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## GENDER STRATEGIES AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

**Purpose.** The purpose of the article is to understand the issue of gender strategies of political leadership. **Theoretical basis.** The works of Ukrainian and foreign scholars helped to find out the specifics of male and female leadership. The article applied the latest methodology of androgyny-analysis. According to this methodology, sex has not only a biological, psychological and social, but also an existential dimension. So, the existential dimension of gender is soulfulness as an existential femininity and spirituality as an existential masculinity. These two beginnings may conflict and may be in harmony. Depending on this, we have constructive or destructive strategies for the development of both the personality and the relations between individuals. Constructiveness here means not only gender equality, but also gender partnership. **Originality.** In the context of modern gender anthropology and androgyny-analysis, it is found that as a result of the implementation of the strategy of existential sexism and existential hermaphroditism, political leadership becomes authoritarian, and sometimes also totalitarian, while the strategy of androgynism associated with gender partnership gives rise to constructive political leadership. **Conclusions.** Androgynous personality of a political leader, which balances the existential and psychological qualities of men and women, is able to reform the society and change the country for better.

*Keywords:* gender; gender strategies; gender partnership; gender anthropology; androgyny-analysis; androgynism; existential gender; strategy of existential androgynism; political leadership

## Introduction

Man's dominant role in political leadership has been self-evident for many centuries. Recently, the importance of a woman in political life is becoming more prominent and weighty. One can assume that it is the woman who is able to bring harmony and partnership into politics, because women tend to "horizontal", coordinate relations. It is important to understand that men and women in politics should enter into a gender partnership, rather than into antagonistic competition for leadership. Gender partnerships in politics are possible only if they go beyond the limits of sexism in the inner world of man and the relations between people to the androgenic integrity of the individual.

We live in the era of the highest development of the patriarchal civilization, but our era is at the same time an era of its deep and comprehensive crisis. This, with tragic eloquence, was shown by various religious and political conflicts of the XX-XXI centuries and, most importantly, the ways and means of their solution.

At the same time, changes occur in the depths of the patriarchal civilization (Scheler, 1994, p. 114). An important symptom of the evolution of patriarchal civilization is, in our opinion, the

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development of tolerance, which to a large extent signifies a fundamentally new relationship between men and women, which for centuries developed under the predominant manhood with its disdain for tolerance as antithesis of power and authority. Now we see the opposite situation: contempt for tolerance, which for thousands years had been considered a feminine trait, in the present, is destroying power.

Under the pressure of these problems, philosophy is simply forced to "embed" the analysis of male and female in their problematics; the concepts of "gender philosophy" or "philosophy of gender and sex" today are quite logical. Moreover, it is logical to talk about the allocation of gender philosophy in a separate branch of philosophical research (Khamitov, 2000, p. 45). It opens up completely new opportunities for understanding the causes of crisis processes in the modern world and constructive political leadership able to overcome these crises.

However, relatively deep subconscious stereotypes about the inequality between men and women and the inability of gender partnership in public life and in politics, in particular, continue to evolve in Ukraine and in the world. The reason for this is that in Western culture, since the patriarchy was established, women and men are correlated as spirit and matter. In Aristotle's philosophy, this trend is formed in its archetypal manifestations and further permeates all realms of civilization and culture, reaching the logical conclusion in the works of O. Weininger.

But the opposition of men and women as spirit and matter in our time seems questionable. Men and women, in their higher meta-physical, and, more precisely, existential expressions, are more correctly interpreted as *spirituality* and *soulfulness*. Under spirituality, as an existential manhood, one can understand the ability to creativity and transcendence. Soulfulness, which appears to be an existential expression of femininity, is the ability to compassion and love. This is a cautious, gentle attitude to the person, family, society, world, which is aptly reflected in the Ukrainian word "Bereginya".

#### **Purpose**

To analyze the connection of gender in the context of politics and comprehend the issue of gender strategies of political leadership.

## Statement of basic materials

Political leadership is such a leadership, which means a unique personal quality of a politician aimed at leading a society and changing people's lives. To find out what the gender dimension of this problem and, more specifically, gender strategies of political leadership can be, we turn to the methodology of androgyny-analysis (Khamitov, 2002, p. 23; Khamitov, & Krylova, 2018, p. 8).

