Prof. Kamen Kamenov, Dr.Ec.Scs.

THE POLITICAL PROCESS - SUSTAINABILITY THROUGH POWER, DECISIONS AND BEHAVIOR

The article examines issues related to the sustainability of the political process. Specific features of its implementation are highlighted in connection with power-exercising, decision-making and behaviour of the governors. In particular, an unusual characteristics of power is made, in connection with its determinants. Furthermore, issues associated with political power and the connections and dependencies in policy-making are analyzed. Issues of control and self-control over political power are discussed and the role of the crowd as a corrective or source of management policy is considered. The specifics of political decisions and the options of manifestation during the implementation of the political process are considered. Political behaviour is presented as a function of political power and political decisions. Emphasis is placed on the forms and motives for manifestation of various types of political behaviour.

Establishment of stability in social systems is one of the important goals for any improvement of the governance. This can be achieved only if the limits of power use are clearly outlined. Power is needed to establish order. Order, good or bad is a prerequisite for relative stability. However, the need of change is intrinsic for humans who attempt to reproduce this need through power. In this seemingly contradictory process in society the fact should not be neglected that power originates namely from society. Power, born of a sick society immune system can not be healthy, i.e. effective. In this sense, traditions, customs, values and ethics in social systems are the foundation of empowering individuals. The more pronounced and permanently fixed as basic values in relations between the institutions, groups and individuals they become, the more likely it is for power to serve public interest.

Political power is associated with the implementation of global ideas and achievement of meaningful socio-economic results. It is implemented by the political subjects based on powers vested in them by institutions. For this purpose, specific political solutions are taken, which are implemented through the objects of governance. The most important factor to achieve a sustainable political process is the manner in which institutions are established. Social maturity is manifested especially in this area. The structure and functions of the institutions are associated with the framework of the powers of the subject of power and therefore, they affect behaviour in management. Properly organized institutions must comply with the global ideas of conducted policy, and through their specific strategic objectives - results in different socioeconomic areas should be pursued.

The sustainability of the political process is directly dependent on the manner in which institutions are established and operate, on the powers vested in the political subject, on its solutions and the professional training and motivation of the performers. Therefore, the natural path of the political process proceeds along

the chain - institution (powers), subject (authority), object (performance). The specific fact with its implementation are the ways of exercising political authority, the decisions taken and the behaviour of the empowered politicians.

Power and political power

One unusual view on the characterization of the power

Power as the right to development and decision-making is associated with specific impacts on the managed objects. The brief review on the famous scientific literature definitions of power results in two main conclusions - first, that power is always associated with a particular subject and a particular object, and second, the management process is impossible without power. Actually various sources of power and different ways to its implementation are considered. However, such definitions as "insufficient power," "enormous power", "strong power", "weak power" etc. are almost not interpreted, but most often they reveal a manager or a management team. Essentially, in these cases, power is identified with those who apply it. However, this is not quite right. To analyze fuller the power, the following specific features may be taken into consideration:

●*Firstly – the power is always precisely determined as to strength and power, with varying holders and method of exercising*. This feature is associated with the potential of the managed object. Actually, it limits the objectives that could be achieved. Whatever power is used (forced, conditional, compensatory) it is impossible to achieve higher goals, if they reflect the potential properly. A big mistake observed in practice is when the problem with the higher objectives, increase of power is solved by means of increasing the power as an attempt to impose a certain behaviour, rather than looking for opportunities to increase the potential of the managed object. This is mainly due to the fact, that the governors do not know the object of governance by the governors, which leaves them with the impression that they do not have enough power. From this perspective, the concept of 'sufficient power' is associated with that amount of power which, when exerted on the object of governance fully reveals its potential in terms of the set objectives.

A common misconception of power sufficiency by authority of power originates from its inability to set objectives, i.e. to determine real strategic objectives for the managed objects. The disturbed compliance among power, potential and objectives creates a wrong impression of power sufficiency. In the process of the objectives' implementation power may be exercised by managers at various levels who possess varying degrees of power. Since it was stated that power exceeding the potential of the managed object is a kind of illusion of power, it could be concluded, that power allocation can be done in a different way. The practically adopted and approved organized scheme of the hierarchical structure is associated with hierarchical power. The latter increases upwards to the top of the structure, and decreased downwards. Since the amount of power is limited by the potential of the managed (subordinates) its possession in the hierarchy is a matter of alignment. If there is a

concentration of power at peak levels, it will be at the expense of the lower levels of management - if more power is concentrated in lower levels of management, the amount of power in the central authority decreases. In other words a strong central authority and a concentration of central power and a strong power of the middle and lower levels are impossible to coexist. In terms of quantitative criterion to determine the term "low power" i.e. power smaller than the corresponding potential of the object of control. It is produced by the established ineffective legislation or ignorance of the object of control.

●*Secondly - power can be assessed only if it is consumed. In fact, this means that any power is rationalized if it is exercised*. In this case, important are the time of using the power and its direction as means of changing the behaviour of the managed (subordinate) persons. In this regard, for example, positive or negative incentives can be used. Another important fact for activation of the subordinates is the use of power to change the nature and content of their needs.

In management practice, there are cases of discrepancies between power use and the specific situation. Most often this occurs at the wrong leadership style. Any situation in management could be solved with a specific approach. One approach is applicable in crisis situations and another - in stress cases and quite different – in extreme cases. The results of solving any particular situation can serve as a proof of the effectiveness of the exercised power.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this specific feature of power is that it is neither good nor bad. It depends on the manner of its use.

●*Thirdly - the need of power is a genetically inherent human feature*. The formulation of the specific characteristics of power is rooted in the aggressive drive which is a genetically determined component of human psychics. Before being activated, it generates this specific kind of inner tension (impulse). Aggressiveness is aimed at changing certain components of the environment, respectively of people's behaviour. It could be achieved by power, force, persuasion etc. However, the aggressiveness potential is laid in a different way and to a different degree with each person. To sum up, different people have different ambitions for power, but the strive for power is always present.

The mixture of power and aggression is a combination which does not always produce good management results. The aggressive behaviour in the use of power can be eliminated mainly through changes in the value system. Quite often, even professionals when empowered, behave in a way which raises not only negativity in subordinates, but can cause the destruction of groups and teams. The reasons may be of various nature, but the common ones are excessive pedantry, imposing not so meaningful professional requirements, among others, which complicates the management process, making it more bureaucratic, limiting initiative, creativity, etc.

