

COMPARING GOVERNANCE STYLE AND LANGUAGE STYLE: QUANTITATIVE TEXT ANALYSES OF SPEECHES BY HEADS OF STATES

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Abstract. This paper aims at studying governance styles of the presidents of Kazakhstan and Russia. By substantiating the concept of governance and governance style, I find a way to measure it using quantitative text analysis of the political speeches. The qualitative analysis further illustrates the similarity between the discourse of the leaders from post-Soviet states like Kazakhstan and Russia and leaders of long-standing democracies, the US and France. The official communication of heads of states is used as textual data for analysis. Data support the hypothesis that the rhetoric of modern leaders of Kazakhstan and Russia is very similar to democratic discourses. Moreover, Barack Obama and Emmanuel Macron largely use nationalism/paternalism and maintenance of power rhetoric. Comparative analysis of the discourse of the Kazakhstani and the Russian presidents reveal that the former demonstrates more democratic and liberal rhetoric.

Keywords: *quantitative textual analysis, democratic discourse, democratic values, governance, governance styles, political speeches, authoritarianism.*

БАСҚАРУ СТИЛІ МЕН ТІЛ СТИЛІН САЛЫСТЫРУ: МЕМЛЕКЕТ БАСШЫЛАРЫНЫҢ СӨЙЛЕГЕН СӨЗДЕРІНІҢ МӘТІНДЕРІНЕ САНДЫҚ ТАЛДАУ

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Аңдатпа. Бұл мақала Қазақстан мен Ресей президенттерінің басқару стильдері мен тілдік стильдерін зерттеуге бағытталған. Басқару және тіл стилі ұғымын негіздей отырып, біз оны саяси сөздердің мәтіндеріне сандық

талдау арқылы өлшеу әдісін табамыз. Сапалы талдау Қазақстан мен Ресей сияқты посткеңестік мемлекеттер көшбасшылары мен АҚШ пен Францияның ертеден келе жатқан демократиясы көшбасшыларының дискурсы арасындағы ұқсастықты да айғақтайды. Талдау үшін мәтіндік деректер ретінде мемлекет басшыларының ресми хабарламалары пайдаланылады. Деректер Қазақстан мен Ресейдің қазіргі көшбасшыларының риторикасы демократиялық дискурстарға өте ұқсас деген болжамды растайды. Сонымен қатар, Барак Обама мен Эммануэль Макрон ұлтшылдық/патернализм риторикасын және билікті қолдауды көп қолданады. Қазақстан мен Ресей президенттерінің дискурстарын салыстырмалы талдау көрсеткендей, біріншісі демократиялық және либералдық риториканы көрсетеді.

***Түйінді сөздер:** сандық мәтіндік талдау, демократиялық құндылықтар, басқару, басқару стильдері, саяси сөз сөйлеулер*

СРАВНЕНИЕ СТИЛЯ УПРАВЛЕНИЯ И СТИЛЯ ЯЗЫКА: КОЛИЧЕСТВЕННЫЙ АНАЛИЗ ТЕКСТОВ ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЙ ГЛАВ ГОСУДАРСТВ

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Аннотация. Данная статья направлена на изучение стилей управления и языковых стилей президентов Казахстана и России. Обосновывая понятие управления и стиля управления, нахожу способ его измерения с помощью количественного анализа текстов политических выступлений. Качественный анализ также иллюстрирует сходство между дискурсом лидеров постсоветских государств, таких как Казахстан и Россия, и лидеров давних демократий США и Франции. В качестве текстовых данных для анализа используются официальные сообщения глав государств. Данные подтверждают гипотезу о том, что риторика современных лидеров Казахстана и России очень похожа на демократические дискурсы. Более того, Барак Обама и Эммануэль Макрон в значительной степени используют риторику национализма/патернализма и поддержки власти. Сравнительный анализ дискурса казахстанского и российского президентов показывает, что первый демонстрирует более демократичную и либеральную риторику.

Ключевые слова: количественный текстологический анализ, демократические ценности, управление, стили управления, политические выступления.

Introduction

Scholars trace modern concept of governance to the 1980's when new forms of governing started to emerge in Great Britain. Most importantly, these changes implied the rise of participatory government.

Governance answers the question *how*? So, we begin with an assumption that *how* question should be revealed in public communication of political leaders.

