

Globally (Ir)Responsible Leadership - Viewpoints on the Current Political Leadership Debate

EDITORIAL

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Abstract

In this general article, I want to set forth some phenomena of contemporary politics, and theoretical concepts and discussions that are connected with them. Relevant topics are related to the conflicting tendencies of the modern world. Not least with and because of the Ukraine crisis. This is why it is important to bring up points presented in the following treatment. Following themes will be considered: populism and ethics, ideology and politics, bad faith and ideology, propaganda and persuasion, putinism as an ideology, Trumpian power and charisma. In the end of the article some conclusions will be put forth.

Key Words: Populism, propaganda, symbolism, charisma

Populism and ethics

Populism is a political ideology that focuses on the needs and interests of ordinary people. It emphasizes the power of the people and calls for government action to address the concerns of the people. Populism often involves appeals to the common people, a rejection of the political and economic establishment, and the use of populist rhetoric to appeal to the people. Populists often support policies that are seen as benefiting the people, such as social welfare programs, economic regulation, and protection of workers' rights. Populists have been prominent in many countries, including the United States, Latin America, and Europe.

First, populist rhetoric rejects the premise of the pursuit of truth. Various half-truths and facts taken out of context are fine for that, if they serve the ideological or political goals of their presenters. At the same time, it denies the uncertainty of information and the premise of the research approach that new research results lead to correcting our views.

Secondly, the arsenal of populist rhetoric also includes incorrect comparisons, which aim to hide the problematic nature of one's own views by appealing to seemingly "similar" other phenomena, even if there is not sufficient commonality. The parallel phenomenon of incorrect comparisons is the distortion of history, in which similar phenomena and problems from history are applied to contemporary politics, even if there is no sufficient basis to prove the commonality of things.

A third typical feature is the exploitation of easy explanations. In this case, a single characteristic of a person or even a loose connection to something "suspicious" in the past can be brought up as an explanation for current views or actions. It goes without saying that such explanations are usually hoax and at worst take on the characteristics of conspiracy theories.

It can be argued that there is also green populism, feminist populism, anarchist populism and populism connected to various religions. However, it should be

noted that the deeper we go into the true understanding of the concept of populism, it is quite a different thing to talk about, say, green populism and, on the one hand, radical right-wing populism, because the latter excludes the people as citizens of the state, and is anti-pluralist. For populists both on the left and on the right - everything is justified on the basis that something is done for the good of the people. (see Lahti & Mörntinen, 2023, p.62)

Populism and ethics are two concepts that are often discussed in relation to politics and governance. Populism is a political ideology that emphasizes the importance of the "people" and their interests, while ethics refers to a system of moral principles that guide human behavior. The relationship between populism and ethics can be complex, as populist leaders often make claims to represent the interests of the people while disregarding ethical principles such as transparency, accountability, and respect for human rights. Populism can also be associated with a simplistic view of complex problems, which can lead to policies that are not based on sound evidence or ethical considerations.

However, it is also possible for populism and ethics to be compatible. Populist movements can arise from legitimate grievances and concerns of ordinary people, and can champion ethical principles such as social justice, equality, and the protection of the environment. Populist leaders can also act in ethical ways, by upholding democratic values, promoting transparency and accountability, and respecting the rule of law. Ultimately, the relationship between populism and ethics depends on how these concepts are defined and applied in practice. Populism can be a force for positive change if it is guided by ethical principles and a commitment to democratic values, but it can also be a source of danger if it leads to the erosion of ethical standards and the concentration of power in the hands of a few.

Ideology and politics

Ideology and politics are two closely related concepts. Ideology is a set of beliefs and values that shape an individual or group's view of the world. Politics is

the process by which a society organizes itself to make decisions, allocate resources, and settle conflicts. Ideology and politics are interrelated because the beliefs and values that make up an individual's or group's ideology can influence their approach to politics. Ideology can also shape the way a society organizes itself and the decisions it makes. Ideology can be a major factor in the formation of political parties and the development of political actions.

