey correlates with modern people. Having appeared, such a personality will become a completely new type (variety) of a human with unprecedented spiritual greatness.

3.2. Features of Social Changes in the Process of Development of the Human Civilisation

The dynamics of social changes in the process of development of human civilisation is a constantly changing quantity, which is gaining more and more acceleration as social progress, but by no means can be considered as a kind of constant. Indeed, due to a number of factors, both objective and subjective, social transformations can accelerate or decelerate, and even the opposite. At the same time, in certain periods of civilisational development. Such processes are capable of radically changing socio-economic relations within individual communities in the shortest historical time, fundamentally breaking the system of traditional relations and ideological foundations of a society, which functioned for hundreds, and sometimes thousands of years. Such transformations, which radically change society, are usually called a revolutionary upheaval, caused primarily by an outburst of social confrontation between the main social strata and systemic violations of the existing social contract by the ruling circles.

However, historical retrospection clearly demonstrates that deep, truly fundamental and irreversible changes occur within communities capable of using the latest means of interaction between man and nature with a high level of efficiency. This opens up completely new horizons for self-realisation for society, within which the social revolution plays although important, but just a stage in social development. Moreover, a revolutionary shift is far from always capable of securing society from a number of negative social consequences that can negate progressive social shifts and even turn into its opposite. J. Ortega y Gasset have noted that in the course of the revolutionary confrontation, the society forever loses the most dynamic and intellectual share of its members and inevitably falls into stagnation after the revolution, and often rolls back. After all, society gains experience and gets used to solving urgent problems exclusively by forceful means, where human life loses all significance, as, in fact, any spiritual and value guidelines, if opposing social strata are recognised as their spokesmen.

When analysing the course of social processes, increased attention should be paid to reference points, that is, relatively short historical periods when profound transformations take place within society, determining the further vector of community development, sometimes for centuries. However, the innovations proposed to society are by no means always interpreted by the public as a life guide, often even influential social strata in the form of passive or active resistance try to counteract progressive social transformation, without stopping before open forms of struggle. Under such conditions, social strata that prolong innovative changes are able to resist their backward-looking opponents solely by better organisation and effective consolidation of all their available forces, which are often very limited in number. That is why, during periods of heightened social confrontation, as a rule, wins the social stratum, which has managed to foster charismatic leaders oriented towards radical social changes. After all, if the programmes of transformations proposed by such figures prevail in their attractiveness to the declarations of opponents, then the general public will inevitably spill over to the side of the reformers. It is clear that such processes are quite demanding and are often correlated with the dismantling of traditional social institutions; general public perceive this as an inevitable costly component of community progression.

The reasons for this can be explained on the basis of the well-known formula: “the rules are unable and the ruled ones are unwilling?”. Indeed, the upper classes, which in the past have been at the head of the community for quite a long time and were successful, are beginning to realise that the traditional elite is gradually losing leading positions in the spiritual, economic, political, scientific, cultural, military, and other aspects. The most responsible and active part of the old elite comes to the conclusion that changes in society are really necessary, but it connects the current problems with the moral degradation of the whole society, and the ruling circles above all. From their perspective, the incompetent, sometimes criminal government, which has completely lost the traditional value attitudes of previous generations, is the root cause of all current troubles. Therefore, they see the way out of this situation in the consolidation of the ruling circles on the principles of traditional decency and patriotism of heroic ancestors, their readiness to sacrifice in the name of their own community. This position allowed the traditional elite groups to be rather sceptical about their radical

opponents, innovators, who inevitably simplified the task of conquering power and forming a system of governance.

It should be noted that such approaches are primarily conditioned by factors of a political and ideological nature, because they have to constantly come up with slogans and programmes that are attractive and accessible to a wide range of people. Moreover, revolutionary phraseology in itself is a manifestation of extreme populism, which balances on the brink of social demagoguery. But it is this kind of rhetoric that ignites the masses for a revolutionary shift with manifestations of violence, disregard for human lives, and spiritual nihilism in the name of great ideas that will immediately be embodied in a life. Egalitarianism turns into a real factor of social life, often imposing on society not only a radical spiritual discourse, but also adequate activity forms, which can be classified exclusively as archaism. Note that each revolution has its own Jacobin component, which appears to be almost the first experience of reprisals “against own people” in a revolutionary environment, which later becomes the norm for an entire post-revolutionary generation. After all, history shows that revolutionary indignations with their programmes and slogans, and real achievements in the end, are radically different. Just as the Marseillaise marks the beginning of the French Revolution, and the final result is Bonapartism, which, with certain peculiarities, manifests itself in each social revolution.

