

NATIONAL POLITICAL LEADER AS A SUBJECT OF SOCIETY INTEGRATION

Aleksey Radugin¹, Boris Chernyshov²

¹Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, Voronezh State Technical University, 84, 20-letiya Oktyabrya St.,
Voronezh, Russia, E-mail: aradugin@yandex.ru

²Member of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, 1, Okhotny Ryad St., Moscow, Russia,
E-mail: borischernishov@gmail.com

Abstract

The article is devoted to the issue of the nature of political leadership. The authors endeavored to consider the main methodological approaches to the concept of “political leader”, to reveal the specifics of understanding this phenomenon in the framework of various conceptual settings, to prove that the determining quality of a national political leader is subjectivity, to identify the main resources of subjectivity, which enable him/her to act towards consolidation of society.

Keywords: political leader, leadership qualities, subjectivity, social context, capital of a political leader, social functions of a political leader.

I. INTRODUCTION

The development of social processes in the modern era creates diverse challenges for various societies. Among these challenges, a significant place is occupied by social and cultural polarizations. Their development leads to increased conflicts, the disintegration of society. The government is called upon to give an adequate answer to these challenges. In the system of state power, a significant role is played by national political leaders, who have a primary influence on the decision-making process at all levels of government. In modern political science, there are quite a lot of works in which various aspects of the phenomenon of political leadership are studied. However, the role of national political leaders in solving the problem of overcoming social and cultural polarizations and consolidating society in political science literature has not been adequately developed. In our opinion, the study of factors that can contribute to overcoming social and cultural polarizations, the role of national political leaders in the implementation of integration processes is a topical issue for the modern world. To solve this problem, it is necessary to answer a number of questions: what is the nature of political leadership? What are the conditions for obtaining the status of a national political leader? What is the subjectivity of a political leader and what resources create an opportunity for him/her to realize subjectivity in the political process?

The purpose of this study is to analyze the main methodological approaches to the concept of “political leader” on the basis of the analysis of the existing socio-humanitarian discourse devoted to the nature of political leadership, to identify the main resources of the subjectivity of a national political leader, which create an opportunity for him/her to consolidate society.

II. METHODOLOGY

The mansidedness and multidimensionality of the phenomenon of national political leadership, in the center of which is a person, determined the interdisciplinary nature of this research. The methodological basis of the study is a set of general scientific approaches to the study of issues of politics, government, political systems, political leadership. To reveal various aspects of the nature of political leadership, methodologies of personality psychology and social psychology, philosophical, sociological and political science approaches have been used. The principles of system analysis have been applied in the work, which allowed to create a holistic understanding of the subject of the research.

III. DISCUSSION

In socio-humanitarian literature, the nature of the political leadership institution has received many conceptual interpretations. The study of political leadership in the history of the political thought dates back to the works of ancient authors, in which prominent statespersons acted as political leaders and their activities were evaluated in the terms of morality. [19]. In the XVI-XVII centuries in line with the studies of the nature of power and management in the works of

N. Machiavelli, T. Hobbes, the substantiation of leadership is separated from the ideas of virtue, justice, and morality. In Russia, the background of the study of the phenomenon of political leadership was created at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries while developing the issue of the role of personality in history. The Russian philosophers N. Mikhailovsky, P. Lavrov, P. Kropotkin, G. Plekhanov, I. Ilyin, P. Novgorodtsev, who at that time developed the main aspects of this issue, addressed to the topic of the role of personality in history and his/her interaction with the masses. In Marxist socio-humanitarian literature, this problem was solved on the basis of the formation approach: the personality of a leader and leadership are generally dependent on the socio-economic basis and historical context, which determine their (leaders') main activity, behavioral and strategic paradigms and trajectories, although a certain degree of freedom and independence is nevertheless declared.

In the XX century, in the Western social and humanitarian thought of modernization, a significant place is given to the problem of intersubject relationships in the leadership structure, including the relationship between the concepts of the leader and the manager. This is proved by the works of E. Athos, W. Burke, R. Bearstead, D. Brass, R. Kanter, N. Mayer, C. Miller, R. Monge, R. Porter, P. Potts [1, 6, 7, 9, 12, 18].

In political science, active research on political leadership has been underway since the 1970s. It is necessary to mention foreign authors J. Blondel, J.M. Burns, J. Gardner, M. Reggie, C. Phillips, G. Elcock. They turned to the study of both behavioral (role) leadership, considering the dynamics of the leader's behavior as an interaction between a person and the environment, and the institutional positional (status) leadership. However, despite the growing interest in the study of political leadership, far from all the aspects of this multifaceted phenomenon have been studied sufficiently. And, first of all, this concerns the analysis of the role of the national political leader as a subject of social integration.