As Kokko states, in terms of power and propagandistic activity, our postmodern society is in the partial transition. The reason for the change can be attributed to the change in the social identity of individuals, which can be blamed on the development of information networks. The expansion of information networks of our everyday life has pushed societies towards change, because the old socialization mechanisms with their strict norms do not guide people enjoying themselves in information networks in the same way as they did before. Whether information networks create new societal social norms depends on the openness of social communities. On the other hand, in relation to information networks, it can be observed that digital sociality and social networks operating in the digital dimension are partially obscuring the theoretical definition of organizations, because social associations can be found in the Internet that do not have any official purpose. On the other hand, power also exists in digital social structures, but the characteristics of those who wield power do not necessarily correlate with those in the real world. Due to the "untamedness" of information networks, the amount of propaganda has increased strongly in social services on the Internet. (see Kokko, 2013)

Bad faith and ideology

"Bad faith" is a Sartrean philosophical concept that refers to a state of self-deception or dishonesty in which an individual or group may engage. When someone is acting in bad faith, they may be knowingly disregarding their own beliefs or values, or misrepresenting the truth to others.

"Ideology," on the other hand, refers to a set of beliefs, values, and principles that shape an individual or group's worldview and guide their actions and decisions. Ideologies can be political, religious, social, or cultural in nature, and often involve a particular vision for society or a specific set of goals or ideals.

The relationship between bad faith and ideology is complex. On the one hand, an ideology can provide a framework for individuals to act in good faith, with a clear sense of purpose and direction. However, ideologies can also be used to justify bad faith behavior, such as lying, manipulation, or exploitation. For example, someone who strongly believes in a particular ideology may engage in bad faith behavior by disregarding evidence that contradicts their beliefs, or by misrepresenting their views to others in order to gain power or influence. Alternatively, someone may use an ideology as a way of justifying unethical or immoral actions, such as discrimination, violence, or oppression.

Overall, while ideologies can provide a sense of direction and purpose, they can also be used to justify bad faith behavior. It is important for individuals to critically examine their own beliefs and actions to ensure that they are acting in good faith and not using ideology as a means of justifying harmful behavior. The concept "distorted ideology" created by Jason Stanley helps to better understand the post-truth era. According to him, propaganda has expanded into entire erroneous worldviews that seem natural to their supporters. This makes it possible to present and spread false information. In a distorted ideology, propaganda is therefore a kind of meta-level manipulation from where you

can't see out (Pitkänen & Sutinen, 256). This is how you manage to spread a lie as truth and accept it, as long as it has enough supporters who create group pressure.

Propaganda and persuasion

Propaganda and persuasion are related concepts, but they have different connotations and goals. Propaganda refers to the systematic dissemination of information, ideas, or opinions, usually with the intention of influencing public opinion or promoting a particular agenda. Propaganda can take many forms, including advertisements, news reports, speeches, and social media posts. The purpose of propaganda is to shape public perception and behavior in a way that benefits the propagandist or the organization they represent.

Persuasion, on the other hand, is the act of convincing someone to change their beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors. Persuasion can also take many forms, including logical arguments, emotional appeals, and appeals to authority. The purpose of persuasion is to change someone's mind or behavior in a way that benefits the persuader. While propaganda and persuasion both aim to influence people's attitudes and behavior, propaganda is often associated with manipulative or deceptive tactics, while persuasion is often seen as a legitimate means of communication. Propaganda can be used to promote harmful or unethical agendas, while persuasion can be used to promote positive change and encourage people to take action for the greater good. In summary, propaganda and persuasion are both powerful tools of communication, but they differ in their goals, methods, and ethical implications.

For example, Kivijärvi and Takala (2022) study focuses on the stigmatization in media discourse and the impression management tactics used by the presidential candidate to resist stigma. The analysis builds on Steyrer's Impression continuum of leadership and contributes to our understanding of how the social construction of some populist leaders takes place at the continuous bordering between charisma and stigma. The results highlight how religion, radical nationalism and erosion of authoritative-ness are used as the main sources for attributing stigma. These are resisted through moral argumentation and strong leadership.

The modern study of propaganda came about after World War I and led the way to the social scientific study of persuasion. At the same time the word propaganda became less used and was replaced by the words such as communication, information, and persuasion because they imply no value judgement and tend to embrace the development of new communication technologies as well as the "intricate perplexities inherent in developing societies and international diplomacy" (see Jowett and O'Donnell, p.35). Propaganda is a form of communication and can, therefore, be depicted as a process. A model of propaganda process therefore includes the sociohistorical context; a cultural rim made up of government, economy, events, ideology and myths of society; the propaganda institution, the propaganda agents, media methods, the social network; and the public. Generalisations about propaganda in modern society are based also on the several events and concepts. (ibid p. 262).