According to this methodology, gender has not only biological, psychological and social but also existential dimensions. The existential dimension of gender is soulfulness as existential femininity and spirituality as an existential manhood. These two beginnings can come into conflict, but may be in harmony. Depending on this, we have constructive or destructive strategies for the development of both personality and relationships between individuals. Constructivity means not only gender equality but also *gender partnership*, which means the unity of politics and good (Mineva, 2018, p. 322). To comprehend this, first of all, we briefly analyze the evolution of the concept of "gender" and the development stages of the thought line that we could call gender anthropology.

The first stage of gender anthropology begins in the late 70's and lasts until the late 80's of the XX century. There is an interpretation of gender as a "social sex"; on this basis, the binary

opposition "gender-sex" emerges as a confrontation between the social and the biological sex. This binary opposition is a logical result of the basic concept and, at the same time, ideologeme of the first stage of the development of gender anthropology – gender equality.

The approach that the barren awareness of certain gender stereotypes can save humanity from the crisis phenomena of patriarchal civilization is becoming quite popular. At the beginning of the XXI century, the utopian nature of this approach is becoming increasingly apparent, because gender stereotypes and roles have an extremely wide range of manifestations, which is determined by so-ciocultural and anthropological peculiarities of a country (Murgia, & Poggio, 2018, p. 256).

At the second stage in the gender anthropology development, gender roles are understood in the plurality of manifestations, and the concept of "gender" is interpreted more as "sociocultural sex" or "anthropocultural sex". At this stage, gender studies go beyond the gender sociology and become gender anthropology as such.

An essential feature of the second stage of gender anthropology is the emergence of *gender epistemology*, which analyzes the correlation of theoretical knowledge in culture with its gender dimensions. One of the tendencies of gender epistemology is becoming *feminist epistemology*, the main problems of which is "female subjectivity" and the consideration of scientific knowledge conditioned by gender stereotypes and traditions. In Ukraine, in this context, attention is drawn to the works of I. Zherebkina, D. Bilenko, L. Stavitskaia, S. Pavlychko, N. Chukhim, etc. Gender epistemology is, in essence, gender epistemological criticism, since most authors focus on criticizing theoretical setting based primarily on the use of binary oppositions in methodologies with so-called "masculine orientation", which, according to critics of such an orientation, weakens the cognitive capabilities of the authors.

Within the third stage of the gender anthropology development, which begins in the late 90's of the XX century, there is a realization that the gender roles of a man and a woman are caused not only by social or cultural stereotypes, but are also *ontologically rooted*. And this rootedness cannot be called just biological, and its awareness tagged as "sexism" in the feminist sense of the word, which has become stereotyped. It turned out that some traditions and patterns of behaviour in the gender sphere are not stereotypes, but archetypes – *gender archetypes*, which are the eternal structural elements of the existence of men and women and the destruction or deconstruction of which can ruin this being. At this stage of gender anthropology, the critique of the phenomenon "unisex" in modern Western culture is being criticized as posing a threat to the survival of mankind as a species. In this semantic space, works by such authors as S. Bem, D. Spence, R. Helmreich, D. Stepp, as well as the explorations of Ukrainian researchers by Yu. Galustian, dealing with the problem of gender interaction in the modern polyethnic society, I. Golovneva, who studies the problem of creating gender roles.

In modern native philosophical anthropology, the third stage of gender anthropology is based to a large extent on the methodological achievements of metanthropology as the theory of ordinary, frontier and metafrontier levels of human existence (Khamitov, 2017, p. 394; Khamitov, & Krylova, 2018, p. 8). As a result, the actual problem of gender is undergoing transformation and ceases to be its only epicenter.

The theoretical achievements of the second and third stages of gender anthropology make it possible to withdraw from the abstract binary "gender-sex" to the understanding of the plurality of gender manifestations, depending on the culture of society and the personal and existential characteristics of man. An opportunity is opening to go beyond the boundaries of binary in comprehension of sex, considering it in the polyphony of biological, social, psychological and existential dimensions. In this way, gender anthropology becomes a philosophy of gender and sex.