IV. RESULTS

Methodological approaches to the concept of "political leader." One of the original concepts of the nature of political leadership was presented by the leading German sociologist and philosopher Max Weber. He put forward the idea of the transcendental nature of political leadership: political leadership is not the result of socialization of the individual, not his or her merit, but the result of the action of supernatural forces.

A person becomes a political leader because he/she is called to this role by higher powers, God. God chooses this or that person to fulfill the calling and grants them their grace. According to M. Weber, a person becomes an authoritative leader, because he or she has a special charisma, that is, some outstanding qualities, thanks to which people themselves perceive him/her as a person endowed with "supernatural, superhuman or exceptional abilities and talents" [23].

The problems of political leadership received the fullest development in the framework of the political-psychological approach. The most common leadership theory was the "trait theory", the developers of which are L. Bernard, V. Binham, S. Kilbourne, O. Ted considered it necessary for the leader to have such qualities as initiative, energy, risk-taking, persistence in achieving goals, raised self-esteem, ability to influence the behavior of others, the ability to accept the consequences of one's action.

Motivational theories are adjacent to the "Trait Theory" from a perspective of the methodology of personality psychology. One of the most famous authors of this theory, the US psychologist A. Maslow believed that a leader in his or her activity realizes two types of power needs: the need for strength, achievements,

autonomy and freedom and the need for domination, reputation, prestige, success, status [16]. The most common in science is a political science approach to the problem of leadership. From this point of view, any leader is, first of all, a political leader, since "leadership is nothing but a kind of power" [4]. The main goal of a leader, according to Jean Blondel, is to encourage members of the community (nation) to take certain actions. Close to the theory of Blondel is L. Daunt's approach, according to which leadership is determined by a decision-making process and the leadership position in the team [21].

The development of the methodology of social psychology allowed to develop another approach, called the "Environmental Theory" or Situational Theory. Supporters of this theory, the US social psychologists R. Stogdill and S. Gibb expressed the opinion that an individual becomes a leader due to his/her ability to apply his/her individual qualities in certain situations, and thus to establish the "leader-follower" relationships among them and other subjects [20]. "Followers," writes W. Blank, "are the element that underlies leadership, the presence of which gives everyone and everywhere the right to be considered a leader ... Lincoln, Lenin, King ... became leaders when they found followers ... Followers are allies, who represent the obligatory flip side of the coin called leadership"[3].

US social psychologists W. Thomas and F. Znaniski define the concept of "situation" as a set of relationships, attitudes and values that a person or a group of people have to deal with and thanks to which their actions are planned in advance, and successful completion of actions is encouraged [22]. Russian philosopher M.A. Men', who studied the nature of leadership, have replaced the concept of the environment or situation with the more accurate and capacious concept of "social context". According to M.A. Men': "social context is determined by the set of social, economic, political and cultural conditions that characterize a specific society in a specific precise historical period of time" [17].

A leader as a subject of social transformations. We can agree with representatives of the situational theory of leadership that the nomination of a leader in such a position and the direction of the activity are largely determined by the socio-political situation or social context. It should be recognized that the main quality of a leader, which makes him/her a political leader, is subjectivity. Subjectivity as an active practical outset, integrating and manifesting the potentials of a person appears in various forms of his/her activity. The defining quality of subjectivity is power as the ability to initiate changes in nature and in society. The following definition of subjectivity can be given: subjectivity is an active practical outset that carries all the potential of a person, reveals his/her ability, on the basis of consciousness and will, to carry out creative constructive actions, transform and create new social circumstances, and change the course of historical events.

So, a political leader is that person who is able to transform reality, the social context of activity. However, in order to realize his or her subjectivity, a political leader needs to have in his/her assets resources, or, as the French sociologist P. Bourdieu puts it, - capital. From the point of view of P. Bourdieu, the combination of tangible and intangible resources that reflects the leader's position in the political field and his or her political weight can be called the capital of a political leader [5]. In addition to political resource,

P. Bourdieu mentions symbolic, social, economic, human, and cultural ones as the main resources of a political leader. All these resources can be mutually converted and take the form of political capital, thereby contributing to effective activities of a political leader.

According to the logic of P. Bourdieu, political leaders at the national level in order to be effective, first of all, have to have significant weight in the political field. The effectiveness of a political leader, his or her subjectivity largely depends on the possession of political capital. Based on the traditional understanding of capital, the capital of a political leader can be defined as a combination of various resources, reflecting the leader's position in the political field, the ability to use them to implement power relations.