●*Fourthly - the only "food" of nomenclature is power*. In fact, nomenclature is a list of management posts, with staff selected not by the head of the specific agency but by a senior party. Or, in particular, this is a list of persons occupying such positions or staying on the reserve list to occupy them (Voslenski, 1993, p. 95).

The basis for the existence of the nomenclature is the power and privilege and wealth are the consequences. The conclusion that can be drawn is that the nomenclature approach of promoting the staff can be overcome by people whose consciousness is not burdened by care for the acquisition of wealth.

●*Fifthly* - every revolutionary change is motivated by strive for power. Many observers and analysts of political events in this era of revolutions find how often the revolutionaries begin to resemble those against whom they rebelled as soon as they take the power (Brenner, 1993, p. 100, 186). About one hundred years ago Bernard Shaw said with his characteristic sense of humor that the only thing that every revolution can achieve is to transfer this responsibility for oppression from shoulders to other shoulders. Brenner writes interesting revelations, that "the revolutionaries are most often blind for the transformations that occur in them, like a fighter who became a tyrant. They and their followers believe that such an accusation is completely natural. They even believe that they keep their original ideas and still defend freedom and human rights. According to them, those who claim that they have become as the previous governors are malicious, slanderous and covert counter-revolutionaries" (Ibid., p. 186, 187).

Psychoanalysis asserts that conservatism and irrationality, characteristic of policy, originate from the same unconscious source - the drive conflict from childhood. This provides grounds to conclude that "Revolutionaries are guided by the unconscious desire to become the same as the previous rulers, which they consciously loathe, to enjoy the same privileges and the same prestige. What is the origin of those unconscious desires residing in the psyche of a sincere revolutionary who believes that, if he succeeds, will be quite different from those that toppled" (Brenner, 1993, p. 187). The answer is that the need of holding power is genetically laid in humans, which originates in aggressive drive determined in the psyche.

●*Sixthly - uncontrolled power is at the heart of every dictatorship and corruption.* People have worked hard to reveal the shortcomings of Roman emperors which might have accounted for their excesses. The reason for their crimes is quite clear - it lies in boundless sovereignty power used by them. "If you take a normal person with ordinary virtue and mind and give him/her more power, it will soon start to act crazy. If Nero were deprived of power yet in the beginning, he would probably have lived an inglorious bourgeois life without notorious vices" (Tuluz, 1909, p. 69).

This specific characteristic of power is confirmed by the analysis of the sources of power. According to Galbraith they are: personality (individuality), ownership and organization (see Galbrayt, 1993, p. 12, 13).

Assuming leaders possess such qualities as intelligence, moral conviction, physical data, etc. to while exercising power, the other two sources - ownership and organization, if not placed under some form of control can become the basis of dictatorship and corruption in society. According Galbrayt (1993, p. 13), property or wealth, provide influential position, guaranteed success, and this may predispose others to conditional obedience. They are used to provide funds for the purchase of subordination. A society where there is no control over the system of wealth

acquisition may be easily populated by people with dubious morals people on top of the management hierarchy. The reason for this lies namely in the purchased obedience wealth in elevating the ladder of power.

As for the organization as a source of power, in this case the organizational forms of people's joint activity - from the smallest team to the State. Not a few evils to humanity is a result of a seemingly logical form of behaviour in which it is believed that the most errorless are the things that have been accepted with general approval. In this regard, Seneca wrote: „And this happened, as in election meetings, where the same people who have chosen some individuals to Pretoria wonder how they had chose them as their mobile favor changes. We approve the same things and blame same things. This is the outcome of any judgment when deciding depending on what most people thought" (Seneka, 1927, p. 6).

One of the reasons for the organization to become a powerhouse, leading to dictatorship and corruption is the resulting conviction about the role of the majority and the associated subordination of the organization's objectives in this case. This automatically leads to the conclusion that larger organizations can impose objectives on smaller ones, which is motivated by the majority. Moreover, they can be quite sincere in their arguments and the displayed organizational behaviour of goodwill, but underlying this wrong, even absurd reasoning. Seen from this angle, the very principle of solving problems through majority should be accomplished only in a well-organized system of internal self-control.

Not alleging that the discussed specifics of power characterize it completely in all its forms, an unusual look at some of them and their knowledge by managers and subordinates may diminish the surprises associated with its use.

Political power - links and dependencies in policymaking

1. Political power, regulatory base and political responsibility

Not rarely, the public expectations resulting from the occurrence of a certain significant event do not take place as expected which could be briefly and clearly explained as follows - it is a political decision. In this case, it is important to explain these links and dependencies of formal and informal nature, such as:
- Political power and legislation;
- Political power and party politics;
- Political power and political responsibility;
- Control and self-control over political power;
- The crowd - corrective or source of management policy.

A specific manifestation of political power is the party's power, which is associated with the conduct of a certain party politics. In democratic societies, through the principles of the free choice election behaviour actually, one or more parties are actually nominated, that associate in themselves party power, respectively political power. Thus, in practice, when speaking of political power, the power associated with a particular party or parties is meant. And vice versa, when speaking from time to time of party politics, it is inevitably associated with the concept of "political power".

The interweaving of political power and political responsibility relations with legislation has a rich practical content. When the wording "political solution" hides the legal basis, arises the issue of political responsibilities. The lack of clear and precisely defined legislation, on one hand, and its subjective interpretation make the resistance to political irresponsibility timid and unmotivated. In this subjective interpretation of solutions of poorly-structured and vaguely defined problems makes everyone, trying to resist, responsible before the law. There are not a few "dormant" laws and regulatory decisions that are activated to appease the political opponents. And getting bogged down in the daily bureaucracy makes people politically inadequate and their vigilance effort for the political behavior. This gave a reason not only for the society's misinterpretation of some result or other of political decisions, but also of inadequate responses, incorrectly structured and focused on solving problems in the wrong direction. What follows from the results obtained, are the standard analyses of the reasons leading to negative consequences, but with no possibility for change. Subsequent actions are aimed rather at transferring responsibility to others than at critical introspection to correct the behaviour and effect real change. Most often, the collective nature of the decision taken in practice leads to lack of specific responsibility.

The most important strategic responsibility of political power is associated with the setting of objectives. The establishment of preconditions for the emergence of crises of various kinds and scales depends largely on the correlation between political objectives and institutions (Table 1).