Nowadays, the gender philosophy is the branch of philosophical knowledge that explores gender not only as a psychological and sociocultural but also as an existential phenomenon (Khamitov, 2000, p. 45; 2004, p. 223). When we talk about modern gender philosophy in the context of the metanthropology methodology, this means that gender philosophy explores the existential gender – male and female as spirituality and soulfulness in the ordinary, frontier and metafrontier dimensions of human existence. Manhood-spirituality and femininity-soulfulness are interpreted in the metanthropology coordinates as existential modes that exist in every person, regardless of its biological and even psychological and social status. The interaction of these modes causes either the development of personality, or its depression.

Today, the concept of androgynism, which reflects the existential harmony of masculine and feminine origins, is heuristically productive (Khamitov, 2002, p. 23).

The concept of androgynism comes from Plato (1993), who creates a myth about androgynes – creatures that combine men's and women's traits and threaten the power of the Olympic gods by their might (the "Banquet" dialogue). For Plato, androgynism is the state of integrity, which gives man the divine features; the loss of such integrity (Zeus and Apollo cut the androgynes in half) is a loss of God-likeness. Conversely, the connection of the "halves" means the movement towards unity with the Absolute. This understanding of androgynism becomes archetypal for the western understanding of love. It can be found in the mystical and philosophical views of the Gnostics and J. Böhme. W. Solovyov goes into the problem of androgynism, considering the idea of "Eternal Femininity" and comparing androgynism with love in its highest forms. M. Berdyaev defines androgynism as the spiritual integrity of masculinity and femininity.

In the XX-XXI centuries, the concept of "androgynism" enters both philosophy and psychology. American researcher S. Bem, who introduces the concept of "androgyny" (2002), analyzes feminine, masculine and androgynous parameters of a person. This marks a fundamentally new emphasis on understanding androgynism – not just as the interaction between man and woman in love, but also a personality that harmoniously combines manhood and femininity. This idea forms the basis of criticism of patriarchal culture and civilization and allows us to justify the idea of not only social but also psychological and existential equality of men and women (Krylova, 2011, p. 344).

If we move on relying on these ideas, one can draw an important conclusion: androgynism is not just an external or just an internal phenomenon. Androgynism is a strategy of combining the spiritual and emotional principles of an individual – existential manhood and femininity, which leads to their mutual growth and harmonization, both within the personality and in the relations between the personalities.

Now let us compare androgynism with other strategies combining masculinity and femininity, the determination of which is the theoretical core of androgyny-analysis, and on this methodological basis we will turn to the problem of modern political leadership.

Manhood and femininity (primarily in psychological and existential dimensions) can interact both constructively and destructively. It is possible to distinguish three fundamental strategies of interaction of existential manhood and femininity in the inner world of the individual and in the relations between the personalities.

1. The first strategy can be described as a *dominant strategy (sexism)*. In this case, the term "sexism" is used in a broader context than in traditional gender studies. We have not just a way of power-dominant attitude to a representative of another gender. Sexism is a way of power-attitude towards *one's self*, when feminine or masculine manifestations dominate *deep inside the individual*, and because of this we have a dominant attitude towards *the Other*. Consequently, sexism is such a rootedness in sex that suppresses a personality – both his own and the personality

of the Other. In the inner world of a person we have a dominant manhood or femininity; given the *internal* nature of such dominant, as the prime cause of its manifestation in the external, communicative sphere, the indicated strategy can be defined as *existential sexism*.

A similar dominant is possible, both in case of correspondence of the existential and psychological dimensions of the sex to biological constituent (direct dominant), and in case of their contradiction (reverse dominant). This refers to a manful or feminine man and a feminine or manful woman.

In these manifestations of the dominant strategy there is such a disproportion to human development that leads to increased internal loneliness. Let us try to comprehend this.

In the case of direct dominant, we have a psychologically and existentially manful man and a psychologically and existentially feminine woman. By joining biologically and socially, such men and women become alienated in person, shrinking in their way of being in the world.

The concept of the reverse dominant expresses the existence of a feminine man and a manful woman; of course, we mean, first of all, psychological and existential, and not biological dimensions of femininity and manhood. Under the influence of patriarchal stereotypes, such people are doomed to indifference, disdain, and sometimes aggression on the part of both their own and the opposite sex. Today, a typical situation is when, under the pressure of social circumstances, a woman develops dominant man's traits within herself, suppressing femininity and soulfulness. As a result, she achieves social success, which provides safety and standard of living, but loses the fullness of life and becomes lonely. Overcoming of this loneliness requires a profound correction of both the growth rates of existential manhood and femininity, and the very strategy of such growth.