There is a plethora of literature on governance in general as it is the foundational concept in the scholarship on nation-state and beyond. Authors vary in their approaches towards statehood, governance, and institutions.

Development scholars started a new strand of literature: using textual analyses to reveal governance styles of political leaders. According to a development scholar, Meuleman (2008), the concept of “governance styles” defines “the roles and lines of responsibility of public sector and societal players in different ways: hierarchical, network and market governance.” [11, p.3] Style of governance describes decision-making processes and how the structures who make decisions use language to influence public opinion.

We conclude that modes of governance or styles of governance reflect the essence of the current approach towards governance. International institutes dealing with development issues emphasize the importance of network and market styles of governance. We incorporate hierarchic and decentralized modes of governance in the categories for automated text analysis.

We use dictionary-based quantitative text analysis on the corpus of speeches of the presidents of Kazakhstan and Russia through 2000-2021. Public communication implies public speeches made by the political leaders of Kazakhstan and Russia.

The core of this research is constructing and calculating Illiberal Speech Index and Autocratic Speech Index.

As a result, we attempt to investigate what style of governance dominates the political communication of Kazakhstani and Russian leaders. In addition, we provide a qualitative comparative analysis of the speeches of the presidents of Kazakstan and Russia with the language styles of democratic leaders Barack Obama and Emmanuel Macron.

Dictionary-based content analysis is a supervised quantitative analysis. It is based on a bag-of-words approach. First, dictionary is constructed by pre-define key words. Multiple categories (or variables) are created within a dictionary. Words are counted per each category so the category is measured by the total frequency of key words and phrases. All analyses were made in WordStat9 software. Advantage of automated text analysis is the capacity to analyze large volumes of texts.

Dictionary construction involves contextual interpretation and qualitative judgment of an author. Reliability is achieved because there is no human decision making as part of the text analysis procedure.

In the first section we elaborate on governance and governance styles concepts. Further on, we describe methodology in detail. Specifically, we explain dictionary

building process, collection of data corpus, and construction of indices. Then we provide results of comparative analysis and conclude.

Governance styles in the context of Sustainable Development

The history of governance concept in all its aspects turns out to have followed a natural development. It is believed that modern concept of governance emerged as a result of a shift of the British government in the 1980s towards the emergence of new “governing structures” or forms of governing: in addition to bureaucratic hierarchy, markets, quasi-markets, and network forms of governing appeared. Bevir (2012) describes that the state entered contracts with private sector participants to manage prisons, provide training to the unemployed, build roads and rail tracks, etc. Also, scholars notice that during the 1980s welfare services started to be in competence of a network of organizations like the central department, local authorities, health authorities, agencies, private businesses and voluntary groups. Obviously, control over such networks was reduced, the role of a steering or regulating actor diminished. Governmental accountability also got complicated. So, since 1980’s specifically Washington Consensus, the Thatcher and Reagan politics, a shift towards governance beyond government was made.

Gerry Stoker defines governance as “the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred.” [18, p.15] This understanding of governance became classical which led to the reprint of the 1998 article *Governance as theory: five propositions* in 2018.

Classical understanding of government implies that it represents a legitimate coercive institution which operates at the level of nation-state. Government is occupied with public service delivery, strategic decision-making, and policy-making. It realizes its coercive power by enforcing these decisions. In turn, governance transcended beyond the scope of nation-state borders.

Governance in the context of achieving Sustainable Development Goals is a large distinctly separate area which is closely linked to policy-making. Governance, particularly, in developing countries is closely analyzed by the World Bank within the realization of their developmental programs.

In 2015 all United Nations Member States adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development consisting of 17 goals (SDG). The primary concern of these goals is eradicating poverty along with the emphasis on climate change. The work on sustainable development has started since the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 where Agenda 21 was adopted. The development community put governance as the most important in development and, particularly, in achieving the SDGs.

The importance of governance is linked to the successful implementation of differentiated governance styles, i.e. mix of hierarchic, network, and market governance styles. As a result, the concept of metagovernance emerged as combining different governance styles into a working and successful governance framework. Principles of good governance stay relevant. Governance styles determine how they are achieved.