Table 1

The relationship between political objectives and institutions

Political objectives	Institutions	Results (expectations)
Correctly set	Mismatching	Institutional blockade
Incorrectly set	Matching	Correction of political objectives
Correctly set	Matching	Accelerated changes, development and economic growth
Incorrectly set	Mismatching	Crisis in policy and economy

Here, the following options are available (Kamenov, 2003, p. 18):

• *Properly set political objectives, but mismatched institutions.* In this case, there is an institutional blockade, i.e. the policy objectives are limited by institutions which are structurally and functionally outdated.

• *Incorrectly set political objectives and matching institutions.* Under this option, because of errors or insufficient professionalism of the subject of power, it is possible to mistake the very setting of objectives. The outcome of this situation is to correct the political objectives which may be preceded by changes in the subject of power.

• *Correctly set political objectives and matching institutions.* This is the most favorable option, which provides conditions for accelerated change and economic growth.

• *Improperly set political objectives and mismatching institutions*. This is an option which is indicative for a crisis in policy and economy. The specific in it is that because of professional, organizational, motivational and other weaknesses of the subject of power, the very goal-setting can not position itself as the benchmark for any institutional changes. Usually the processes of changes in such cases are slow and painful and may result in the formation of a more active nucleus in the subject of power. It is possible to accelerate the process of change by external forces, but similar situations do not always emerge. For this purpose, political activity and flexibility can be essential as well.

The political power, as one by determining the strategic objectives for the development of the social and economic systems must provide flexible and effective policies based on evaluation and analysis of both internal and external factors. Because they can be with different orientation of impact, it is important to find more a flexible way of correspondence between political objectives and institutions. Blindly following an emotional crafted party policy can only complicate the process of change.

In the field of personal and socio-economic life, the behaviour of the human factor is governed by relevant regulations. In this sense, each institution is also associated with regulations. It is the basis of the behaviour of the institution, and this in turn determines the implementation of the policy objectives. In this chain of relationships and dependencies regulations play a leading role. It is also determined by the results from the legislative authority. The compliance "objectives and institutions" and "legislation" is important for the sustainability of the management process (Table 2).

Table 2

Compliance among objectives and institutions and legislation

Objectives and institutions	Legislation	Results
Disturbed compliance	Modern legislation	Possible changes in the objectives and institutions
Disturbed compliance	Outdated legislation	Political and institutional crisis
Available compliance	Outdated legislation	Politically based initiatives for change in legislation
Available compliance	Modern legislation	Development of the public sector and economic growth

The possible options are as follows (Kamenov, 2003, p. 19, 20):

• *Disturbed compliance between objectives and institutions, but modern legislation*. Under this option, changes in the objectives and institutions are possible to achieve the desired compliances.

• *Disturbed compliance in goals and institutions and outdated regulations*. This option is a basis for a crisis. In it, major changes are required in the institutional structure, followed by updated base regulations. The initiatives for such changes can be both internal or external.

• *Compliance available between goals and institutions, but outdated regulations*. Usually, in such case primarily initiatives for change in the regulatory base of a political nature are expected.

• *Compliance available among objectives and institutions and modern* legislation. This is the most favorable combination. Under this option, there is a political and economic stability, enabling accelerated development in the social and economic sectors.

The achievement of a full compliance between the objectives and institutions, on the one hand, and regulations, on the other hand, is not an easy task. Most often the lag is caused by legislation, and it can affect different stages and different institutions. This is one of the main causes of conflict between institutions, which disturbs the sustainability of the management process and generates crisis situations. The setting of objectives plays not less important role. The determination of evidence-based policy objectives that are not influenced by political compromises and informal external pressure is the basis of the effective management process. The functioning of any social system is associated with the behaviour of the human factor. In case of wrong setting of objectives, however, the attitude of the human factor may be different for certain purposes. The reasons for this are different - ranging from political bias and ending with insufficient professionalism. In such a situation, the wrong policy objectives are backed up by political appointments and professionalism turns into opposition. This is a reason for a serious disturbance of the sustainability of the management process in two directions – first, if the implementation of the set goals is wrong, there is an irrational spending of resources (human, material, financial) and secondly, the attempt to change objectives can outline a significant delay of the changes due to the different attitudes toward the new objectives and possible conflicts. The occurrence of such situations in the social and economic life is a major prerequisite for the establishment of conditions for crises on institutional basis. This factor, augmented by the attempted interference in the work of the institutions dictated by political and economic interests, thus accelerating the onset of institution-based political and economic crisis.

2. Control and self-control over the political power

To implement an effective political process, it is essential to establish a control function. Control and self-control over political power are important not only to achieve the ultimate objectives of the political power, but also to adjust the deviations that might appear in the course of their implementation. They are based on compliance with the legislation – external and internal.

Control is a way of exercising power. The need of individuals to exercise control over certain things from the surrounding world is their intrinsic characteristic. When no external objects to control are available, at his discretion, man turns to himself. This kind of self control can lead to certain psychological problems, if certain specialized steps in this direction are not taken. This purely psychological peculiarity of the control function can turn either positive or negative during the exercise of power. This is particularly true for political power, where in most cases, the electoral principle for occupying certain positions is applied. The right to produce and make decisions becomes crucial for the implementation of the political process. Therefore after the occupation of certain political positions, the ability for self-control of particular importance.

The political power is a function of a relatively broad previous public discussion, looking for public confidence by using categories such as values, morality, ethics, trust, etc. When these values are not considered, the form of exercising political power is changed and its actions violate the public interest - appointments to key positions of convenient people, search of personal benefit from certain decisions, establishment of lobbies in different socio-economic structures to convey effective solutions etc. In these cases, extremely important are the different forms of external control. However they are not always efficient, which may be due to an interested political breakthrough in important control institutions or to imperfect legislation. The latter is also in the field of political activity, but when the interests of the political majority and the opposition are coordinated, then the changes are just cosmetic, satisfying only such interests. Thus, the smooth running of the political process is disturbed and in most cases this vicious circle may be exited only through the crowd.

3. The crowd - a corrective or a source of management policy

The relationship between the implementation of the political process and the behaviour of crowds is clearly outlined. In many cases, they are type of valve to overcome the accumulated social tension and a possible corrective or source of management policy. With the increase of democratic benefits and the free behaviour in society the relationship between political, economic and social processes and the power of pressure from the crowds becomes more clear.

