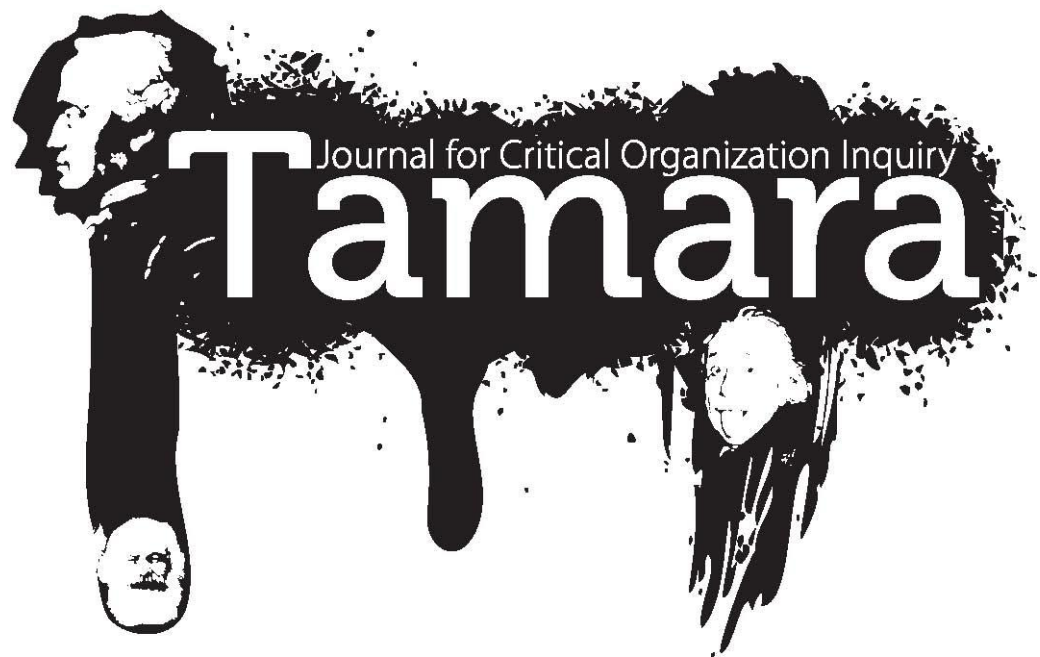


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Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts

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Abstract

Defining the phenomenon of leadership is a procedure causing difficulties, so they are stereotypically analysed in the biographical context (the key role is then played by the leader) or through the prism of historicism (a leader as an element in the historical processes). Less and less involvement of the social groups and units into political activities and deideologisation of life popularise the thesis about the crisis of the political leadership as the aspect of power, form of influence, personification of the idea of governance. It can be assumed that the existence of the phenomenon of political leadership is a phenomenon bordering on politics, sociology and psychology, showing clear analogies with the religious leadership, that is the institutional one.

Theories of leadership undergo modernisation, changes included the theory of outstanding individuals and behaviours, situational theories, cultural concepts of leadership, models of charismatic leadership, transformational, phenomena replacing the leadership. From many forms of leadership, the political leadership has potentially the largest possibility to modify the behaviour of other people. Political leadership, and in particular state leadership, is a significant value belonging to the socio-political sphere. Being a leader today is a special value on the market of politics, but it is also a great responsibility.

The way of studying leadership problematic aspects undergo a transformation, concepts and research methods are changing. The set of political power definitions and phenomena like leadership, influence, strength, management, supervision, authority and ascendancy is increasing. It derives principally from changes, that happened in a political research methodology, which puts more pressure on social context in the political system and its surroundings. Contemporarily, the most popular methods to analyse leadership phenomenon include: studies based on biographical background, in a way of demonstrating the leader as a key element; or studies that view the leader (not infrequently as a creator) in the light of history.

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Many latest research papers underline the demand of interdisciplinarity of studies that concern leadership legitimization, moreover they indicate processuality as a one of elements which continue the studies. Thesis around the crisis in leadership is becoming less favored meanwhile, a form of personification a concept of governance, after years somewhat scientists' less interest, in view of intensifying role of leading in political systems and international environment today, a „renaissance of leadership” arises once again. Leadership studies highlight problem of personal aspect, however situational context analysis, including historical and cultural or socio-economic determinants, has also become significant (Bager, 2015, p. 37).

Meanwhile, in literature it is popular to move the studies on leadership from the political level to the social one (micro, meso-, macro-structural), as well as scientific, artistic, technical, etc. (Kaczmarek, 2001, p. 50). The political sciences terminology is imported also to the conceptual sphere by the managerial sector. The key distinction is the division into management and leadership. The basis of the division is the criterion of the need for the existence of supporters. Concepts and typologies of leadership are built based on many criteria, however, they are not always adequate to the reality and they keep pace with the dynamic changes of the political structure and its main institutions, including leadership (Jakubowska, 2001, pp. 43-44)¹. A derivative of the visions adopted by the society includes the model of the ideal leader (for example integrated with the supporters or building the distance in leadership relations).