In Italy, there has been some populist movements during this decade. In the autumn of 2023, the populist Giorgia Meloni's government will practice conservative right-wing politics. For example, it has cut social benefits, toughened penalties and tightened the asylum policy. Recently, Meloni's release has become more institutional after he came to power. But it's about communication, the values have remained unchanged. At the heart of Meloni's politics is the defense of traditional family values. He raises child allowances and speaks loudly in favor of a

higher birth rate. Italy is threatened by a population crisis: the population is aging rapidly and the number of children born last year was the lowest in Matali's measurement history, i.e. since 1861.

Hamas attacked Israel in October 2023 and while some of the blame is placed on Israel, it does not explain the state's complete dysfunction. Israeli historian Noah Harari states that history is not a morality play. The real explanation for Israel's failure is populism rather than any alleged moral lapse. Harari continues that for years Israel has been ruled by a populist leader, Benjamin Netanyahu, who is a communication genius but an incompetent prime minister. Time and time again, he has put his own interests before the national interest and built his career on dividing the nation in two. He has appointed people to key positions based on their loyalty rather than competence, taking credit for every step forward but never responsibility for failure.

Putinism as an Ideology and using of propaganda

Putinism" is a term used to describe the political system and ideology associated with president Putin. It is not a well-defined ideology with a specific set of principles or beliefs, but rather a collection of ideas and policies that are often associated with Putin's leadership style and worldview. Some of the key features of Putinism include:

- **Centralized power:** Putinism is characterized by a highly centralized system of governance, with Putin as the ultimate authority. Power is concentrated in the hands of the president and his close associates, who have significant control over the political, economic, and social spheres of Russian life.
- **Nationalism:** Putinism emphasizes the importance of Russian national identity and promotes a strong sense of patriotism among the Russian people. This includes a focus on Russian history, culture, and traditions, as well as a commitment to defending Russian interests both at home and abroad.
- **Anti-Westernism:** Putinism is seen to be very critical toward Western liberal democracy and its perceived cultural and moral decay. Putin and his supporters have frequently portrayed Russia as a bulwark against Western influence and as a defender of traditional values.
- **Authoritarianism:** Putinism is characterized by a strong authoritarian streak, with little tolerance for dissent or opposition. Critics argue that Putin's regime has limited civil liberties, curtailed press freedom, and suppressed political opposition in order to maintain its grip on power.
- **Economic nationalism:** Putinism emphasizes economic self-sufficiency and the importance of protecting Russian industries from foreign competition. This has often involved government intervention in the economy, including state ownership of key industries and the use of protectionist policies to shield Russian companies from international competition.

Overall, Putinism can be seen as a hybrid of various political ideologies, including nationalism, authoritarianism, and *populism*. While it has been successful in maintaining Putin's grip on power, critics argue that it has come at the cost of democratic norms and human rights in Russia. In the autumn 2023, Russia has established a new political propaganda project. Russia has started a new history teaching -lesson that has been changed to suit the Kremlin at all school levels. A new historian learning book

was also introduced in elementary schools in the fall. According to the researchers, the key to everything is to get through the Kremlin and Putin's world of thought. Putin is rewriting history to serve his power. According to researchers, Russia's new subject is not based on science. We must notice and emphasize that the new subject does not mean that the Russian leadership is now creating a new ideology of Putinism. Of course, Putin's personality and world of thought are influential, but Putin is not a theoretician or a philosopher.

In Russia, we can talk about a super-presidential system, which has been shaped into a fairly stylish dictatorship under Putin, says political researcher Lassila. Putin can be assumed to be spinning in historical geopolitical delusions, as it were, and thus does not have the same concern and pressure created by political responsibility that democratic heads of state have. In Russia, the president exercises absolute supreme power, where, unlike in democracies, there is practically no mechanism to control the actions of the head of state. Putin wants to order even small administrative actions. According to researcher, Korkeila, the reason for the need for micromanagement is that, from the point of view of the people and the administration, the "all-powerful person" is a great savior for the people and, along with his own efforts. He is also pushed into position of excessive power, where small things flow upwards, even though power is nominally given to subordinates. However, with dictators, the concrete fear of death is constantly present. Authoritarian systems are inherently more inefficient because a huge amount of political energy has to be used to stay in power and protect one's own position.