Historically, the classical style of governance is a hierarchy as defined by Max Weber. Hierarchical governance means a state-centered approach from top-down: clear hierarchical relations and uniform rules. [13, p.3] This governance is based on Weber's bureaucracy:

A carefully defined division of tasks; Authority is impersonal, vested in rules that govern official business; Employees are recruited based upon proven or at least potential competence; Secure jobs and salaries, and promotion according to seniority or merit; A disciplined hierarchy in which officials are subject to the authority of their superiors. [11, p.22]

Hierarchic style of governance does not imply autocratic governance. Hierarchic governance can be found in the hierarchical cultures of Germany and the European Commission. So, in hierarchic style of governance instruments are laws, regulations, and compliance. Government is an organization that governs from top down.

Modern developmentalist approach distinguishes in addition to a hierarchical style of governance, network and market governance and the mix of any of these three.

Market governance essentially means new public management approach to governance when market approaches are applied in public administration. Market style of governance is nonbinding and voluntary; "steering is achieved by using market-based motivations to induce change such as prices, competition, and economic incentives." [13, p.3]

Network governance started developing from the 1980s in the Netherlands and in 1990s in most other western European public administration. [11, p.31] Meuleman defines network governance "as the 'management' of complex networks, consisting of many different actors from the national, regional and local government, from political groups and from societal groups (pressure, action and interest groups, societal institutions, private and business organisations)." [11, p.32] So, we can conclude that network governance implies a variety of actors, strategies, network co-operation, complex interactions, expertise networks in public administration, and so on.

Network style of governance is defined as "flat organizational structures and networks to coordinate activities as well as benchmarking to motivate progress across a diversity of actors, especially civil society and nongovernmental organizations." [13, p.3] NGOs and civil society play a huge role in this style of governance. Basically, this is what current concept of governance represents.

Essentially, new styles of governance developed as a result of historical development of governance as a result of the transformation of government practices in Great Britain in 1980's which was discussed previously. The New Public Management mainstream of the 1980s implied the spread of corporate and private sector management tools and incentives such as market competition, efficiency, deregulation and performance contracts into the public sector. [11, p.3]

Rhodes claims that good governance serves as a link between new public management and liberal democracy. [16, p.656] Direct link between good

governance and liberal democracy is also supported by Weiss (2000). He states that democratization and political rights go hand-in-hand with good governance. [21, p.805]

In spite of some scholars' agreement on direct relationship between two institutes (liberal democracy and good governance), Norris (2012) diverts our attention to the cases of Singapore with strong state capacity but low democracy rating and Jamaica which is democratically free but has a poor state capacity according to international rankings. She highlights that today most treat good governance and democracy as separate phenomena. [12, p.33] To sum up, democracy is not enough for high social welfare, security, and peace.

Transitology scholars argue about the primacy of democracy promotion or quality of institutions. One of the most popular schools of thought propounds establishing effective governance first and promotion of representative democracy afterwards (rushing into elections). [12, p.30] Using the examples of the development of postcolonial states in 1950's, 1960's, Huntington argues that democracy, mass participation can be built only on the foundation of high quality of institutions, specifically, strong rule of law, legitimate authority and social order by modernizing authoritarianism. [12, p.31] Similarly, Fareed Zakaria mentions that elections without high quality institutions led to the emergence of a new generation of autocrats and illiberal democracies in the post-Soviet region like it happened in Kazakhstan.

The literature on the reforms' failure in transition of post-Soviet region is immense. Unfortunately, rushing with market reforms and democracy promotion without high quality institutions led to the emergence of oligarchic structures in many post-Soviet countries. [2]

The literature on quantitative text analysis and the rhetoric of political actors is at the nascent stage. It has acquired more attention since recently due to the development of automated text analysis methods. Seminal paper in this field is by Laver & Garry (2000) which extracts the policy positions of political actors in Britain and Ireland from election manifestos to find out conservative or liberal position in regards to the fields like culture, economy, environment, institutions, groups (women and minorities), and so on.

Usually, scholars do not clearly demarcate a border between public discourses and styles of language. For example, Omelicheva (2016) used content analysis to explore public discourse of the leaders of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Several contributions assess public discourses and the language of autocrats in one or a small number of cases. See, for example, March (2003), Megoran (2008), Omelicheva (2016), Maerz (2019).

Another strand of research attempts to see if the autocratization can be revealed from the language of political actors. Maerz (2019) using quantitative text analysis determines communication styles: autocratic or democratic styles of language. Maerz and Schneider (2021) conclude that the public rhetoric of political leaders reflect the values incorporated in the political institutions of a political regime: both democratic and nondemocratic ones.