A specific type of political leadership is the labour leadership, which compiles elements of leadership and administration. Depending on the character of the association, the leadership model has the bureaucratic or personality features. According to Jacek Sroka:

“It is easy to see that in the large bureaucratic trade unions, much more than in other organisations, the management of the hierarchical and specialised administrative apparatus requires a combination of managerial abilities (organisational) with leadership” (Sroka, 2005, p.162).

Classic union leadership is two-type: these are company leaders and organisational-political leaders. Problems affecting the union leadership seem to be common to the problems of the political leadership, and the crisis which nowadays affects the trade unions is a derivative of the crisis of union leadership (Kozek, 2003, pp. 149-160). As part of the union leadership, like in the political leadership, it is possible to distinguish the transformational style, popular in the over company levels of management of the trade unions and the transactional style, present at the company level.

Undeniably the leadership is fundamental political institution and the analysis of current political events forces to meet the demands of area of symbolic research and institutional dimension of leading. Political leadership and its particular form – national leadership – remain, despite of political life deideologisation, as one of the most forceful forms of wielding influence. However, being a leader is not identical to fulfilment of the leadership role as it principally arises from normative system. Nevertheless, social request for aforementioned phenomenon is major leadership's power source, accordingly, formal and legal determinants perform a secondary or complementary role. Specificity of subject matter and developments on international stage force widen spectrum of research problem by including relationships between personal authority, informal authority and socio-political leadership's role.

Andrzej Chodubski underlines the importance of this phenomenon:

“Understanding the “leadership” as the ability to subdue individuals, groups and organisations and governing their behaviours, and at the same time referring them to the historical process, it can be observed that it is the fundamental political institution” (Chodubski, 2005, p.81).

The immutable axiom can be the thesis that the leadership does not exist without followers, supporters or sympathisers. Less and less involvement of the social groups and units into political activities and deideologisation of life popularise the thesis about the crisis of the political leadership as the aspect of power, form of influence, personification of the idea of governance. It can be assumed that the existence of the phenomenon of political leadership is a phenomenon bordering on politics, sociology and psychology, showing clear analogies with the religious leadership, that is the institutional one. From

¹ U. Jakubowska shows: “There is no convincing empirical evidence that the peripheral elements of the political message (i.e. non-formal contents, aimed at (...) shaping certain emotional approaches, e.g., eye colour, clothing) may cause radical changes in the attitude against the politician”, U. Jakubowska, 2001, p. 46.

Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts many forms of leadership, the political leadership has potentially the largest possibility to modify the behaviour of other people.

Theories of leadership undergo modernisation, changes included the theory of outstanding individuals and behaviours, situational theories, cultural concepts of leadership, models of charismatic leadership, transformational, phenomena replacing the leadership. The clear picture of the political leader is blurred, because there is a series of civilisation changes, determining the new format of studies of this issue. According to Tadeusz Bodio:

“The decreasing “explanatory power” of the existing theories of leadership is clearly revealed towards the new research challenges” (Bodio, 2001, p. 26).

Originally, the unique position of the leader has been explained by his above-average characteristics. Nowadays, we can observe a tendency to move away from the phenomenal interpretation of leadership for the analysis of its routinisation, although also the attempts to connect the phenomenological and normative approach are undertaken. The need to analyse the phenomenon of leadership as a specific, syncretic phenomenon in its nature is certainly reasoned.

The aim of this article is to demonstrate the condition of political leadership research, illustrated predominantly in Polish scientific literature. Delivering English-speaking reader Polish politicalology literary output will allow international scientific bodies to enrich numerous valuable theoretical proposals, likewise will enable to grasp „Polish politicalological point of view” presented in political leadership research. It is worth to emphasize that significant part of mentioned literary output has a universal value and is exclusively focused on the political leadership research through the Eurocentric prism.

The clarification of the role of leadership and processes created by leaders in the context of specific political situations, often changes the original opinions, because it turns out that the personal dimension of power is only seemingly decisive for the analysis of these events. The model of a leader is dictated by the situational context, but also the leader has the ability to modify the situation, in which he functions. The behavioural interpretation of leadership recognises leadership as a consequence of actions, and not the innate property (Porębski, 1996). Therefore, we can rather talk about the constant becoming a leader than being him. This is due to the series of circumstances, historical, economic, social, cultural, etc. conditions. The psychosocial motivations impacting the political leadership remain unchanged: opportunism of individuals, desire to get rid of responsibility and its transfer to other units, need to have authority. Bohdan Kaczmarek proposes a broad understanding of leadership:

“In the light of the foregoing considerations and the adopted convention, leadership is a character, type, form, symptom, aspect, specific feature, or instrument of power, which has a relational and conscious character” (Kaczmarek, p. 58).

According to this author, leadership can be viewed in several aspects, as: personal power, concentrated power, authority, ability to build a structure, power exercised without the need to use coercion, informal power (or informally validated), particular ability to exercise power, leader-advocates bond, social and political role (Kaczmarek, p. 58).