The origin of crowds actually is associated with groups of people gathered together, and especially with their new behavior. It is usually provoked by new ideas. Concerning the last, G. Le Bon believes that "... every civilization is derived from a small number of fundamental ideas that rarely suffer renewal" (Le Bonn, 2003, p. 42). Historical turmoil is a result mainly from changes in these fundamental ideas. The ideas are accepted by the crowds, if they had a very simple form and are represented in their minds in the form of images. This statement of G. Le Bon us suggests that the crowds do not need a significant and profound analysis of the specific situation. To them, the emotional charge that gives the idea is important. It is namely this feature which is most often made use of by the political parties when they want to impose certain ideas. Le Bon motivatess the meaning of knowing crowd psychology as a "tool for the statesman who wishes not to manage them - it is now very difficult, but wants to not be fully controlled by them"(Ibid., p. 12).

What impresses the crowd is mainly associated with images. Le Bon points out that "If you do not always have these images, it is possible to challenge them through skillful use of words and phrases ... moreover, words with the vaguest sense sometimes have the greatest impact. These include democracy, socialism, equality, freedom, etc., whose meaning is so vague that thick volumes are not enough to specify them" (Le Bonn, 2003, p. 75). Moreover, Le Bon says "that the words "socialism" and "democracy" correspond to completely opposite ideas in Latin and Anglo-Saxon souls. "For the Latin the word "democracy" means primarily the deletion of the will and initiative of the individual at the expense of those of the state ... For the Anglo-Saxons the word "democracy" means, on the contrary, the rapid development of

the will of the individual and the withdrawal of the state ... therefore, for these two nations the same words have radically different meanings" (Ibid., p. 79).

Since a certain word can be interpreted differently, making different suggestions, it turns out that, by appropriately selected words and phrases, not only emotional impact may be produced, but mislead as well. And since man instinctively tends to the expected better, politicians can, by appropriately selected words and phrases, voiced by well-trained individuals in certain situations, attract huge numbers of supporters. In this case, approaches are applied such as the search for superficial relationships between people and events, summarizing private events, etc. The lack of reasoning and logical order for what is going on around the individual, puts him/her on the level of the crowds. When this becomes a mass behavior practically crowds fall in a favourable environment. Then, their life is extended and delusion becomes universal.

The behavior of crowds is dominated by the respect for the power and goodness makes negligible impression and crowds quickly see it as a kind of weakness. In this connection G. Le Bon noted that "always ready to revolt against weak power, crowd obsequiously bends to strong power" (Le Bonn, 2003, p. 38). Thus, in case of weak power, crowd attempts to influence the political process. This usually happens when power is corrupted, when it is vested in the hands of non-professionals, when is accompanied by internal strife and conflicts, or when is manipulated from inside or from the outside. On the contrary, the strong power can influence the crowd and its conceptual basis ideas by skillfully led policies.

Street crowds are the ones which most often try to be a corrective or a source of policy. Moreover, their behavior is often influenced by backroom political interests. In order to influence the political process the enable street mob must have been encountered by a very weak power. But even then, the crowd can not produce any specific political decision or influence the political system, despite its strive to become the supreme policy regulator. In case of exhausted political potential, however, the crowd can not be used due to the high uncertainty of its behaviour when trying to exert political pressure. In such cases, it comes to political competition, when opposition forces "mounts" the crowd's protest. The reaction of the official power to maintain the status is to correct the conducted policy. Where it is impossible to calm down the protest in this way, a new management policy may be designed, which actually means a change of power.

Due to the high uncertainty of the behaviour of crowds, it is difficult to search and find targeted and prudent action against them. Often supported by the media and seeking active support from social networks, the crowds can turn to be a real factor influencing the course of the political process. To what extent and for how long, this depends on two conditions - the durability of the ideal that inspires them, and the power of power. The fact that crowds can deny what they have liked until recently endows them with informal power, which creates major difficulties for the proper and effective response of the formal power. It is possible for a certain adjustment of the conducted policy to satisfy the crowd for a while, but with time it

can be denied as a result of the crowd's changeable conceptual affiliation. Thus, obeying the situational suggestions of the crowd can lead to significant errors in the conducted policy. Perhaps, the proper response for power is not retreat under situational pressure, but to defend the basic principles of the conducted policy. Of course, this does not exclude concomitant analysis of individual elements of the conducted policy (political process), but the changes should not be made under pressure, but only in case of analysis-proven necessity.

Decision and political decision

Philosophical and behavioral characteristics of the decision

To discuss on decision theory and add something new would be not only difficult but quite unnecessary as well. What can be done is, based on what we know up to now to seek connection with other aspects and characteristics of making, taking and implementing the decisions. This kind of decisions necessarily exist in the implementation of the political process.

Every decision is a desire for change. It can be directed either to purely physical dimensions of the environment or to human behaviour. The decisions taken in social systems are expected to result in positive changes; in this respect, their marking as "good" and "better" or "best" may be associated with the expectations suggested by them. Moreover, any decision gets its characteristics at the time of being made by the governor, but must be proved with time. What's more - some of them may prove to be unfeasible. A phenomenon that occurs frequently in the conduct of political struggle for power and may be due to various reasons, such as:

• *Discrepancy in time of "taking-implementation" of the decision.* The best option is when a solution is implemented within the shortest period of time between taking and implementing it. Such decisions are not significantly important to the organisations. With crucial importance are the decisions whose results appear after a relatively long period of time from the decisions-taking moment. They carry strategic potential and are very important to the subjects concerned. However, this should not undermine the quality of operating decisions;

• Level of the performers - it is best when training, motivation and team compatibility match the complexity of the decision and the deadline for its implementation. Longer periods reduce the likelihood of such compliance;

• Change in the environment - it should not only be subject to continuous monitoring and analysis, but actions should aim to obtain information in advance about any favourable or unfavorable changes in it. This is a factor which, by its manner of manifestation, does not fall within the scope of the direct influence and control by those interested in the decision's implementation. Therefore, there are many cases when striving for active change of the environment can be replaced by adapting to its circumstances. Usually such a policy is not approved because it affects the expected results of the decision's implementation.