Indeed, Russian system also has a totalitarian component. And a totalitarian regime needs the mobilization of its subjects. So it is no longer enough for everyone to be passive. That's why the Kremlin is also targeting children and young people with the propaganda it accelerates. The Russian leadership explains that it is fighting a defensive battle for Russia's existence against the West and presents the war as something that will purify and benefit Russia.

For example, Professor Kangaspuro has put forth that Russia has begun to speak harshly about Finland and Finns. Finland is no longer a friendly neighbor whose citizens you can get to know. Russian propaganda now brings out negative news and dark aspects of history from Finland. For example, the Russians are told how during the Continuation War the Finns held concentration camps in Eastern Karelia and engaged in systematic torture. However, it could be that the propaganda will not immediately sink in with Russians. It will take time before Russians' image of Finns changes. In Russia, people have so many personal foundations, at least among the Russians in the surrounding areas. Propaganda hardly takes root there very quickly. Russians have had the opportunity to form an image of Finns when they have visited Finland on a cabin trip or shopping. Professor Kangaspuro thinks that when time passes, people's personal connections are broken and the formation of a vision of Finland is lacking, one-sided propaganda will gain ground. The touch surface is getting thinner, there is no counter-information or counter-propaganda. Misinformation has a more fertile ground to grip people's minds. It is often quite humane for people to think that if something drastic is claimed, there must be some basis for it. They don't turn us, Finnish people, into monsters very easily in their propaganda and hopefully the war will end before it happens. There are many supporting continuities that work against it in people's everyday consciousness.

Charisma and power - Trump in the spotlight

Charisma and power are two different qualities. Charisma is the ability to influence and inspire others through an attractive personality, while power is the ability to gain control or influence over people or situations. Charisma is an intangible quality, while power is a tangible one. Charisma is often seen as a more positive trait, while power can be seen as a more negative one. Ultimately, both charisma and power can be used for good or bad ends, depending on the individual and their intention.

Charismatic leadership has an emotional influence that populism uses in its own ideology. It creates its own "truths" and values. Our forthcoming study will find out what is President Trump's leadership like as the most influential leader in (during his presidential period) in the USA and the whole world in the light of the charisma study. How do populism and charisma connect together in populist Trumpian leadership? How does the truth transform into a product of the post-truth era, i.e. into opinions? As Plato said, "knowledge is not a belief, it is a true belief", an opinion is not the truth, even though the current social information society wants to convince us that this is the case. Twitter truth is a product of the post-truth era, which e.g. Trump strongly exploits. What is the relationship between charisma and populism? The assumption is a dialectical interaction, where one force accelerates the other, and this is how we progress dialectically through collisions and confrontations towards a new post truth future and the dystopia of the 2020s. The empirical research material (research material) of the study will consist of articles dealing with populism and charisma published in Helsingin Sanomat from 2010-2020. In particular, it delves into Donald Trump's populism, power and charisma. In the study, he represents a case example, on the basis of which the dialectical path of progress from a rascal to a ruler is illustrated.

Now it could be the time for US President Joe Biden – and the world. The time is now, in the spring of 2024, over 200 days until the next US presidential election. They can return Donald Trump to the White House, whom a clear majority of Republicans, according to polls, want as their party's presidential candidate. Trump's possible return is awaited with fear in many places, as his previous presidency was a stormy period that ended with the president's supporters trying to prevent the change of power with a violent takeover of Congress. Democratic President Joe Biden has not been able to unite a divided nation, although he has managed to repair some of the damage caused by the Trump era. The United States has once again taken its place as the leader of the free world. This would be threatened if Trump made a comeback.

Trump claimed some time ago that he could force Russia and Ukraine into a deal that would end Russia's war of aggression in one day. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy publicly wondered why Trump did not carry out his stunt as president, if it is once so excellent. Russia certainly hopes for Trump's victory.

Trumpian charisma. "Trumpian charisma" refers to the unique style of charisma exhibited by former U.S. President Donald Trump. It is characterized by his flamboyant personality, outspokenness, and a penchant for speaking his mind. Trump's charisma is also often associated with his ability to connect with his base of supporters and his use of simple, direct language that resonates with his audience. While some people find Trump's charisma compelling and inspiring, others find it polarizing or even off-putting. Regardless of one's personal opinion of Trump, his style of charisma has been a subject of much discussion and analysis, particularly in the political and media spheres.