As the foundation of leadership we can adopt the emotional basis (e.g. charismatic leadership) and the rational basis (competence leadership). The emotional base generates typical behavioural patterns, which include, according to Ewa Maria Marciniak, the preference of hierarchical structures, paternalistic relations and autocratic style of wielding (Marciniak, 2001, p. 99). The rational base introduces the horizontal division of power, cooperative models of relations, reduction of the role of authorities. Related foundations build the base of the political power. According to the above-cited author:

“The emotional and rational relation to power seems to determine many important elements of the group ties. Relations between what is emotional and rational in the construction of group (in an organizational meaning) hierarchical ties in consequence determine the organisational culture (creating and enforcing the authority, articulating the vision, building goals, division of tasks, integrating and motivating the group members, assessing and rewarding, etc.)” (Marciniak, 2001, p. 99).

As granted we can state the fact that there is no one, universal explanation of the “leadership” term. There is no single concept of this phenomenon, and the multiplicity of criteria constructing and modifying the definition of leadership introduces a methodological chaos. In Polish socio-political literature thus the solution has been adopted, which enables the

Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts acceptance of this troubling abundance. Leadership has been assumed as the “bottomless pit”². Therefore, leadership is defined as the characterisation, concretisation of the “naked power”, type and form of the political power, the tool of power. Performing the leadership role is an individual property, while according to Bohdan Kaczmarek

“the personal dimension of power can be a significant property characterising leadership, however, it is difficult to consider it a constitutive differentiator for the phenomenon. However, you may notice a slightly different attribute of leadership. It is often personified, what does not necessarily have to, although it can, mean the power of the specific unit. Personified leadership can simply mean its corporation by the individual, what sometimes facilitates the social communication, makes the power more understandable and expressive in the media, or allows to hide the real mechanisms of power and entities exercising it” (Kaczmarek, 2001, p. 59).

Separate political phenomena are: fulfilment of the leadership role and being a leader. First comes from normative system and second has interdisciplinary roots. According to Urszula Jakubowska the specificity of leadership is decided not by its ontology, but by the non-coercive nature of changes, which it causes (Jakubowska, 2001, p. 34). Depending on the type of the social situation, which is the background for the leader, it is possible to distinguish two types of leadership: “close” leadership and “distant” leadership” (Jakubowska, 2001, p. 37). The “close” leadership, which canvas is created by the contacts of the leader with the surroundings, is realised even better when the interpersonal abilities of the leader are on a higher level. The “distant” leadership is the impact on the units anonymous for the leader.

Political leadership is not identical with the notion of the political power, however, it remains in close relation with it, because it is one of the aspects of the political power. According to Krzysztof Zuba, power is a broader phenomenon, and leadership a form of power (Zuba, 2005, p. 11). Leadership, like the political power, can be acquired, but only in the institutional dimension (an example of the state leadership). The factor differentiating the political power from leadership includes the foundation, on which it is built. Often this is the authority generated without the need to strengthen it with forms of coercion. Thus, leadership is the opposite of domination, but there is no weak leadership – it is always the concentration of power. As part of the leadership privileges, the political leader can use solutions and instruments appropriate for the political power. The political power can be exercised without legitimacy (though it undeniably strives for it), while leadership without legitimacy does not exist. Also, the state leadership devoid of real legitimacy, transforms the governance into prosthetic duration of the office.

Power, just like leadership, can be analysed according to the analytical schemes (Rubisz, 2005, p. 146). Then, the study includes the structures of leadership/power, functions of leadership/power, characteristics of leadership/power, forms of legalisation of leadership/power, instruments of leadership/power). Lech Rubisz proposes a similar pattern:

“The structure of political power and the structure of leadership are identical, as they are created by four elements: entity (of leadership – individual, personalised, of power – a group, structure – ed. aut.), entity (of leadership – a community of goals, of power – a community of goals is not required – ed. aut.), relation of superiority and subordination (between the entity and entity), (leadership relation – voluntary subordination, power relation – it is possible to use coercion – ed. aut.) and goal/effect (desirable behavior of the entity, the person subject to power fulfils its requirements, sympathiser of the leader – performs tasks beyond the minimum tasks - ed. aut.)” (Rubisz, 2005, p. 146).

Both the political power and the political leadership are asymmetrical. Political leadership, however, always has (contrary to the political power) the conscious nature. Power and leadership are dynamic and relational. While leadership is

² M. G. Hermann opts for the expansion of the area of meaning: “A certain chance to solve this dilemma is opened by recognising the leadership as the “bag concept”, which includes many variable values and their combination decides about the nature of leadership in the specific time and space”, see. Hermann, M. G. (1995). Elementy przywództwa. In J. Szczupaczyński (Ed.) *Władza i społeczeństwo 2. Antologia tekstów z zakresu socjologii polityki*. Warsaw, p. 198.

Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts sometimes considered in parallel as a process (relation) and property (feature). The literature popularises a third category, apart from power and leadership:

“the English term of leadership is expanded by the above meaning with such concepts like dignity and position in the given social group, especially relating it to leadership in the conditions of the political system or the political party” (Sokół, 2004).

There are criteria of differentiation of the leadership phenomenon from conduction of governance. One of the parameters includes the way of causing changes: based either on the voluntary decision of people subordinating to the leader, or the use of instruments forcing the specific behaviours (or the threat of their use). Every leader has a share of power, however, not every person executing the power is a leader. Exercising power for the political leader is at the same time a means and goal of all activities, independent of the intentions of the subordinates. The existence of leadership assumes a common part for the goals of the leader and his followers. Supporters of the leader, just like the leader, have the range of resources enabling the impact.

Political leadership is a dynamic phenomenon. Leadership can be interpreted both as a process (Pawelczyk, 2005, p. 179-180), and as properties (e.g. through personal features of the leader) (Bankowicz, 1999). Its shape is determined both by the phenomena from the surrounding of the political system and the internal factors. The relations of the political leadership – political system, however, are two-sided, because leadership also impacts the shape of the system: it affects the stabilisation/destabilisation, legitimacy/delegitimizing, integration/disintegration.

There is a comprehensive set of variables, determining the shape of the leadership phenomenon. Maria Marczevska-Rytko shows dichotomy of the leadership essence (Marczevska, 2005, p. 132): it is a set of features of the given unit, enabling being a leader and the effect of the group dynamics (relation leader-supporters). Margaret G. Hermann points out the need of the analysis and estimation of the clarity and intensity: personality traits of the leader, his provenance, groups he leads and with whom he sympathises (as well as the type of relations connecting the leader and his followers), social context, in which leadership is situated (Hermann, 1995, p. 298). The diagnoses of the individual effects of the interaction of the leader and the surrounding, identification of the tool of effective impact on the society as a group and individual units are needed. Piotr Pawelczyk systematises:

“Having the leadership impact on the group is conditioned by the psychosocial factors, including personality factors (e.g. intelligence, motivation to political participation, organisational and management abilities, or quick decision-making) and non-personality factors (origin, social affiliation, demographic features, sex, age, education, course of the political career, connection with the interest groups). These, in turn, have a significant impact on the styles and character of leadership” (Pawelczyk, 2005). The fundamental question is raised by the assessment of the qualities of leaders and it seems necessary to diagnose the degree in which these qualities are real, and in which they are alleged (assigned), in which degree the image of the leader is his actual image, and in which the media creation.

Among the tools of stimulation and recruitment of potential supporters used by the leader we should distinguish the most effective ones: positive and negative reinforcements, negotiations, persuasion and manipulation. According to Tadeusz Biernat the consideration of the phenomenon of political leadership should be accompanied by the reflections on: context of the political culture, which has generated the given type of leadership (degree and traditions of the civic participation); form, scale (leadership of the broad/narrow facilities, quality of the facilities) and implementation of the political leadership (Biernat, 2005, p. 262). This author proposes:

“The way out of this situation is the proposed research scheme, which significant element is the association of the dominant traits of leadership (features, which impose the shape of the leadership relation by determining its scope and contents), which result from the quantitative and qualitative elements generating leadership, with the dominant elements of the political culture of the society” (Biernat, 2005, p. 262).

The overview of the features of the political leader enables the creation of a canon, according to which it is possible to analyse the leaders, active in different political contexts. The afore-mentioned universal features can include: beliefs and political experiences (and even philosophical, defining the preferences of the leader, the supported system of values), competence, selection of the action style of the leader (leadership style, being a derivative of beliefs, e.g., autocratic style, democratic style, liberal style), motivation to leadership and the way of obtaining the position of the leader (debut), as well as the psychological factors shaping the way of leadership (Hermann, 1995, p. 302). The leadership style is a derivative of

Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts the tangle of the leader's position in the institutional structures, goal of executing leadership and repertoire of the resources used in the leadership process.

The personal identification of leadership primarily involves the set of personality traits, that is intelligence, knowledge, political reflex, mediation or oratory abilities with the non-personality traits. The non-personality traits include the sociological determinants (e.g. origin, social affiliation, education, way of recruitment to the political elite), demographic determinants (e.g. sex, age, features of the life path – including the course of the political career, relations with the interest groups).

The instruments of leadership (leadership determinants) are two-type. It can be the element of the situational context, in which the leadership process takes place. Then, it is independent or partially dependent on the leader. The instruments can also be created or co-created by the leader. The instruments used or created by the leader can include competence, that is a set of variables, defining the leadership skills (far more significant in the non-democratic systems and going through the process of transition, where the legal procedures and workflows are less efficient). The set of competence can be assigned with both the innate skills and the acquired ones, like the intellectual and practical ones. Ewa Marciniak, recalling the concept of presents a typology of the management style, created based on the threefold competence: technical, interpersonal, political. The author also presents other types of competence: communicative³, social, cultural. Regardless of the adopted typology of competence, it is possible to show the set of skills, which enable the fulfilment of the leadership role: predestining the fulfilment of roles and implementation of functions in the public life of the analytical, diagnostic, predictive, decisive, mobilisation, communicative, control, negotiation, managerial skills. Political competence according to E. M. Marciniak

“includes the overall features constituting a politician and demonstrated on the level determined by the standards, constituting the basis for the political action and adoption of responsibility for own perpetration. A set of these characteristics is created by: the ability to act, knowledge, intellectual and emotional abilities, behaviours, adaptation to the changing conditions, individual system of values, external system of formal rights” (Marciniak, 2001, p.105).