Quite often, for reasons of imperative political enthusiasm or desire to satisfy some narrow party (or in some cases, personal) interests, a certain decision is qualified

as the best one. If you go beyond the purely political interests, any decision, regardless of the general justification of its effectiveness, in the respective moment incorporates hidden "defects" as a person living with a variety of potential diseases that are activated when favourable conditions appear. So, what was qualified as the best solution at the time of taking the decision, can display some "defects" with time, as a result of:

●*Having expectations that may not come true*. Very often, decision makers profess the philosophy of the shooter - to aim higher than the target, so as to hit it. This is an often used political approach for making an advance trust or electoral success. In social systems such a logic is not always sustained because the unpredictable behaviour of people and groups can cause unexpected twists.

●*Demobilization of people and teams in pursuit of positive changes*. Usually this happens in case of failure to achieve the expected results of the decision. It is known that human psyche is tuned so that the applied work and efforts activate personality if being successful. Then, people are ready for a new action disclosing fully their potential. Activity can also leads to certain creative decisions in the working process. On the contrary a failure demobilizes people, especially if it happens for the first time. This leads to restriction of the initiative and creative attitude in the process. And to some extent this may explain the political behavior when in obvious crisis we talk about stability and resistance.

●*Decline in trust of others*. Most often this happens when promoting expected results which subsequently do not come true. A common political move is to blame the previous governments. In the absence of convincing arguments, usually the political power is lost.

●*Demonization of the performers*. This is observed in the absence of the incentives expected from the performers. It increases as a negative trend when in time the processes of mutual confidence decrease and the most acceptable explanations provided by government are exhausted.

Given the "hidden defects" of the best decision undoubtedly can be determined *the executable decision* - as such in terms of the expected result. But how can we understand *which* is the executable decision? The answer to this question is directly linked to the potential of the solution.

Structurally, the executable decision includes:

• Performers - of key significance for the good potential is their qualifications, experience and motivation;

• Resources - the implementation of any decision requires financial and material resources, that should be provided regularly in time;

• Organization - means at least two things: first, proper provision and allocation in time of the resource by quantity and quality, and secondly, active behaviour of the human factor in relation to their effective use.

If after the decision's implementation the problem has been settled, positive assessment of the results of the decision may be given. Too often, in however, a discrepancy is observed in management practices, between the potential of the decision and the nature of the problem. It is well known that the sparrows on a tree can

be destroyed with one cartridge or with one projectile, but the second option is 100 times more expensive than the first one. Some political decisions are namely of such nature, when a certain political will has to be imposed. Quite often, decisions without any substantial potential, are applied to solve complex problems. The results are either not solving the problem at all, or solving it with partial success. But there are also cases where powerful human, financial and material resources are engaged to solve simple problems. In such situations, it would be interesting to answer the question where the remaining portion of the resources has been directed. And the use of the cliché "a political decision", often puts an end to such questions.

Any decision features two components - mandatory and flexible. The first one is the constitution of the decision which should not be changed, or which is impossible to change in the process of the decision's implementation. The second one provides for greater dynamics and allows to comply the implementation with the peculiarities of the environment. The correlation between the two components can be in different proportions. This is determined by a number of factors: in the first place, the potential of the decision, the time for its implementation, the stability of the environment in which it is implemented, etc. A weakness of the decision-making practice of the management decisions are extremes - excessive constitution, or excessive flexibility. The first option is characterized by excessive centralization and a kind of dictatorship in the management, while in the second, the possible ongoing changes can make the original idea of the decision to be abandoned. Quite often, the choice of one of the above-mentioned options depends on the subjective political assessment of the problems and the emotional approach to the conceptual basis for their development.

Political decision - features and options of manifestation in the implementation of the political process

An essential feature of political decisions is that they are very often associated with complex coordinated actions to influence public opinion. The focus depends on the defined policy objectives. This is the way to create the prerequisites for non-compliance – is determined acceptable to the society purposes, political decisions are taken which deviate from the set objectives and it is possible in fact fundamentally different actions. Exactly this kind of non-compliance gave rise for some public figures to define policy "as a world where betrayal wins" (Valerie Trivilyor, French journalist). In any statement, whether extreme or not, which has been derived from practice, there is always some truth. As a result of a political action, for instance, it is possible to replace the objectives of the decision in an informal way to satisfy certain political interests. Thus the desired result is achieved. Quite often, the objectives are advertised while the interests remain hidden. Moreover, objectives are motivated in a different way than interests.

To trace the "decision objective - interests" relationship, at least three questions should be answered:

1. Who stands behind the defined objectives? The answer can be found by looking for the parties which are interested in implementing the taken decision. Everything could be assumed normal, were it not linked with the second question.

2. Is there any difference between motivation of the objective of the decision and motivation of the interests? The answer to this question is - maybe, yes. It is possible that the objectives of the decision are motivated in one way, and the interests – in another way, i.e. the underlying interests are other motives, different from the motives of the decision which are actually advertised. This option essentially creates possibility to search a division in the behavior of the humans factor. One would be in terms of the objectives and another in terms of interests. If this duality is embodied in the head or in the management team, the conclusions are clear - the objectives of the decision serve as a cover for other interests. Any organisation where such processes take place has a dubious future. And it can consciously be driven to bankruptcy by the management team. The option is possible when such a behavior can be suggested to the team from the outside and may be in the form of goodwill or pressure. In such cases, the organization is betrayed from within to serve foreign interests.

3. Can it be assumed that in case of divergence between the reasons for the decision and the interests, the decision itself contains potential of strategic deception? The answer is yes, if the interests are hidden behind other motives – different from the objectives. The discrepancy between the objectives and these interests can have different supply of origins. The most common are related to:

●*Lobbyism.* Usually this is accepted as a normal practice for defending most of all the interests of the group, but the personal interests are not excluded. But outside the context of interests, lobbyism confronts a basic democratic principle –the possibility of free competition. This applies to both the physical and the spiritual market. Having a lobby on a certain levels of power means that you can always count on at least attention being paid to a problem, as opposed to those who do not have this privilege. Moreover, there is no guarantee that the potential of the latter is not better than the first. Open lobbyism still gives transparency to certain interests and the reasons for their satisfaction. With the hidden lobbyism it is possible to back-up positions that seemingly do not serve certain interests but afterwards it may turn out, that this is not true. Or a decision which is taken now afterward turns out to serve specific interests. In the hidden lobbyism the discrepancy between the reasons of the objectives of the decision and the motives of the interests becomes evident. The inclusion of elements of such behaviour in the implementation of the political process can lead to the replacement of the competition of goods and services on the material market and ideas for the spiritual market, due to competition among centers of lobbying in power. However, lobbyism is a practice characteristic of both developed and developing countries. It would be frivolous to believe that it can be eliminated as a behaviour of the government. There is no other option but to comply with such a practice by means of different forms of control, to restrict it to hidden lobbyism. Only in this way the lobbyism will come out of that state, which turns it into secondary market of competition, where the motives of the objectives of a decision diverge significantly from the motives of the interests.