In this study, we attempt to investigate what style of governance dominates in the discourse of the presidents of Kazakhstan and Russia. To do that, we employ the concepts of styles of governance: hierarchic or decentralized (network and market) governance. We compare the shares of hierarchic and decentralized modes of governance.

Our hypothesis suggests that the style of language of non-democratic leaders of Kazakhstan and Russia is not different from the style of language of democratic leaders, specifically, Barack Obama and Emmanuel Macron. At the same time, modern leaders of Kazakhstan and Russia are different from overt dictators of the past.

Methodology and Dictionary Building

To reveal democratic or autocratic style of language we follow Maerz and Schneider (2021) and construct Illiberal Speech Index (ISI) and Autocratic Speech Index (ASI). This argument's core point is to rank the speeches of the heads of government on authoritarian scale.

Democratic style of language in our case consists of decentralized style of governance and liberalism values. Autocratic style of language in our dictionary means hierarchic mode of governance, the methods of power maintenance and illiberalism.

So, we develop our theoretical arguments and state hypotheses for further quantitative testing. Consequently, we estimate governance styles by using mixed methods approach: quantitative text analysis and qualitative case studies (Kazakhstan and Russia).

Further research hypotheses include: we argue that president of Russia increased his authoritarian accents of language in 2000-2021; president of Kazakhstan has kept the similar rhetoric throughout the years 2000-2021. The analyses in previous sections revealed stronger autocratization in Russia, while Kazakhstan has remained stable in its authoritarianism.

We use dictionary based quantitative text analysis on the corpus of speeches of the presidents of Kazakhstan and Russia through 2000-2021. Advantage of automated text analysis is the capacity to analyze large quantities of text.

In substance, we attempt to extend the toolkit of empirical approaches to measuring authoritarianism.

First, we implement a supervised technique, dictionary-based textual analysis, to scale autocratic features in the discourse of the president of Kazakhstan and the president of Russia. Based on validated key terms we measure whether their rhetoric is more democratic or more autocratic. The special structure of dictionary allows me to construct the Illiberalness indices.

In our study terms public communication, public discourse, and public rhetoric are used interchangeably throughout the text.

So, we attempt to answer our research question of how heads of government in Russia and Kazakhstan publicly depict their position vis-à-vis liberal and illiberal principles and practices.

Our methodology follows the logic: quantitative text analysis followed by a qualitative comparison of two case studies.

Our conceptualization of autocratic and democratic styles of language partially adopts from the dictionary developed by Maerz (2019). Democratic style of language is measured by word frequencies in the subcategories of democratic procedures and liberalism. The measurement of an autocratic style of language refers to the frequencies in the subcategories of autocratic procedures and illiberalism.

The general structure of the dictionary was adopted from Maerz (2019) and Maerz and Schneider (2021). Specifically, the divide into two broad categories Autocratic style and Democratic style of language. However, we modified the structure of the dictionary. In total, our dictionary comprises 280 key words and phrases.

Democratic style of language includes two subcategories in Maerz (2019):

- Liberalism;
- Democratic procedures.

Autocratic style of language in Maerz (2019) includes:

- Illiberalism;
- Autocratic procedures.

To be precise, autocratic procedures in our interpretation include subtopics: Hierarchic style of governance and Maintenance of power. Democratic procedures instead of institutional reforms as in Maerz (2019) include Decentralized governance.

The reason is that we try to catch the directiveness by incorporating dictionary which originally comes from Olsen et. al. (2021) on hierarchic, network, and market modes of governance. Hierarchic style of governance is a subcategory of Autocratic procedures category.

In the table below we demonstrate the structure of our dictionary used for the analysis of the leaders of Kazakhstan and Russia. Full dictionary can be provided upon request.

Table 1. Dictionary structure for styles of language analysis

Autocratic style of language	Number of words or phrases
1. Autocratic procedures	
a. Hierarchic style of governance	33
b. Maintenance of power	77
2. Illiberalism	
a. Nationalism, paternalism	31
b. Traditionalism	21
Democratic style of language	
3. Democratic procedures	
a. Democracy	35
b. Decentralized governance	21
4. Liberalism	

Autocratic style of language		Number of words or phrases
a.	Liberal values	36
b.	Women, minorities	26

Source: Author.