The set of competence is not hierarchically structured, it is also impossible to supplement the competence lack of one type with the excess of competence skills of another type.

The effective leadership is primarily characterised by the ability of inculcating the society with the sense of public mission and the effectiveness in solving problems. The secondary role is played by the predisposition for the perspective creation of political plans and the sense of responsibility for the decisions made. The ideology, which conditions its whole shape, is inextricably connected with the political leadership.

According to the appropriately specified measurable parameters, the political leadership may be classified as a phenomenon (Marczewska-Rytko, 2005, p. 132). Dedicated studies include the analysis of the power resources (potential of supporters, share of power, mobilisation potential, impact on the flow of information, material resources, which are available to the leader), the level of reputation and effectiveness, and the regularity of achieving the desired objectives. Parameters, by which it is possible to examine the quality of leadership, are a derivative of the context, which has generated this leadership. They are always a derivative of the given culture, time and place of origin, the existence of the leadership phenomenon. Maria Urban shows a collection of complementary factors conditioning the process of legitimacy of leaders (psychological, social, historical, political, factors, as well as the religious and ideological determinants) (Urban, 2001, p. 277-287). The analysis of specific leadership behaviours indicates the fact that they are often implied by the set of determinants. Among them we should list: the implemented needs to dominate over others, building own prestige (not only in the emotional context, but also the material one), implementation of the needs resulting from altruism, need to construct the public world according to the professed beliefs (faith, ideology, etc.).

Krzysztof Pałeczki recognises the social demand for leadership as one of the factors determining its power (Pałeczki, 2005, p. 36). Consequently this is not only the need to submit political authority, fulfil by the normative system, but also the need

³ According to B. Kaczmarek: “The media communication with leadership structures, people and groups symbolising them, is a kind of substitute of the truly informal ties. It creates the illusion of direct knowledge and direct contact.”, see Kaczmarek, B. (2001). *Przywódstwo polityczne a przywództwo organizacyjne. Studia Politologiczne*, 5, p. 58.

Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts to study on it. Even in situations of the socio-political consensus, where system solutions are a response to public demand, the existence of political leadership is still considered as meaningful. The increase of the need for the existence of the political leadership is thus proportional to the level of system destabilisation. Whereas the institutionalisation of the political leadership favours stabilisation of the system, as it fixes the form of relations of the leader with his supporters. According to Andrzej Antoszewski, the study of the process of institutionalisation may serve as a preventive function (especially in the personal terms of leadership):

“The analysis of the anatomy of the process of transforming leadership (understood as the psychological fact) into the one corresponding the democratic standards and the efficiently operating state authority (political institution) is, therefore, the task of the significant theoretical and practical importance; numerous experiences thus indicate the potential threat of degeneration of this process, often leading to the resurgence of the authoritarian order” (Antoszewski, 2005, p. 38).

The concept of leadership is becoming more attractive to other scientific disciplines, although it arouses controversy. According to Lech Rubisz:

“Therefore, there is no justification for expanding the meaning of the concepts of leadership, leader or leading onto areas not connected to power and politics” (Rubisz, 2005, p.148).

The search of the answer to the question about the effectiveness of leadership in the context of acquisition of supporters, likewise the problem of borders of possibilities to modify the leadership competence and shaping the personality image of the leader, seem to be much more attractive for analysts. The status of the leader, that is his or her proper potential, is shaped by the level of his or her independence, ability of the proper allocation of goods and benefits, real possibility of using sanctions and decision-making skills with their implementation. Urszula Jakubowska sees this as a result of incorporation of schemes with the source in the political reality for marketing mechanisms:

“The answer to the question, how can the leader acquire supporters for himself is a subject of numerous studies. Some of them are included in, among others, the scope of the so-called political marketing, where the leader aspiring to the high position in the hierarchy is treated the same way as the industrial product (e.g. washing powder), which is subject to the same – like all other products – rules of promotion” (Jakubowska, 2001, p. 46).

I take the position that the political leadership is not only the product of marketing actions, but the position and power of the leader is determined by specific phenomena, characteristic only for the political system. To the remaining determinants; which form the way to involve, construct and governance political leadership; belong e.g. circumstances like cultural, religious, ethnopolitical, formal and legal, but also the tradition to perceive the leadership by society, or the system of legitimization leadership and the system of building the set of arguments to legitimate the leadership.