●*Serving close corporate interests.* Quite often, good professionals having adequate information (by quantity and quality) can bring out initiatives for taking

decisions in the organization that seemingly serve the interests of the entire organization, but afterwards it turns out that that this is not the case. When narrow party interests stand behind such initiatives and a party umbrella is provided for them, it is possible for the management to take decisions or to mimic deception, and thus serve specific corporate interests. Moreover, the behaviour of the management team can manifest serious motivation in formulating the objectives of the decision. But time proves that these objectives did not serve the interests of the organization but those of a certain number of people inside or outside it.

●*Influence of group interests associated with the shady business.* A typical example of this is the "mobbing" of economy in the country during the so-called years of transition to market economy. This phenomenon of economic behaviour is seemingly an eclecticism of mafia tactics, manifestation of corporate interests, party lobbyism and brutal use of the concept of strategic deception. Any attempts to diagnosticate this phenomenon now may not be accurate. Only from a distant time perspective the contours of the real political system might be outlined and its proper internal structuring performed, making an assessment of these processes in in socio-economic life of the country. But one thing is certain now, that behind the apparent eclecticism a serious and coherent system lies, the ideological basis of which is not the work of "spiritual vegetarians." It is backed up by prepared people who communicate well with the political system. It is also very difficult to legally prove on this stage the discrepancy between of the reasons of the objectives of the decisions and the motives of interests.

●*The influence of external forces.* In this regard, economic and scientific Intelligence has a special place. A specific place here has the concept of strategic deception and introduction of good professionals in companies and organizations of special interest. In the form of consulting, advice or direct financial support management can be provided taking this kind of management decisions in whose correctness there is no doubt. Time can show that the reasons of these decisions are motivated in a way that serves foreign interests. These processes can aggravate, if professionalism in assessing situations is replaced by political interference.

●*Taking decisions "on condition".* The scheme in this case is seemingly simple - event "B" comes true if event „A" will be realized first. There is a need of taking and implementing decisions which is a set by those people who affect the realization of the second event. The fact on the condition shows that the reasons of the decisions realizing of the event „A" will be motivated in the interest of those who influence event "B". This is a typical example of imposing decisions in which the motives of the interests are clearly outlined. This process is only feasible in the exercise of political power and foremost, with hidden lobbying.

The decision as a volitional act is directly related to the behaviour of the human factor. It is particularly important to have a conformity in the behavior of decision makers with the behavior of the performers. Diversity is possible in many cases, but particularly important are those connected with non-compliance of the potential of the decision and the problem which has to be solved, and the divergence of the motives for the objectives of the decision and the motives of the interests in its implementation.

Most often, such situations arise when making political decisions inconsistent with the actual situations. Any deviation in this direction is usually compensated by exercising additional power. However, this process is accompanied by backlash from those who are placed in such conditions, which inevitably increases the degree of tension in social systems. To avoid such situations, it is necessary to improve diagnose problems on which decisions are taken and to be aware of and eliminate the major sources of discrepancy between the motives for the objectives of the decision and the motives for the interests in the decision's implementation. In particular, it comes to political interference, open and covert lobbying and others.

Behaviour and political behaviour
Political behavior - a function of political power and political decisions

In general, it can be assumed that the pursuit of a certain order in social systems gives rise to the need for power. For its part, order, whether good or bad, is a prerequisite for relative stability. However, the intrinsic need for change in humans makes them attempt to reproduce this desire of theirs through power. Most often, this is accomplished based on the right to produce and take appropriate decisions. Thus, in a seemingly contradictory process - sustainability through power and change through power, a specific political behaviour is implemented.

Political behavior is associated primarily with the institutions' development strategy. They make one of the major regulators of public economic and social relations. They are the one of the main regulators of economic and social relations in society. Assuming the option that political behaviour is always a function of the decision means adherence to a cause that in time can lose its positions. This is so, because the decision itself assumes the role of a determinant, and if you go beyond specific prescriptions, negative consequences for the trespassers follow. With the other option - the behaviour as a function of the situation asymmetrical results and lack of coherent in the policy making. Overall, in the society this is assumed as uncontrollable democracy, which in the absence of regulation leads to chaos in institutional relations.

Frequently the cases when because of keeping temporary resistance the political behaviour finds an expression in sacrificing more important benefits and gains over time. Usually, this happens when party political directives are followed. Then the party policy is separated from professional competence and aims at its own political objectives which are away from reality. Most often, with such behaviour, time erases collective irresponsibility and the problems are ignored. But that does not mean that they disappear, on the contrary, their accumulation becomes not only a threat to the sustainability of the social systems, but it can also lead to their destruction. The chaotic changes contribute to this. Since policy-makers are well aware that with making one thing you can not expect different results they often imitate reforms. Such a bahaviour can affect institutions that have worked well and have had a certain stability, that could change their structure and activities, not matching their needs. The personal self-conservation of certain political and power positions is often a motive for taking policy decisions that do not correspond to

public expectations. The accumulation of practice in this area certainly does not lead to political longevity.

Political power, when used inadequately, can cause distortions of the relations between institutions, groups, and even between individuals. If you imagine a political figure without power, and evaluate his/her purely human qualities, no wonder to find the gap between personal and political behaviour. This is so, because power can conceal flaws in human qualities and inspire behaviour and clichés, which have no value in ordinary life. Thus, a man of power can leave his natural behaviour and show qualities that he himself did not suspect. Therefore, if you observe carefully those who have been deprived of power, you will surely spot some remnants of unnatural behaviour. In an environment where they possess no power, it can be highlighted to such an extent as to raise bewilderment in others. Of course, there are more flexible and adaptable individuals who, when deprived of power, do not display significant deviations of behavior. Perhaps these are the people who are good political leaders.