The category of *Autocratic procedures* was compiled of two dictionaries. *Maintenance of power* is based on the original paper of Maerz (2019). Hierarchic mode of governance key words come from the dictionary of hierarchic governance of Olsen et al. (2021). However, both maintenance of power and hierarchic governance subcategories were substantially enhanced by including more key words and removing vague terms as per our KWIC analysis. For example, unitarity, suppress, instruct (e.g. ‘at my instruction’) are the terms we found important in describing hierarcgic mode of governance. The terms in the dictionary on hierarchic governance describe centralized, directive government.

In *Maintenance of power* subcategory Maerz (2019) draws attention to the fact that terms like unlawful and order are widely used by dictators when referring to political activists who in their language distort social peace, violate social norms and engage in various illegal activities. Maintenance of power also includes such key words as anarchy, chaos because the justification for oppression of activists is usually “coping resolutely with urban terrorists who threatened the nation with chaos.” [3, p.325] We added key words bluff, war*, extremis*, collapse, destroy, unfriendly. For example, in 2021 annual press-conference president Putin blames Western intelligence services in attempts to destroy the Russian state from the inside. The collapse of the Soviet Union and division into independent states is also blamed for the Western benefit by the president.

Also, we reread randomly picked texts for understanding used terminology, first, and then for validation of chosen dictionary words for their meaning. Repeated qualitative checks on the dictionary key words and phrases, the dictionary should be valid representative of categories.

Hierarchic mode of governance dictionary was enhanced substantially in comparison to Olsen (2021) after rereading political texts of presidents of Kazakhstan and Russia to find common patterns. Every nation-state has a political regime with formulated governance style due to legal conditions, traditions, culture, political practice, etc. Moreover, styles of governance are differentiated between areas of development, e.g. environmental governance, governance in education or healthcare. For example, president Nazarbayev liked to use such phrases as “At my instruction”.

Decentralized governance subcategory which unites market and network modes of governance is included in Democratic procedures category. From network and market modes of governance dictionary in Olsen (2021) we utilized key words: incentive, promote, partnership*, private sector, corporate governance, participation, co-creation, cooperation.

Democracy subcategory represent classical features such as elections, political parties, voice, ballots, etc.

Liberalism and Illiberalism categories were adopted from the modified version of Maerz and Schneider (2021).

Liberal rhetoric is egalitarian and non-discriminatory: it includes political rights and freedoms such as fair*, individual freedoms and civil liberties. Specifically, we added several phrases as our software provides a greater advantage because of the capacity for accounting not only words but also phrases in the dictionary.

As can be observed from the table with the structure of the dictionary, liberalism subcategory consists of *liberal values* and *women, priorities*. We find it specific enough and up to the point. For example, V-Dem project which constructs and provides dataset on the Liberal Democracy Index accounts for liberalness as “the importance of protecting individual and minority rights against both the tyranny of the state and the tyranny of the majority.” [1, p.42] To account for these elements in our index we include key words *inter-ethnic* (as it is a synonym for their multiethnic), phrases *human rights, civic freedoms, civil society, political rights* in the subcategory Liberal values.

Regarding liberal values subcategory, we support distinguishing between political liberalism from economic freedom because, otherwise, non-democratic and democratic values might get mixed up. For example, Lee Kuan Yew’s economic reforms made him stand among famous democrats in the study of Guriev & Treisman (2018). They find that Singapore’s ex-leader had most insistent discourse of economic performance and very little about violence so that he sounded like an IMF briefing. [4, p.29]

Illiberalism category with *Nationalism and paternalism* subcategory include notions of defense, protection (*protect**). Nationalism is “the habit of identifying oneself with a single nation or other unit”. [15, p.362] This allegiance to a particular group, particularly characterized as having a great history, heroic people and glorified as being the primary winner of the WWII may be utilized for instigating aggression.

Creating enemies is one of the directions political psychology on power structures:

The power seat that seeks to perpetuate itself accomplishes this partly by creating definite categories of “enemy” and “ally,” attributing to the latter all the qualities the culture considers good: honesty, integrity, cleanliness, and loyalty. The “enemy” category becomes the receptacle for the antitheses of these same virtues [...] the individual’s devotion to the protection of the seat in power thus arises from an appeal to his own culturally instilled beliefs. [19, p.224]

As a consequence, we include references to creating enemies to the subcategory of nationalism and paternalism along with mentions of homeland, patriotism, heroism, pride.