It is crucial for the problem analysis to explain the genesis of the discussed phenomenon, that is showing the ways of emerging of the political leader. The first concept - *Zeitgeist* – allows the element of randomness in the selection of a leader, it makes the selection of the leader dependent on the context, in which the choice takes place. The second concept – the theory of *Great Man History* (associated with the charismatic one) – is the opposite of the first one. The selection of the leader, according to it, is not closely related to the circumstances (although they sometimes stimulate the choice). The selection of the leader is determined by his or her traits and predispositions. The third concept – relational – is a highlighting of the role of relations between the leader and his supporters. The person of a leader is an answer to the needs of the society. The basic dichotomy is the result of the selection of the action field by the leader: it can be a plane of public presentation (leader – protagonists) and the implicit plane (manipulators). The selection of action areas is not mutually exclusive, so it is possible to conduct the policy on two fields simultaneously. The existence of leadership can manifest itself in relations between institutions and elements of the political system (relational leadership), it can be assigned to specific groups (collective leadership) or aimed at the realisation of goals and objectives.

Primary research trends of the political leadership include the analysis of the personality leadership (psychological), focused on the personal dimension of leadership. The basic form of personal (personality) leadership described in the literature is the charismatic leadership, that is the personal implementation of the *Zeitgeist* theory. In the historical perspective, charisma was marked as the irrational property, genetically undefined (personified charisma). Today, we can

Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts observe the stereotypes, banality and trivialisation of charisma. This concept has been moved from the metaphysical sphere to the plane of political marketing and law (institutionalised charisma), what is in contradiction with the threefold typology of charisma of Max Weber (personality, institutional and situational models of charisma) (Weber, 2002).

Sources of popularity can be sought today not in the superhuman charisma owned by the leader, but in the expert use of the developed technical, political or interpersonal competence. This type of leadership occurs in strictly defined, particular conditions and is the answer to the specific social needs of the community (of specific nature). The need for a charismatic leader is most strongly felt in groups, defining the identity or undergoing traumatic moments. Then, the lacks of skills and abilities of the leader are compensated with the faith in superhuman skills and predispositions. Again, not possession, but the faith in the unique abilities of the charismatic leader solidifies ties. According to F. Gołembski:

“Therefore, the starting condition for the creation of such a mystical leadership is the proof – miracle, while the condition of its maintenance is the fact that the fortune does not turn its back on the chosen one, that he does not fail in the confrontation with various adversities and prevention of enemies” (Gołembski, 2001, p. 113-125).

Charismatic leader etiquette appears to be eminently important, causing lack of criticism and providing blank cheque of confidence. Nevertheless, after rejecting the institutional support, the charismatic leader often suffers from the painful verification of his position and popularity. Then, he is often forced to focus on over-regulatory actions in the formal sphere, construction and reinforcement of the bureaucratic structure, intensive hierarchy of the apparatus of power and administration, and even the use of coercion and/or violence. A strong charismatic leader is often released from the responsibility for his actions, and the blame for mistakes goes to his colleagues or enemies⁴. He is sometimes a visionary revealing himself on the political firmament at the moment of system solstices, but even more often he is a demagogue and a populist, using the moment of solstice⁵. If the vision promoted by him gets a social acclaim, to a certain point it is difficult to unseat him, even if the economic indicators show negative trends. The charismatic leadership is thus generated by the society, and not by the leader himself. Leaders of course use the socio-technical mechanisms, which help them increase the demand for this model of leadership. The most common techniques initiate the social psychoses, create or strengthen the sense of danger, integrate around the idea of mission and messianism. The process of institutionalisation (routine) of the charismatic leadership translates into political practice to the lack of innovation, bureaucracy, overproduction of routines, charisma of the office, symptoms of the cult of individuals. I believe that today the implementation of the charismatic leadership model is impossible in the long-term perspective, without the institutional support. Therefore, one can observe attempts to identify the charismatic values (authentic charisma) with populism and adaptation of the para-charismatic models (quasi-charisma (anti-charisma) and pseudo-charisma (Milewska, 2012, p. 272)

Charismatic leadership can occur in the irrational and revolutionary form, it can also disclose its elements in the form of cesarism, which according to Wojciech Sokół in the modern version determines the following features:

- “1) leadership authority is based on attachment and trust,
- 2) the leader cooperates with the management of subordinates,
- 3) the leader arises as a trusted man within the general election,
- 4) “leader democracy” as a rule was a transient power, the power of the periods of breakthroughs” (Sokół, 1997, p. 79).

⁴ F. Gołembski emphasises: “Moreover, charisma contains in itself a kind of irrationality, so that the gratitude of the honoured persists against all disclosing facts; also gratitude for the disasters brought.” (Gołembski, 2001, p. 133).

⁵ A very interesting characteristics of the “populism syndrome” is proposed by E. Ponczek, see Ponczek, E. (2006). *Syndrom populizmu: trwałość zmienności następstwa*. In M. Marczevska-Rytko, (Ed.) *Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw?* Toruń, pp. 68 - 70. Valuable are also tips of A. Kasińska-Metryka, see Kasińska-Metryka, A. (2006). *Populizm w warunkach kształtującej się demokracji pułapka czy remedium?* In M. Marczevska-Rytko (Ed.) *Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw?* Toruń, p. 145.