The imprint of power on the behaviour of individuals is inevitably associated with morality. This is most clearly pronounced when you lose power. For this reason, those addicted to power, are often a source of political specific behaviour in politics, expressed as "swarming" of parties of various sizes. The cases are not rare where such conduct seeks a kind of shield in authority for committed legislative violations. If we imagine some of the greatest dictators deprived of their power they would surely fill the ranks of most ordinary people, while others following their drive impulse and breaking laws rather than creating them, might fall them to victim. Although those who are not prepared to manage hardly stay for a long time on top of the management pyramid, the share of those who are tempted for this, is not small. Power, respectively the right to take decisions and to determine the fate of others, seems to be embedded in human nature. And if in this striving there is nothing unnatural, it is a matter of morality which way is followed to this end.

Reflections on morality and ethics in management are directly linked to politics. It seems that this is not an easy task even for a great philosopher and thinker as Seneka who understood only the age of 65 said that "rough realities of politics are stronger than morality" (Seneka, 1987, p. 22). Policy is based on ideas, but without business and power, it is unfeasible. Therefore, there is a lot written about with which one to start - business or politics, and in most cases it is an established view that people who enter politics should be successful. In purely theoretical terms the options are as follows:

- A man becomes successful in life, gets rich and then enters politics.
- A man joins politics and then seeks power and wealth.
- Entrepreneurs develop businesses, those prone to politicking enter politics.
- A man progresses both in business and in politics.

Each of the variants is associated with specific behavior of the human factor. In practice, it leads him to the objective.

The best option is the fourth one - to progress both in business and in politics. There is no place for compromises with conscience and the system of moral norms

and principles adopted in a society does not get affected. But in practice this is more often an exception than a rule.

In the first case, assuming that success in business is a result of compliance with the agreed rules, it can be assumed that moral people will join politics. There are a couple of dangers here - first, the method of acquiring wealth may remain hidden from the public and, secondly, the lack of political experience. However in politics, the conceptual basis comes first and while business is for pragmatic people who, while they developed their entrepreneurial skills, certainly did not have enough time for ideological improvement. If so, then this option is identical with the fourth one.

It seems that the most vulnerable option is the second one – joining politics and then striving to accumulate wealth and power. While it could not be said that there are no people who joined and left politics without changing their material status, it is a fact that they are mostly exceptions. With this option we could talk about politician's morality and how "entrepreneurship" in politics is transformed into entrepreneurship in business. Of course, in a civil society such transformation is hardly accepted because there are enough various forms of control. Or, if such cases occur, they are really an exception.

The third option seems to be the most democratic one - everyone develops in his field, for which he has the necessary qualities. That might be so, if politics had only ideological basis and no material needs. And here, the mutual compromises start - business provides politics with material support, while politics in return "stretches umbrellas over it." In such situations, it is not possible to speak of morality, neither in business, nor in politics.

Of course, the third option is really good, if the State funded the parties sufficiently. Then it is expected that the unregulated contacts with the business would end. And it is so in developed societies where there is a properly structured political system and few parties (although it is possible to have breaches), but with tens or hundreds of parties this approach is impossible.

When talking about morality, whether it comes to business, management or policy/politics, the goal is the same - by respecting the conditional norms and principles of behavior adopted in a society to reduce "friction" in human relations. Or figuratively speaking, the power of morality can transform conflict into driving force and thus increase the reactivity of social systems. Only in this way human potential can be used for personal and social good.

Obviously, political power has a potential that can be developed in different directions. Whether the direction will be negative or positive depends on the morality of politicians in taking decisions. In practice, it is a regulator of political behavior that is a function of political power and political decisions.

Forms and motives for manifestation of various types of political behavior

1. Political opinion, suggestion, manipulation and action as forms of political behaviour

The implementation of the political process is associated with the achievement of certain objectives. This requires two important conditions to be satisfied -

professionalism at every level of hierarchy and behaviour, allowing the use of professional potential. It is namely behaviour of the individual which is the basis of group success. There are people well endowed with intelligence and professional knowledge, who vegetate for the lack of behavioral adequacy to the emerging situations. Quite often, in their strive for quick success or small, immediate benefits in life, they tend to risk far more durable and major acquisitions. Thus, they become easily subject to manipulation because of the lack of strategic thinking, and the short time horizon they aspire to make them unconfident in their actions.

Professional potential and behavioral adequacy in addressing the emerging problematic situations are the foundation of success. Each person can behave differently in a specific situation, which is provoked by various reasons. For example, the same persons can be radically different in identical situations because of the people who have provoked them. The opposite case is also possible - different situations provoking the same behavior.

The attitude to a given situation can be defined as an inner sense of justice, i.e. fully justified in the particular circumstances. It depends primarily on the value system. Political opinion as expressed attitudes can be influenced both by the specific situation as well as by the foresight, i.e. the ability to look forward in time. Every problematic situation is a cause to mobilize the efforts of individuals and groups. When this is associated with a well reasoned political idea, the expected results can be good. These results, however, may be achieved not only through an unanimous opinion, but by suggestion/insinuation as an effort to persuade the performers of the benefits from the ideas' implementation. However, when the complexity of the problems significantly exceeds their potential and is possibly accompanied by resource problems (human, financial, material) this causes demotivation. Political behavior must inspire and provide the most objective manner to the problems and ways to solve them. There are not rare cases in which initiatives are taken and promises are made that have serious discrepancies with the economic potential, the possible organization and motivation for their practical implementation. In such cases the possible outcomes are - to create problems, solutions to which are not provided, or to manipulate the public opinion, seeking justifying reasons. Most often they not only do not inspire confidence and sound unconvincing but may additionally demotivate the executors. In this sense, one of the reasons for bad political behaviour is the emotional attitude to power. This leads to frequent change of ideas, which wouldn't be a negative behaviour if it hadn't lead to change of the principles that define the political nature of the subject. Thus, by changing the basic rules that made it recognizable, serious distortion of the essential part may occur. Thus, by frequent change of ideas, and then of principles, considerable part of the political subjects become depersonalized because they begin to look very similar in their political behavior.

Attitude as a mental model is not associated with external expression, it is in the mind of the individual and therefore is a form of passive behaviour. The expressing of opinion, attempted suggestion/insinuation or manipulation, as well as taking specific actions is an external manifestation of attitude as a form of active political behavior

associated with the nature of the situations - favorable or unfavorable circumstances, assessment of strategic benefits and more. Specific results depend on the basic political ideas and their transformation into a specific policy.