The strategy of existential sexism (dominant sex) can be seen in the figures of politicians who emphasize their masculinity or femininity. As a result, in most cases we have a manful woman-politician or a manful man-politician with such personal features: active, aggressive, firm, adventurist, purposeful, strong-willed, and strategic. At the same time such features as amenity, tenderness, soulfulness, flexibility are depressed. Such a one-dimensional politician achieves temporary successes, but their price is quite high due to lack of humanity; sooner or later he loses the trust of his voters.

2. The second strategy could be described as *hermaphroditisation strategy*. Hermaphroditisation is a process of mutual suppression of manhood and femininity for the sake of adaptation. This is the strategy of *middle sex*. Developing in such a strategy, a person or family (community) come to "equalizing" of their manhood and femininity by inhibiting their growth. The result of the hermaphroditisation strategy is *existential hermaphroditism* or *existential unisexism* – a conscious or semi-conscious process of deactivating both manhood and femininity, and spirituality and soulfulness in the life of a man or a woman.

A person or community with such a strategy sacrifices personality dynamics for the sake of adaptability and security. Freedom and love as values are displaced in the life by the values of justice and power. As a result, justice and power, in their alienation from the value-existential space of freedom and love, deform and lose contact with humanity.

A person with a strategy of existential hermaphroditism (unisexism) can be quite existentially and socially passive, but in extreme situations he or she turns into a fanatic.

Under certain conditions, existential hermaphrodite may also be a charismatic political leader, which leads fanatics. Such a person, denying both the spiritual and soulful dimensions of existence, is filled with *anti-spirituality* and specific *destructive creativity*, he not only uses, but also generates ideas that destroy humanity. In this case, we have a transition from the passive to the aggressive being of the existential hermaphrodite, which can have a rather developed will, erudition and intelligence, which are the result of the supersublimation of sexuality and the sup-

pression of soulfulness. Indicative in this context is the phenomenon of a totalitarian leader, for example, Vladimir Lenin.

The modern political leader, who manifests the strategy of the "middle sex", becomes personally reserved, since the male and female beginnings in his inner world inhibit the development of each other. As a result, we see an aggressive political leader, or a political leader with tendencies of absurdity, regardless of whether he is a man or a woman.

3. The third strategy of interaction between men and women could be called *androgynisation* strategy, which generates such a quality of personality and relationships between individuals as existential androgynism (Khamitov, 2000, p. 45). This strategy can be called the strategy of actualized gender. In it, we have the most constructive solution to the contradiction of existential manhood and femininity in the individual, family and broader social relations.

Androgynisation is a deep actualization of the human personality and relationships between individuals; it means the harmony of the existentially male (spiritual) and existentially feminine (soulful) beginnings of human existence. This is the harmony that generates inner freedom and leads man to a combination of creative and successful social realization and love (Shynkaruk, 1994, p. 145). It is important to realize that existential androgynism is a strategy that leads to the harmonization of spirituality and soulfulness in their unity exclusively on the existential level; at the psychological level, behavioural compliance with the biological sex is considered to be productive.

The political leader, who chose the strategy of androgynism, harmoniously combines male and female traits in his personality. On the one hand, he is a strong, purposeful, active, steadfast, strategic politician, on the other hand, he is capable of showing amenity, tact, humanity and soulfulness. And this applies not only to the man as a political leader, but also to the political leaderwoman (Gipson, Pfaff, Mendelsohn, Catenacci, & Burke, 2017, p. 32).

Exactly such a political leader is able to harmonize the society, bring it to consensus and constructive development in the difficult moments of history.

## **Originality**

In the context of modern gender anthropology and androgyny-analysis, it is found that as a result of the implementation of the strategy of existential sexism and existential hermaphroditism, political leadership becomes authoritarian, and sometimes also totalitarian, while the strategy of androgynism associated with gender partnership gives rise to constructive political leadership.

## **Conclusions**

The indicated triadic model of constructive and destructive gender strategies of political leadership can be supplemented by the binary model of the late S. Freud, who offers two basic human drives: a drive to life or a drive to Eros and a drive to death – a drive to Thanatos. If we apply this methodology to the subject of our study, one can conclude that there are politicians who unknowingly seek to die. Their being is fanatical and absurd, they tend to the destruction, the depreciation of the Other, the attitude towards the Other as an object; we can assume that this is partly the leaders with the strategy of existential sexism and, more often, with the strategy of existential hermaphroditism (unisexism). The political leaders who strive for Eros are capable of building, developing, creating, being tolerant, which is peculiar to holistic androgynous personality, aimed at gender partnership and partnership in general.