On selection of speeches

Selection of speeches for the president of Russia includes annual national

addresses to the Federal Council, Direct line with president, speeches made at the United Russia political party congresses, annual press-conferences of the president, inauguration speeches. In total, there are 5 types of political texts. There were 15 press-conferences between 2001-2019. President Medvedev held annual press-conference only once during his four-year tenure, in 2011. In addition, there was an internet-conference in 2006 with people from all over regions of Russia. In total, we collected 70 speeches of president. During the period 2008-2011 speeches were made by D. Medvedev. For the rest of the analyzed years all speeches were made by Vladimir Putin. Unsurprisingly, Medvedev made less public speeches during his presidency. Moreover, Putin continued with his annual Direct Line with regions that had been started during his first term: it was titled as the Direct Line with Prime-minister. However, we account for only speeches made by the institute of president not persona.

Selection of speeches of the president of Kazakhstan consists of annual addresses to the parliament, speeches made at the openings of parliamentary sessions, speeches made at the congresses of Nur Otan political party, speeches at meetings of the National Council of Social Trust, televised addresses to the people of Kazakhstan, speeches made at the congresses of the Assembly of people of Kazakhstan, speeches made at the inauguration of the president, speeches made at the Independence Day official meetings. In total, there are 8 types of political texts for the president of Kazakhstan. Obviously, number of speeches varies each year for both cases. In total, we collected 98 political speeches of the president of Kazakhstan. Speeches by N. Nazarbayev were made during the period 2000 - June 2019. Speeches by K. Tokayev were made during the period June 2019 – 2021.

In spite of the fact that president of Russia seems to be making less public speeches than his Kazakhstani counterpart, his (Putin's) press conferences and Direct Lines usually last more than two hours. It means that almost for all years there are more words in the Russian text corpus than in Kazakhstani. Since we use indicator of rate per 10 000, we can do comparative analysis regardless of total frequencies.

For this study we translated all speeches of both presidents Russian and Kazakhstani in English. The main advantage is that political texts in English are comparable across other political leaders' texts. Translation was done by embedded in Word document translation software. Most importantly, according to the latest studies by Vries, Schoonvelde, and Schumacher (2018) text analysis methods on texts generated from human-translated and machine-translated texts highly overlap.

The difference in political speeches of president Tokayev and first president Nazarbayev is in the fact that Nazarbayev delivers the same speech in both Russian and Kazakh while Tokayev jumps between Russian and Kazakh so that information in each language is different.

Data contain the speeches of the president of Kazakhstan. Nazarbayev's speeches constituted the corpus during the period between 2000-2019. For the second half of 2019 till 2021 Tokayev's speeches were collected.

Priority was given to the speeches addressed at the citizens in general, then the speeches to the Parliament, the speeches to the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan, speeches to the newly created body National Council of Social Trust which includes social activists, civil society representatives, finally to the Extended Meetings with government.

Another reason for the translation of political speeches is comparison with the speeches of the heads of democratic regimes' actors.

In addition, for comparative analysis we use speeches of overt dictators: Josef Stalin and Saddam Hussein. They represent ideologically and culturally different dictatorships. Saddam Hussein comes from Islam dominant country. Stalin is expected to be more secular and violent.

To compare Kazakh and Russian leaders with leaders of long-term democracies we utilize speeches of Barack Obama, 44th president of the USA, and Emmanuel Macron, president of France. Corpus of speeches for Saddam Hussein, Josef Stalin, and Barack Obama were taken from supplemental materials of Guriev & Treisman (2018). Obama's speeches consist of a random sample of 40 (out of his roughly 400) weekly radio addresses. Macron's corpus of political speeches were collected by me according to the same criteria as for Kazakhstan' and Russia's presidential texts. It includes his speech at European Parliament in 2018, his victory speech in 2017 and Sorbonne speech in 2017.

Using WordStat9 software, we were able to produce raw frequency of key words in the four subcategories: autocratic procedures and democratic procedures, illiberal practices and liberal practices. To get comparable across cases measurements of liberalness and authoritarianism we adopt Lowe's (2011) logit scaling as was implemented by Maerz (2019); Maerz and Schneider (2020).

The advantage of logit scaling is that we get continuous scales from counts of key words ranging from negative values – democratic procedures to positive values – autocratic procedures. As a result, we produce the Illiberal Speech Index and Autocratic Speech Index for both Russia and Kazakhstan for each year between 2000-2021.