2. Political clichés and political speaking

If the purpose of the cliché gets transferred to situations in the public life, interesting reflections will be caused. First, the cliché has no value if not used, while its frequent use leads to its wearing-out. In society, there are different sources of clichés. Without any claim to be exhaustive or to rank them, the more important ones are politics, religion, professional distortions in the way of thinking and more.

It seems that clichés stand out most clearly in politics. Slogans, appeals, behaviour, etc., everything is targeted at the same goal - power. Moreover, the clichés themselves do not call for it, they have other, objectives, more acceptable to the masses, which are often based not on rational but on emotional behaviour. Therefore, in this era of revolutions, it is impressive how often revolutionaries are beginning to resemble those against whom they rebelled, once having acquired political power. There are political clichés which, when served emotionally, have such a great effect on the mind that not trusting them would mean lack of sound logic. It is namely these clichés which put political behaviour within a framework that could not be exited without the act being considered a deviation from the policy pursued.

Political speech often differs from ordinary communication. What makes it different is the strive to make a good impression on the opposite party and attract followers. As a behavior it is fine, but sometimes it does not coincide with the truth about the specific situations. This gets reinforced through the use of clichés selected to sound more persuasive. Thus, for a while, a seemingly good environment could be created – politicians are well received for what they say, and "listeners" hear what they expect. But this does not last long because over time the true picture of the respective situations gets revealed. Thus, one side loses integrity and the other one loses trust.

Using political speech one can express an opinion, make an insinuation or manipulate. As it is based on political power it is very dangerous to allow it to be combined with the power of the underworld. This leads to compelling problems for the legitimate structures. The peculiar thing is that what comes to the forefront is manipulation combined with selected clichés and the results of the specific actions have nothing to do with the political speech. Such a behaviour leads to a strong decrease of trust in political structures.

3. Public expectations and political intermediaries

When politicians know well the philosophy of expectation, it can turn into an instrument to influence the masses. In general the philosophy of expectations is associated with the fact that a person wants more from himself, from the people he works with, from the social environment as a whole, i.e. the individual expects the change because he is not fully satisfied with the present.

The expectation, without being constantly realized by the person, is an incentive for life. Even in the most critical situation, expectation of positive change supports the individual's spirit. In the same sense are the philosophical reflections of Seneca that "one is never in his worst condition". Politicians who know human psyche from this viewpoint are perfectly aware that this can be used to influence not only an individual or a group, but society as a whole. The link between expectation and emotional life can take advantage of the partiality for certain things - wealth, career, power and can be used to manipulate the masses. In such cases, a person can be sincere in reasoning that is completely false and absurd. Feelings 'obscure' the mind and expectations may be disparate, inconsistent with both personal potential and social environment. "For the one who is in love, says Moliere, all flaws of the beloved one appear to be virtues." In this sense, there are many cases where an addicted politician, at two different points of time, advocates equally sincerely and eloquently the good and the bad of the same case.

Emotional expectations outside the sphere of control by the mind become a convenient means of manipulation of both individuals and groups. To allow expectation to be used as a means of manipulation in social systems, emotional upbringing matters. Not rarely, this underlies wrongly ordered priorities. Thus, much public energy may be spent on minor issues, thereby risking the achievement of much more significant goals with time. The lack of restraining forces in some politicians and their inability to evaluate the effect of an action in the long run creates tension in social systems, which affects the stability of the political process.

When searching for political solutions and methods to influence public expectations aiming to activate the masses, one should necessarily look at the situation from the viewpoint of the individual. Accounting for the particularities of expectation as a psychological tool, it is important to have in mind the following:

• Expectation is associated with the emotional life of the individual and the resulting reactions are strictly individual. In this sense, the same needs and equal stimuli may cause different activity in people. Not taking into account this feature, some political decisions do not provide any results in terms of public expectations.

• Each individual possesses different moral force, i.e. reacts differently to emotions, which means that he has his own philosophy regarding expectations. Individual philosophies may be united by a significant political idea. The conceptual deficit, or "flipping" of poorly thought out ideas demotivates the masses and turns public expectations into passive waiting.

• Should be well aware of the political forces that formation activity by expectation is a kind of credibility. If the latter is not warranted is deep and lasting demotivation. In this context promises of political leaders should be carefully considered and evaluated over time.

• Dynamics of individual, group and social needs and changing attitudes to expectation. What at one time was the impetus for activity to another may not be. In this sense there is a need for flexible political attitude to the public expectations.

● In a crisis public expectations can be used as a tool to activate the masses. Important here are the political leaders who should form the basis of proper targeting of the public power. And what has to be considered is that unrealized expectations are more dangerous than the lack of expectations.

Important role in the use of expectation as a tool to influence the masses have political intermediaries. Although the job description of such will, though they exist and this does not account would be logical error when looking for orderliness in society. As a link between two parties, the mediator knows them both. Often what can not be subject to political speech or other form of publicity is assigned to the intermediary. By additional facts and information it can become a serious catalyst of public expectations. Besides the confidentiality, and in that maybe there is nothing wrong if not its commission and other features that are not in accordance with the law. In this sense it serves "backstages." Most often the cause of serious political turmoil are the intermediaries. When they accommodate understood and what are the specific hidden methods that are used to convert the expectation as a tool for political impact.

References:

Brenner, Ch. (1993). Human Psychoanalysis. Sofia: „Open Society" (*in Bulgarian*).

Galbrayt, D. (1993). Anatomy of power. Sofia: PH „Hristo Botev" (*in Bulgarian*).

Kamenov, K. (2003). The managment process. Veliko Tarnovo: "Abagar" (*in Bulgarian*).

Le Bonn, G. (2003). Psychology of crowds. „Zharava 2002" PH (*in Bulgarian*).

Seneka (1927). A happy life. Sofia: State Printing House (*in Bulgarian*).

Seneka (1987). Selected dialogues (introductory studios). – In: Philosophy heritage. Sofia (*in Bulgarian*).

Tuluz, Ed. (1909). Art of living. Sofia (*in Bulgarian*).

Voslenski M. (1993). Nomenclature, Vol. 1, Sofia: PH „Hristo Botev" (*in Bulgarian*).

Voslenski M. (1993a). Nomenclature, Vol. 2, Sofia: PH „Hristo Botev" (*in Bulgarian*).

4.V.2016