At the same time, the splendid ideals of the first phase of the revolutionary shift create a breeding ground for charismatic leaders capable of leading the masses by personal example and hot words to successfully destroy the most powerful strongholds of the previous social system. It is clear that leaders of this kind must have characteristics that meet the requirements of the time, among which the most significant is the organic spiritual relationship between the revolutionary leader and the general public. A leader is, first of all, a person of the masses, fostered in its environment, thinks in its terms, perceives the world around it in the same emotional and sensual context as the general public. Such a leader cannot be “alien”, moreover, a leader of this kind is obliged to convince the general public of his readiness to sacrifice his own life at any moment for the sake of the “national well-being”.

It should be pointed out that even the shortcomings of a charismatic leader often contribute to an increase in his popularity, because through a certain set of manipulations with the mass consciousness, negative manifestations can well be declared as a kinship with the people, the consolidation of the leader with the public as an absolute. This kind of manipulation brings to the fore the emotional and sensory component of the leader's perception, as opposed to rational interpretation and objective assessments of his capabilities by impartial researchers. It is clear that in previous historic periods, the community's ideas about their leaders formed under the decisive influence of oral tradition, the level of its compliance with the mythologised algorithm of the public's vision of one or another leader. In the mass imagination the image of each particular leader, his character traits, managerial skills, marriage and family relations, everyday habits, weaknesses, etc., correlated with the ideal of the heroic ancestor-leader. It was those leaders who, according to a number of parameters, met such requirements, got the chance to become prominent political figures, and some of them entered the pantheon of the greatest personalities of their people.

At the same time, with the development of society and the complication of the social hierarchy, mankind was forced to subject its own being to ever greater regulation. It steadily increased the number of managers, functionally oriented to the implementation of certain regulations of activity, outside of which the existence of society becomes simply impossible. We are not talking only about the officials of the state apparatus, who, quite possibly, really took on the functions of organisers and managers of public life in the early stages of state building. This kind of management model, with its consistent implementation, inevitably develops into one of the varieties of a totalitarian system, which, formalising all aspects of social life without exception, becomes so ineffective over time that it simply crumbles from the slightest external influence or internal shock. There are many such examples, including the collapse of the USSR. Note that even powerful social institutions brought up within the framework of the totalitarian paradigm, such as the army, bureaucracy, security agencies, etc., are simply helpless even in the face of minimal threats to this type of state.

One of the main reasons for this lies, in the author's opinion, in the systemic suppression of the slightest display of initiative, if it is at least indirectly capable of deviating from the "general line" of the supreme power. Over time, the most odious executors of the will of the leaders occupy the top tiers of power, but the core of such a management apparatus, by definition, resists any innovations or non-standard approaches, which will inevitably lead to stagnation and decline of totalitarianism as a system. At the same time, it should be noted that the totalitarian social model is capable of reproducing itself for a long time in the mass consciousness as an idealised state mechanism capable of providing the general public with certain preferences. And it is not just the monology of the system, which produces an exceptionally unified approach (absolutely correct, scientifically grounded and highly moral) to assessing social processes as opposed to alternative viewpoints, which are interpreted as false and immature.

Totalitarianism always strives to keep pace with populism, because it appeals to the social lower classes, on which it is relatively easy to impose certain ideological stereotypes based on one-dimensional perception of reality. This means that it is easy to direct their energy to overcome a certain set of problems, provided that these problems are partially or completely mythologised. Firstly, the myth presupposes a clear two-sided division of the world – "friend – foe", within the framework of which the opposite side is responsible for all the troubles in the world, including the troubles of their own community. Secondly, the mythological paradigm removes responsibility for any actions and even crimes committed within the framework of a totalitarian system from a single individual, because each of the participants fulfilled the will of the governing body, clearly realising what awaits him if he refuses to follow orders. Thirdly, the mythologised consciousness gravitates towards simplified stereotypes of the interpretation of social life, and, consequently, towards a linear projection of social transformations based on sensory-figurative reproduction of reality. The reasons for this lie primarily in the lack of management experience and the inability to systematically analyse the problems that arise in society.

After all, a large proportion of new public servants came to power structures (at a sufficiently high level and without proper training), thanks to populist slogans about

their own unity with the leading social strata, which should automatically provide this kind of “people's” representative with the support of the general public. Under these conditions, the incompetence of the bureaucracy of the new conscription begins to acquire a mass character, which they unsuccessfully try to solve by increasing the personnel of the managerial level, who, however, are simply unable to fulfil the tasks assigned to them. And all this is covered with loud declarations about “people's power”, “government of popular trust”, “reform course” and the like. That is why, after a fairly short time, the new elite stratum is forced to involve first individual representatives, and later even certain social groups of the old bureaucratic apparatus, which is gradually assimilating within the framework of the new management system. The newly created ruling stratum simply has no other choice, because the state is so weakened by internal confrontation, contradictory tendencies of social life and formative state institutions, the risk of its collapse becomes a reality. Involving representatives of the old bureaucracy is a means of renewing its effectiveness in the context of managing social systems, and in fact it is a compromise that the new ruling stratum is forced to make. In the authors’ opinion, statism, that is, the dominance of state priority in all spheres of public life, is the completed ideological form of this kind of compromise. Under these conditions, the concept of a national state acquires a sacred meaning, of the highest value, outside of which the self-development of the titular nation becomes simply impossible.