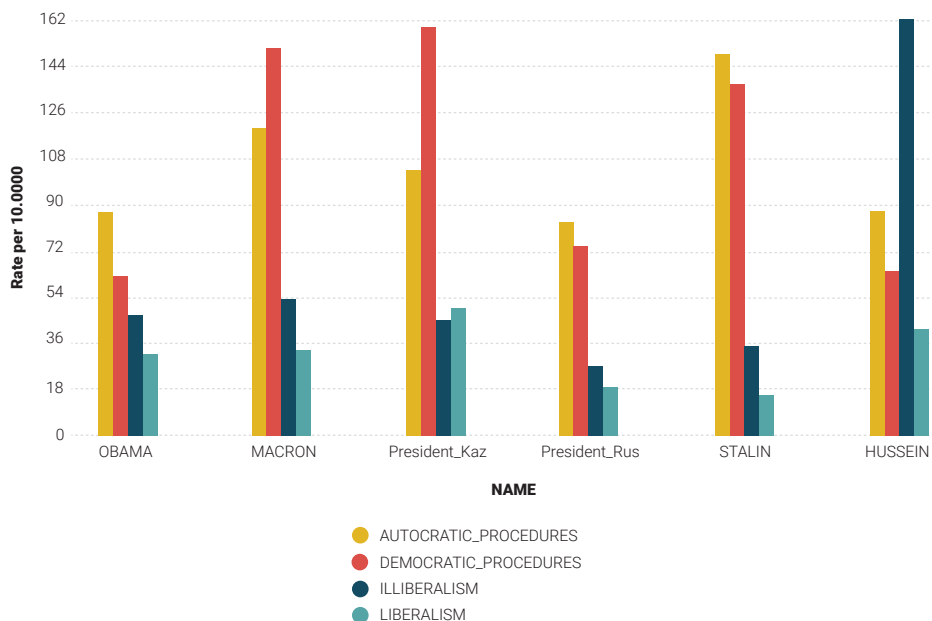
Scaling continuous autocratic-democratic styles of language from political text coded into distinct categories is based on the method of Lowe (2011).

General comparative analysis

Kazakhstani leader's rhetoric is focused on nurturing democratic values. The concentration of key words on democratic processes and values is higher in Kazakhstan's leader speeches than in other all other analyzed leaders. (See Figure 1.)

For general comparison we present the concentration of four subcategories (autocratic procedures, democratic procedures, illiberalism, and liberalism) in the discourses of the presidents, Russia and Kazakhstan and other political leaders in the figure below. Kazakhstani president's democratic accents substantially exceed autocratic inclinations.

Figure 1. Comparative analysis of political discourses - of six political leaders



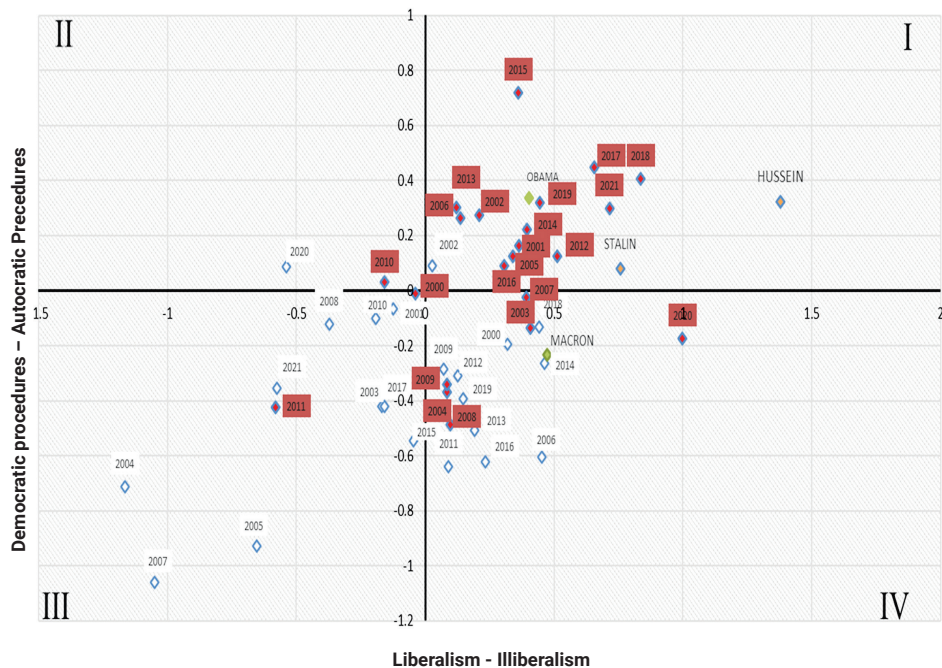
Source: Author.