The Republican National Convention is in July 2024 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The Democratic National Convention will

be held in August in Chicago, Illinois. The meetings are supposed to choose the parties' presidential candidates. This option has the feel of a reoccurring disaster. Trump was elected as the Republican candidate for president in November 2016. He lost the next election four years later to Democrat Joe Biden. Next summer it will be known whether the same men will face each other again in the elections in November 2024.

In the summer of August 2023, Trump was charged with four counts related to his activities after the 2020 presidential election. Trump, who was representing the Republicans at the time, lost to the Democratic candidate Joe Biden. After the election, however, Trump did not accept the legal result of the election. According to the indictment, the new charges concern conspiring to violate citizens' rights and defrauding the federal government by attempting to overturn the election result, as well as obstructing the investigation and attempts to obstruct it. On Thursday (August 3), Trump was charged with conspiracy to defraud the United States, conspiracy to obstruct official proceedings, and attempting to obstruct official proceedings. Trump was also charged with conspiracy. Trump is accused of trying to influence the outcome of the 2020 presidential election, in total there are 13 charges against the former president. Trump was ordered to Bail \$200,000 and a historic arrest photo was also taken of him. No US president has ever been arrested before. Former US President Donald Trump surrendered to the authorities at the Fulton County Jail in Atlanta, Georgia, early Friday (August 25) Finnish time. Trump arrived at the prison after half past two on Friday morning and left the place a little before three in the morning.

The following information is revealed by the image measurement of the NORC research institute operating in connection with the news agency AP and the University of Chicago at the end of August 2023. The survey asked respondents to say the first word that comes to mind about the main candidates. The survey does not give a flattering image of either candidate. When Biden is associated with old age, Trump is associated with crime. For Trump, almost a quarter of the respondents mentioned words related to corruption, crimes, lying and unreliability.

The committee of the House of Representatives that investigated the attack on the US Capitol in January 2021 has published its long-awaited final report. The report is more than 800 pages long and sums up an investigation that lasted more than 18 months, during which the committee, among other things, conducted more than a thousand interviews. In the report, which is divided into eight parts, it is estimated that the former president of the country, Donald Trump, is primarily responsible for the violence in the Congress building.

In the autumn 2023 Trump's supporters' power only gets stronger. The accusations against Trump have not reduced the former president's support, let alone made supporters back down. Trump's support has become stronger. This reminds some kind of a *cult* and a religious leader. In their own thinking, people associate all relevant matters with him and refuse to see anything else. We can speculate that the more serious question is in what way the US political system re-produces political consciousness. Because of many causes no one has a good answer, but it seems that politics has become not only mud wrestling, but also show wrestling. So Americans are a struggle in politics, but don't connect with it themselves or react to it as passionately as they should.

Francoise Heisbourg is a respected French security and defense policy expert and adviser. Trump's re-election as president is a realistic risk, says Heisbourg. The result of the 2024 US presidential election will affect the security of Europeans

in a way that is difficult to predict. Trump has promised to end the Ukraine war in 24 hours if he is elected. This week, Zelenskiy demanded that Trump reveal his plans immediately. Donald Trump, who is overwhelmingly leading the Republican polls, has been horrified by how much military aid the country has already given to Ukraine: "We don't have ammunition for ourselves." However, Ukraine's support has both Biden's and the Senate majority's support, but next year the presidential election at the end can shake up the situation. Among the Republican candidates, it has already been commented that Ukraine's funding would be better used "in the attack on our own southern border".

Struggle for symbolic power

One central device presented in political theory is the using of symbols. New York artist Scott LoBaido's latest visual art work has been signed by Donald Trump himself. The painting is called *Furious Animals*. In the painting Donkeys represent Democrats and rhinoceroses represent Republicans who are not in the same side with Democrats. Like rabid animals, they try to bring this man down, but he doesn't give up, LoBaido describes to MTV News, in his art studio on Staten Island. The painting imitates the famous photograph from World War II, where American soldiers raise the American flag during the battle of Iwo Jima. In LoBaido's work, the flag is raised by Trump.