However, hopes that the statism of the totalitarian regime is gradually transforming into the limits of civilisational progress turned out to be illusory. As Hegel once noted in “Philosophy of Law”, if within a social community the defining components of social life, primarily political and economic, are “inextricably linked,” then there is a real threat for it “to directly turn into a state of cruel tyranny or anarchy (an example is Roman history) and be destroyed”. The above thought of Hegel gives grounds to conclude that the totalitarian system can rely not only on the spiritual constructs of egalitarianism (which have been thoroughly studied in the research papers, including Russian), but also on statism, as a universal and rather effective means of consolidating society under extreme conditions.

At the same time, it should be noted that these spiritual constructs gravitate towards monology, and do not admit any concept as equal in rights, primarily of an ideological nature. This is what gives grounds to consider them as a kind of correlate of totalitarianism, fundamentally incompatible with the spiritual polyphony of the information society. However, the question arises as to the functioning of the statist ideology, which the administrative stratum is supposed to be guided by, especially in the presence of political instability or external aggression. In countries where the institutional foundations of modern education and science have been created with the corresponding intellectual potential and a high level of professionalism of the general public, the establishment of the state ideology must necessarily acquire a fundamentally new quality.

Firstly, the mechanism for making managerial decisions, even insignificant ones, in the new conditions should be public in nature with the involvement of professional representatives of civil society. Their task is to substantiate the expected results of the innovation to the general public with the help of media sources. It is clear that the

parameters of observance of the so-called state secrets, as the core of bureaucratic influence, should be minimised, and the widest possible involvement of society in discussion and decision-making at the state level should be generally accepted practice. At the time of inclusion in the real practice of social relations such forms of direct democracy as referendums, plebiscites, civil actions, discussion of state normative documents and the like.

Secondly: the sphere of the state ideological doctrine should be directly involved in the socio-scientific, political, educational, military aspects and be devoid of determining influences on certain spheres of social life – confessional, ethnocultural, economic, legal, family and marriage, etc., where its presence should be of an indirect nature.

Thirdly: the format of the state ideology should correspond to the public needs of the absolute majority of the general public, directly rely on the existing worldview and cultural archetype of the titular nation, which acts as a guide for both a single individual and the general public and social groups. The fundamental factor in the development of all, without exception, successful countries of the world is the state ideological doctrine, the influence of which is far from always limited to its own territories or ethnic boundaries.

4. Conclusions

It should be noted that statism, under certain social circumstances, is capable of playing an extremely important role of national consolidation in the face of a threat to its existence. It is worth mentioning the phenomenon of statism in Turkey at the time of Atatürk, its specific manifestations in the Soviet Union during the fight against Nazism. After all, it is known, within the framework of the communist doctrine, the state is interpreted as a historically temporary formation, which the communists use as a tool in the struggle for the victory of world communism. It is clear that during the Nazi invasion, this kind of doctrine, correlated with the systemic crimes of the Stalinist regime, carried out on behalf of the Soviet state, could in no way acquire the status of a nationwide shift. Therefore, having suffered a series of strategic defeats and standing on the verge of a military-political collapse, Stalin began to actively use the ideological doctrine of statism as an effective means of consolidating the general public against Nazism. Defending the Motherland, defending national and cultural values, restoring historical memory and honouring folk heroes, reducing confessional oppression and imitating dialogue with religious communities of different denominations – this is a far from the complete list of the ideological principles of statism of that period.

Note that the overwhelming majority of countries in the process of formation includes within their borders peoples who differ in ethnocultural terms, are at different stages of social development and have different modes of economic life. As a rule, such state formations are formed under the decisive influence of one passionate ethnos, which sets the algorithm for the spiritual life of the whole country and quite justifiably received the name of the titular nation. Other ethnic groups either assimilate within the state, or the ruling strata find compromise solutions regarding the mutual coexistence of the titular nation with ethnic minorities on the basis of equality in at least one or several important spheres of social life. A characteristic feature of this process is the

lability of the ruling circles, which, feeling a threat to their own status, strive to find compromise solutions as soon as possible to the establishment of optimal relations with the titular nation, up to complete dissolution in it. At the same time, such processes also have the opposite character – the dependent ethnos exerts influence (often of a radical nature) on the course of socio-cultural processes within the entire community, thereby contributing to its spiritual renewal.

Authorship

All authors contributed equally to the study. D.S.K. and L.V.Ch. conceptualized and designed the study. D.S.K. was responsible for the overall project supervision. V.M.V. was responsible for data curation. V.D.U. and I.Yu.Sh. were responsible for data analyses. D.S.K. and L.V.Ch. led the manuscript preparation and all authors contributed to manuscript drafting.

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