Political capital is a form of symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is the most important resource of symbolic power, or, as P. Bourdieu puts it, "the power to create things with words" [5]. Symbolic capital is the reputation, authority, prestige that a political leader possesses. If a political leader possesses it that means that the society provides this individual with a credit of trust, recognizes him or her as their leader and considers his or her authority to be legitimate. Possessing symbolic capital can be a result not only of activities in the political sphere, but also in other social areas. Political capital is the result of the transfer of trust in a particular political institution, political party, or political movement – to the personality of the individual who currently represents this institution.

An important resource of a political leader is social capital. In the interpretation of P. Bourdieu, social capital is a combination of current and potential resources accumulated by individuals or groups due to the presence of a stable network of more or less institutionalized connections or relations of mutual acknowledgment. The core of social capital is the leader's trust in his environment. After coming to power,

national political leaders begin to form their own team, surrounding themselves with people whom they trust, not only in terms of their professional competence, but also in terms of personal devotion. In the concept of the US sociologist J. Coleman, "social capital is the ability of individuals to manage limited resources on the basis of their membership in a particular social network or a broader social structure ... The ability to accumulate social capital is not an individual characteristic of a person, it is a feature of the network of relationships, which the individual builds. Thus, social capital is a product of a person's involvement in the social structure"[5]. An important resource of a political leader is also economic capital. Therefore, the possession of weighty economic capital can significantly help a leader to obtain and accumulate political capital. For a political leader, the presence of a certain set of personal qualities and skills is also significant. In the concept of P. Bourdieu, this set is fixed by the concept of "habitus". In his concept, habitus means a certain set of traits and dispositions that an individual has and which are the result of his/her previous experience. P. Bourdieu notes that political "habitus" requires special training, which is expressed, first of all, in a certain level and nature of education, in mastering a number of special skills. In the economic literature, this aspect of leadership resources is called human capital. The US economist G. Becker interprets the concept of "human capital" as "a combination of innate and acquired knowledge, skills and motivations, the appropriate use of which helps to increase income at the level of an individual, enterprise or society" [2]. The structure of human capital includes health, labor, educational, cultural and moral capital. Significant elements of human capital are social competence, social intelligence, focus on success. Social competence is a personal quality that ensures the interaction of the individual with the environment, with other people and society. In its most general form, a person's social competence can be characterized as a worldview attitude, expressing the person's understanding of the relationship "I" and "the world, ""I" and society", the ability to choose effective social guidelines and organize their activities in accordance with these guidelines. The presence of social competence means the social maturity of an individual, the highest level of adaptation to environmental conditions, allowing the individual to effectively affirm their high status and fulfill their life roles. It represents a social methodology of personality, specifically guiding and regulating all his/her social manifestations, serves as the basis for the formation and development of social intelligence. Social intelligence represents a cognitive component of a person's communicative abilities. It integrates the cognitive processes associated with the knowledge of social objects, the understanding of people's deeds and actions. Social intelligence is an integral ability of a personality that determines the success of his/her social adaptation and the level of success of social interaction. The possession of social competence and social intelligence based on it creates the prerequisites for the social success of an individual.

Cultural capital is one of the most important elements in the structure of leadership capital. Values are a connecting link in leader-follower relationship, because, on the one hand, followers are guided by the basic values that the leader proclaims that are fixed in his image, on the other hand, the leader in his/her actions must adhere to those value orientations that are basic to modern society. It is values that act as the core of such important components of politics as political culture, political consciousness, and ideology. Therefore, a leader's clear vision of the value system needed by society, and reliance on it is a prerequisite for social consolidation. The political leaders of Western states in the XX – the beginning of the XXI century in their political activities are guided by a system of liberal democratic values: political principles of freedom, equality, democracy, individualism, human rights, legality and inviolability of private property [11]. In recent decades, in order to integrate society, political leaders of Western societies have also paid much attention to the values of cultural pluralism, racial and ethnic equality. Among all the opportunities that a political leader possesses, among all his resources, a special role, in our opinion, should belong to cultural capital. The cultural capital of a political leader is not only a social reserve of his/her expertise, knowledge and skills, but also the ability to formulate values and ideals that would motivate his/her followers to create conditions for a happy future.

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of political leadership, it is shown that in modern domestic and foreign scientific literature there are many approaches to the study of this social phenomenon, but, as a rule, affecting certain aspects of the study of this phenomenon: the emphasis is either on the study of the political leader personality, either on the characteristics of his/her followers, or on the impact that the socio-political context has on the leader's activities. We believe that the dominant quality of a leader, which makes him/her a political leader, is subjectivity. The political leader in society acts as an active entity, capable of carrying out creative constructive actions, transforming and creating new social circumstances, relying on his political, symbolic, social, economic, cultural and human capital. All these capitals can be mutually converted and take the form of political capital, which contributes to the effective activity of a political leader.