As Pekonen states, from the viewpoint briefly sketched above we can say that one central feature in the modern politics is the struggle for symbolic power with whose and with what kinds of symbols reality is determined at each time. The struggle over whose symbolic definition of a situation will prevail is often the symbolic battle in a political conflict and a critical determinant of its outcome. We may say that modern democracy differs from earlier political systems in that nowadays the political system presupposes and leans on the concept of *legitimacy* perhaps more than ever before – remembering that this legitimacy in a way presupposes and come from talk and from also e.g. visual artifacts. We must notice that the symbol is not only a reflection of reality, it also “refracts and structures; symbolization is always more than a process of naming. Symbol is both a cultural and subjective effort to make reality understandable and significant by defining that reality. On the other hand symbol may be a mean in a political process. Here symbol may be a mean in making sensible that is not yet known; symbol may tell about “some other reality”; a symbol may be a vehicle in aiming at some new. When the symbol is the vehicle something new, it has also its own “symbolical mode”. Political symbols, and especially their potential for manipulation, are more evident in transitional or crisis periods than in periods of relative peace. (see Pekonen, 1987).

Conclusions

Charismatic leaders have the power and the ability to manipulate and misguide people. To prevent this misbehaving, it is important to promote processes of transformative ethical leadership. Thus, commitment, value-congruence, and communality are in the play a key positions. Charismatic leaders could be weak persons with destructive narcissist power. Good management and leadership are also central factors influencing these processes. Destructive and narcissistic leaders are, on the other hand, nega-

tive dark forces causing damage and harm in organizations. It may be that the acceptance of authoritarianism and submission to it, is a permanent characteristic of human nature, and the emergence of tyranny requires a certain kind of social upheaval.

In conclusion, I would like to set forth in this general article several elements, or phenomena, which prevail in political action and on the other hand also create and renew our common social reality as concepts. Political movements, mass movements and official political parties have become increasingly active in the 2020s. It may be that the acceptance of authoritarianism and submission to it is a permanent characteristic of human nature, and the emergence of tyranny requires a certain kind of social upheaval. Major political events, such as the war in Ukraine, have created new phenomena to be studied, such as information warfare, widespread influence of opinion, and the diversification of war. War is no longer a battle on the front lines, but war permeates the whole society. It is present everywhere. Rhetorics, fake news, propaganda and post-truth argumentation are an integral part of information transmission especially in war societies. This is why it is important to reveal and study these phenomena also in academic research, which has traditionally strived for genuine truthfulness.

What could be the solution? For example, Niemi and Houni (2018, p.284) present as the solution the so-called negotiation journalism. Here, the focus is not on opposing populism, but on producing publicity that does not feed populist claims about understanding the people and manipulating the elite media. The means are clarifying the tension, listening and maintaining trust. Different types of media react differently to populist rhetoric. The meanings attached to populism create a division between the popular and the daily press, the entertaining afternoon press believes in populism as the “voice of the people” and the daily papers, in turn, emphasize populism as a threat to democracy. Post-truth argumentation are an integral part of information transmission especially in war societies. This is why it is important to reveal and study these phenomena also in academic research, which has traditionally strived for genuine truthfulness.

I agree with Delanty (2023) when he put forth that the focus of academic analysis must be different compared with old: toward more global issues, and I will add the study of wars, in this list. One of the major changes is that the old socio-political theory that dominated in the 1970s was very western. The Frankfurt School tradition for example, which as Delanty said was his chief inspiration, was extremely Eurocentric in its concerns, with almost no concern whatsoever with questions relating to colonialism. Habermas's major reconstruction of critical theory in the Theory of Communicative Action was exclusively concerned with problems in western societies. This is also the case with regard to the work of Bourdieu and Foucault. The concern with New Social Movements and political emancipation in Habermas and other theorists was conceived entirely from the perspective of the post-industrial societies of the western world. Then, there is the absence of any adequate theorization of nature, at least nothing that is in anyway relevant to current issues. It is true of course that Foucault brought about a massive transformation in theory, right across the social and human sciences concerning how we think about power, the self and history. Foucault's work opened new visions beyond the limits of western history, even if that was his own preoccupation, as reflected in post-politics and post-colonialism. (see Social theory: Legacies and future directions – An interview with Gerard Delanty.)

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Kirjoittaja

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