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Charismatic leadership is the element of relational leadership concepts: transactional and transformational (transgressive) – see, among others, the concept of James MacGregor Burns (Burns, 1978). The above concepts of leadership differ, among others, in the level of demand for the dynamism of the leader. Transactional leadership is a static exchange between the parties of the leadership relation, transformational leadership is, mainly, the active leadership (at all levels of action, not only in the sphere of replaceable transactions). J.M. Burns distinguishes the ideological, intellectual, reformist and heroic transformational leadership. The basis for this division is the specification of the variable defining the shape of the transformational leadership. According to L. Rubisz:

“Specific examples, therefore, prove that transformational leaders, usually acting from ideological motives, themselves create or develop intellectual foundations of ideology; they also stand at the forefront of the revolution or reforms, and their actions, real or alleged; over time are perceived as heroic” (Rubisz, 2005, p. 150).

Transformational leadership is part of the situational leadership trend, in which the system of events generates the way of exercising power and its representatives. Subtypes of transactional leadership are: leadership of opinion, leadership of groups, party and parliamentary leadership, leadership within the executive power.

In the institutional notion of leadership the basis generating this institution includes the relations taking place not in the system, but the structures functioning within it. Institutional leadership is, thus, a derivative of norms preferred in the given system. If one assumes the existence of institutional leadership as devoid of positive aspects bureaucratic power to control (technocracy), one excludes the existence of charismatic leadership⁶. Institutionalisation of leadership, therefore, also involves its routinisation, precise determination of the rules creating and governing the system structures, schematisation of leadership behaviours.

Numerous grasps of this subject supplement the concepts of leadership. The approach of Fred Fiedler, whose base is the management style, is the compilation of situational, institutional and personality leadership⁷. Theses of F. Fiedler correspond with the statements of Paul H. Hersey and Ken H. Blanchard, according to whom the leadership context (situational conditions) forces the flexibility of the leadership style (evolutionary concept), while the personality conditions of the leader also seem to be important, which shape his relation towards changes⁸.

M. G. Hermann proposes four concepts of leadership: a model based on personal features, an attributive model, leadership as a special kind of exchangeable relation (transaction) and leadership as a result of the social context (Hermann, 1995. p. 297). Typology of Harold Lasswell on the other hand, has been built based on the goals of leaders, their competence and activities, which is crucial for the implementation of the model (Bachryj-Krzywaźnia, 2008). This author defines the types of leaders: theorist, agitator and administrator, but in practice there may exist types of leadership, which are a connection of the above-mentioned types. The leader – theorist is a classic ideologist, creator and interpreter of reality; the leader – agitator is an activist, oriented towards the political practice; the third type is the leader - administrator, technocrat with a flair for bureaucracy.

There is also a category of the ideological leader, implemented mainly during all political changes, transformations, when the emergence of the leader is the result of the natural process, without additional creating activities emerges the ideologist, theorist and strategist leader, legitimised by the ideology⁹. The ideological leader has a task to determine the

⁶ According to P. Pawełczyk: “At the same time the practice of political life shows that in the so-called normal times, the designate of leadership is not the power of the charismatic unit, but the structure. Leadership functions are played by the parties, which put a person they control to the forefront, the so-called foreman.”, by Pawełczyk, P. (2005). Przywódca w państwie autorytarnym w ujęciu socjotechnicznym. In: L. Rubisz, K. Zuba, (Ed.) *Przywództwo polityczne. Teorie i rzeczywistość*. Toruń, p. 179.

⁷ See the contingent concept of leadership by F. E. Fiedler.

⁸ The evolutionary concept of leadership according to P. H. Hersey and K. H. Blanchard, see Blanchard, K. & Hersey, P. (1977). *Management of Organizational Behavior Utilizing Human Resources*. New Jersey: US Prentice-Hall, Inc.

⁹ L. Rubisz says: “Ideological leaders exhibit tendencies to escalate conflicts or to create new ones, so be able to determine next goals and moral arguments, increase emotions, so as a result to maintain and prolong their legitimacy.”, Rubisz, L. (2005). Ideologiczna legitymizacja przywództwa politycznego. In: L. Rubisz, K. Zuba, (Ed.) *Przywództwo polityczne. Teorie i rzeczywistość*. Toruń, p. 151.

Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts sense of the social and political reality, and his view of the world becomes common to the whole society. L. Rubisz characterises this type of a leader as follows:

“Ideological leaders exhibit tendencies to escalate conflicts or to develop new ones, in order to be able to determine next goals and moral arguments, increase emotions, so as a result to maintain and prolong their legitimacy” (Rubisz, 2005, p.151).