Also, a binary model for understanding the constructiveness and destructiveness of a person, including a political leader, is proposed by E. Fromm. Developing the ideas of S. Freud, he uses

the opposition "necrophilia – biophilia". The necrophilic political leader is striving for war, death, suffering and pain that, according to E. Fromm, manifests itself already in childhood and quite often ends only in the very old age (Fromm, 2004, p. 635); the necrophilic tendencies can be compared with such gender strategies as existential sexism and existential hermaphroditism. While a biophilic politician is aimed at love, creativity, partnership and fruitful thinking, that admits his tendency toward androgyny.

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# ГЕНДЕРНІ СТРАТЕГІЇ ТА ПОЛІТИЧНЕ ЛІДЕРСТВО

Мета. Осмислити проблему гендерних стратегій політичного лідерства. Теоретичний базис. Роботи українських та зарубіжних вчених допомогли з'ясувати специфіку чоловічого та жіночого лідерства. В статті застосована новітня методологія андрогін-аналізу. Згідно з цією методологією, стать має не лише біологічний, психологічний та соціальний, а й екзистенціальний вимір. Екзистенціальний вимір статі — це душевність як екзистенціальна жіночість і духовність як екзистенціальна чоловічість. Ці два начала можуть вступати у суперечність, а можуть бути у гармонії. В залежності від цього маємо конструктивні чи деструктивні стратегії розвитку як особистості, так і відносин між особистостями. Конструктивність означає тут не лише гендерну рівність, а й гендерне партнерство. Наукова новизна. В контексті сучасної гендерної антропології та андрогін-аналізу виявлено, що в результаті реалізації стратегії екзистенціального сексизму й екзистенціального гермафродитизму політичне лідерство набуває авторитарний, а подеколи й тоталітарний характер, тоді як стратегія андрогінізму, що пов'язана з гендерним партнерством, породжує конструктивне політичне лідерство. Висновки. Андрогінна особистість політичного лідера, яка врівноважує чоловічі та жіночі екзистенціальні й психологічні якості, здатна згармонізувати суспільство і змінити країну на краще.

*Ключові слова:* гендер; гендерні стратегії; гендерне партнерство; гендерна антропологія; андрогін-аналіз; андрогінізм; екзистенціальна стать; стратегія екзистенціального андрогінізму; політичне лідерство

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## ГЕНДЕРНЫЕ СТРАТЕГИИ И ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЕ ЛИДЕРСТВО

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#### SOCIAL ASPECT OF HUMAN BEING

**Цель.** Осмыслить проблему гендерных стратегий политического лидерства. **Теоретический базис.** Работы украинских и зарубежных ученых помогли выяснить специфику мужского и женского лидерства. В статье использована новейшая методология андрогин-анализа. Согласно этой методологии, пол имеет не только биологическое, психологическое и социальное, но и экзистенциальное измерение. Экзистенциальное измерение пола — это душевность как экзистенциальная женственность и духовность как экзистенциальная мужественность. Эти два начала могут вступать в противоречие, а могут быть в гармонии. В зависимости от этого имеем конструктивные или деструктивные стратегии развития как личности, так и отношений между личностями. Конструктивность означает здесь не только гендерное равенство, но и гендерное партнерство. **Научная новизна**. В контексте современной гендерной антропологии и андрогин-анализа выявлено, что в результате реализации стратегии экзистенциального сексизма и экзистенциального гермафродитизма политическое лидерство приобретает авторитарный, а иногда и тоталитарный характер, тогда как стратегия андрогинизма, связанная с гендерным партнерством, порождает конструктивное политическое лидерство. **Выводы**. Андрогинная личность политического лидера, которая уравновешивает мужские и женские экзистенциальные и психологические качества, способна гармонизировать общество и изменить страну к лучшему.

*Ключевые слова:* гендер; гендерные стратегии; гендерное партнерство; гендерная антропология; андрогин-анализ; андрогинизм; экзистенциальный пол; стратегия экзистенциального андрогинизма; политическое лидерство

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