A political leader, by definition, has a high status position and plays important social roles. Among them we find regulatory, prognostic, guidance, mobilization, communicative, innovative, social arbitration, and patronage ones. One of the key roles of a political leader is an integrating role. Political leaders at the national level are called upon to unite the citizens of their country around common goals, to consolidate social groups on the basis of common value orientations.

In view of the above said, we can give the following definition of a political leader: a political leader is an active authoritative person who possesses political, symbolic, social, economic, cultural and human capitals, occupying a high status position in the system of power, capable of carrying out creative constructive actions, transforming and creating new social circumstances mobilizing the population to solve the problems of consolidation and development of society.

REFERENCE LIST

1. Athos A. (1981) *The Art of Japanese Management: Applications for American Executives*. New York. 221 p.
2. Becker G.S. (1992) *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*. Chicago. *The University of Chicago Press*. Pp. 62-65. (in English).
3. Blank W. (1995) *The Nine Natural Laws of Leadership*. New York. *AMACOM*. Pp. 10. (in English).
4. Blondel J. (1992) *Political Leadership: The Path to Comprehensive Analysis*. URL: <https://textbooks.studio/teoriya-politiki-uchebnik/politicheskoe-liderstvo.html>. (in Russian).
5. Bourdieu P. (2007) *Social space sociology*. *Institute of Experimental Sociology*. *Aletheia*. St. Petersburg. 288 p. (in Russian).
6. Brass D. (1985) *Men's and Women's Networks: A Study of Interaction Patterns and Influence in an Organization*. *Academy of Management Journal*. Pp. 327-343. (in English).
7. Burke W. (1986) *Leadership as Empowering others. How Executives Influence People and Organizations*. San Francisco. Pp. 51-77. (in English).
8. Gardner J. (1986) *The nature of leadership: introductory considerations, leadership papers*. Washington. 56 p. (in English).
9. Goodman P., Porter R., Allen R., Angle H. (1981) *The Politics of Upward Influence in Organizations*. *Research in Organizational Behavior*. Greenwich. Pp. 109-149. (in English).
10. Hobbes T. (2013) *Leviathan, or Matter, the form and power of a church and civil state*. M. 503 p. (in Russian).
11. Huntington S. (2004) *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity*. N.Y. *Simon and Schuster*. 46 p. (in English).
12. Kanter R. (1981) *Power, Leadership, and Participatory Management*. *Theory Into Practice*. Pp. 219-224. (in English).
13. Kelley R.E. (1992) *The Power of Followership: How to Create Leaders People Want to Follow and Followers Who Lead Themselves*. New York. *Doubleday*. 94 p. (in English).
14. Machiavelli N. (1998) *Sovereign. Reasoning about the first decade of Titus Libya*. Rostov-on-Don. *Publishing house Phoenix*. 576 p. (in Russian).
15. Mark Tullius Cicero (1994) *Philosophical treatises on the state*. First day. Book I. URL: <http://ancientrome.ru/antlitrt/t.htm?a=1414870001>. (in Russian).
16. Maslow A. (2002) *Theory of human motivation. Motivation and personality*. St. Petersburg. *Eurasia*. 352 p. (in Russian).
17. Men' M.A. (2013) *Leadership as an organizational phenomenon: the relationship of social and personal aspects (socio-philosophical analysis): abstract of a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*. M. 40 p. (in Russian).

18. Miller K.I., Monge R. (1986) Participation, Satisfaction and Productivity: A Meta analytic Review. *Academy of Management Journal*. Pp. 727-753. (in English).
19. Plutarch. (1964) Comparative biographies. URL: <http://www.opentextnn.ru/man/index.html?id=6244>. (in Russian).
20. Stogdill R.M. (1948) Personal Factors Associated With Leadership. *Journal of Psychology*. № 25. - P. 35-71. (in English).
21. Stolyarenko L. D. (2005) Psychology of business communication and management. M. URL: <https://uchebnikfree.com/delovoe-obschenie-psihologiya/teorii-tipyi-liderstva-17637.html>. (in Russian).
22. Thomas W. (1947) The Définition of the Situation. *Social Psychology*. New York. P. 76-77. (in English).
23. Weber M. (1999) Charismatic domination. *Psychology and psychoanalysis of power*. T. 2. Samara. 576 p. (in Russian).
24. Yakutina O.I. (2011) Social practices of success: the discourse of everyday life and the socio-philosophical concept: dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. *Rostov-on-Don*. 383 p. (in Russian).