Ideological leadership realised in the form of state power uses the institutionalised mythology, symbolism and ritual, through which the leadership relation is built. The use of ritualisation and mythologisation also serves developing charisma of the ideological leader. Ideological leadership exhibits characteristics consistent with the religious leadership, legitimised by religion, because one could find it crucial to identify the ideology and religion with the leader¹⁰. Also the mechanism of removing responsibility from the leader for the gap between the ideology and political practice is similar. Often the blame for this state falls on the power elites, while the leader himself is subject to protection, it is a guarantee to save the ideology.

Still, other typologies are presented by, among others, Krzysztof Zuba (based on the character of interactions creating the leadership bond), Frederick G. Bayley, who distinguished the type of the family, destructive and mnemonic leader (similar to charismatic)¹¹. Rensis Likert, as the foundation of the leadership systems, adopts the way and goal of communication of the leader with the surrounding and distinguishes the exploratory, authoritarian, consulting and participant leadership¹². While Marek Bankowicz proposes the typology of the modern leadership, including the routine leadership (realised by the politician – formalist and technocrat), innovative (realised by the politician promoting new qualities) and promotional (realised by the politician – creator of the system) (Bankowicz, 1999).

As part of the cultural leadership theory, by Aaron Wildavsky, there is a thesis that the leadership model is determined by the system, in which it occurs (despotic and authoritarian leader – authoritarian and hierarchical system, charismatic leader – hierarchical system or the context of great dynamics of system transformations, meteoric leader – system with the tendency for constant change of leaders). The theory of A. Wildavsky corresponds with the deliberations of David M. Rosen on the cultural determinants (variables), shaping the systems of leadership. According to her, the combination of three variables (way of distribution: open/closed, way of allocation: achieved/assigned, way of mobilisation: power/impact) generates leadership of the type: egalitarian, semi - egalitarian, hierarchic, stratification (with subcategories: democratic and authoritarian) (Juja, Wilczyńska, 2011, p. 101-114). Also A. Chodubski presents the civilisation forms of leadership, being the derivatives of conditions, building leadership in specified systems. Within this distinction she presents leadership of the type: charismatic, hegemonic, authoritarian, dogmatic, pragmatic and representative (Chodubski, 2005, p.81).

Steering (specializing) leadership causes dualism in leader's functions. These functions are the orientation towards interpersonal contacts (social functions) and aimed at problem solving (task functions). It reflects two leadership styles: task-oriented and focused at interpersonal contacts (Pawelczyk, 2005, p.181).

In literature we can also observe a tendency to replace metaphysical explanations of leadership, with situational models not without the share of the Marxist and post-Marxist mainstream. This predetermines the decreasing popularity of the charismatic leadership model. E. M. Marciniak sets the direction of evolution of the leadership explanations. It runs from mythical, sacral and fantastic interpretations, through charismatic and behavioural interpretations, to the cultural approach and compilation of previous models. According to this author, understanding leadership involves the synthesis of knowledge on the whole system (its “programming”, “genetic code”). In other words, the evolution leads through the multi-faceted analysis of microstructures (leadership) to the comprehensive analyses of macrostructures (the background, in which the leadership functions) (Marciniak, 2001, pp.85-86). There is an obvious statement that the system of the country determines the way of the political leadership. Often the leadership style is created by the political system (especially in non-democratic systems). It is legitimate to say that the role of political leadership increases with the limitation of significance of other institutions of the system. This does not mean that the strong political position of the leader is an undesirable value in the democratic system, however, it seems that non-democratic systems cannot exist without leadership situated in the centre of

¹⁰ Compare: Marczevska-Rytko, M. (2010). *Religia i polityka w globalizującym się świecie*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.

¹¹ Approach of F. G. Bayley: see. F. G. Bayley, *Humbugger and Manipulation. The Art of Leadership*, Ithaca 1988, s. 10.

¹² Typology of leadership systems of R. Likert, by Marciniak, E. M. (2001). Kompetencje przywódcy politycznego. *Studia Politologiczne*, 5, pp. 72-73.

Discourse on the political leadership, with particular emphasis on the Polish socio-political concepts the society and politics. Ongoing attempts to weaken the authority of the political leadership in the countries undergoing the system transformation have been recorded (Żukiewicz, 2012, p. 54-55). Taking a broader perspective, it should be noted that such a direction of post-transformative transformations often determines the radicalization of behaviours of authoritarian leaders, especially in the end-stage of the transformations¹³. Being a leader today is a special value on the market of politics, but it is also a great responsibility. This determines the scale of difficulty of the task, attributed to the state leader. Especially today, in times of a clear deficit of social and political authorities, the establishment of ties between the leader and the followers is the key to design the policy of the whole country, region or globe.

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¹³ According to T. Bodio: “Well, the course of transformation in the post-totalitarian countries provides many arguments indicating, on one hand, the erosion of the political leadership, and on the other, political leaders in these countries feel confident, increasingly expanding the scope of their power.”, Bodio, T. (2001). Przywództwo i transformacja polityczna. *Studia Politologiczne*, 5, p.203.

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