To delve deeper into comparative analysis we use relative indices. The core result of the text analysis is the illiberal scale (Illiberal Speech Index) and autocratic scale (Autocratic Speech Index). Based on the calculated ISI and ASI for both countries throughout all analyzed years I provide a figure illustrating continuous measure of democratic-autocratic procedures and liberal-illiberal practices.

Quadrant I elucidate a combination of autocratic procedures and illiberal values. Russian president's speeches are largely situated in the first quadrant characterized by high illiberalness and autocratic procedures. Surprisingly, Barack Obama speeches are located in the quadrant I. Emmanuel Macron's discourse is in quadrant II implying focus on democratic procedures and illiberalism. Moreover, Macron's nationalism and paternalism rhetoric is higher than in Kazakh and Russian presidents' speeches. (See Figure 3 below.) Kazakhstani president speaks in democratic style most of the times, sometimes with the combination of illiberal and democratic accents or liberal practices with autocratic style. So, the assumption that leaders of stable democracies convey democratic and liberal discourse is to be seriously questioned. Evidence shows autocratic accents are largely present in the discourse of democratic leaders.

Old school overt dictators like Saddam Hussein and Joseph Stalin's political speeches are also in quadrant I. However, their discourses have drastic differences from modern leaders' speeches if we delve deeper into comparison of specific subcategories.

Figure 2. Comparing language style of the presidents of Kazakhstan and Russia, 2000-2021



Legend: red diamonds are the speeches of the president of Russia, white diamonds are the speeches of the president of Kazakhstan.

Source: Author.

Since our dictionary contains four subcategories Autocratic procedures, Democratic procedures, Illiberalism, and Liberalism, it is instrumental to dissect the political discourses in detail.

Kazakhstani president exhibits autocratic and illiberal rhetoric only in 2002. The Kazakhstani speeches are located in II, III, and IV quadrants on Figure with either fully democratic and liberal values or combinations of two.

In contrast to the Kazakhstani leader, the Russian president had only one fully democratic and liberal year in the history of political speeches - 2011, during Medvedev's term.

The Russian president discussed democratic procedures only in 2003, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2016, 2020. Focus on democratic practices in 2003-2004 can be explained by massive amendments into the legislation on political parties.

The period of 2008-2011 represent President Medvedev's incumbency. (2010 is also close to equal emphasis on democratic practices) In spite of his rather

formal presidency, he was seen more into democratic and market-oriented reforms: at the same time, according to multiple experts, Medvedev paid lip service to his declarations. Foreign policy magazine experts describe Medvedev's incumbency: "Medvedev would often utter liberal-sounding ideas — his anodyne comment that "freedom is better than non-freedom" caused quite a flutter of excitement, briefly — but the follow-through on his proposals was never there. He had the power only to speak, not act." [6] Guardian columnist concurs with the previous statement: "By 2010, hopes that Medvedev might preside over a partial liberalisation of Russian society had vanished. His progressive-sounding speeches and attacks on "legal nihilism" failed to translate into concrete political deeds." [5] To sum up, the quantitative text analysis provides evidence on Medvedev's more democratic rhetoric.

Throughout all the 21 years of de-facto Putin ruling, his illiberal vocabulary was 44% larger than liberal, and autocratic vocabulary was almost half times larger than democratic procedures vocabulary (by 12%).

Total textual data for Kazakhstani president confirms that he creates an image of a democratic ruler rather than autocratic leader. Liberal and illiberal amounts of discourse are almost equal.

ASI relates hierarchic mode of governance language and decentralized mode of governance. But it is instrumental to compare original rates of hierarchic and decentralized styles of governance. In the Russian president's communication hierarchic governance style has started to prevail on a permanent basis since 2012, the year of Putin's return to presidency. The graph below is designed to compare between hierarchic governance and decentralized governance styles.

During Medvedev's presidency we can observe a relatively high decentralized mode of governance compared to hierarchic governance style (his speeches are in 2008-2011). When Putin came back in 2012 with the Annual National Address to the Federation Council, hierarchic governance vocabulary rocketed even higher than before.

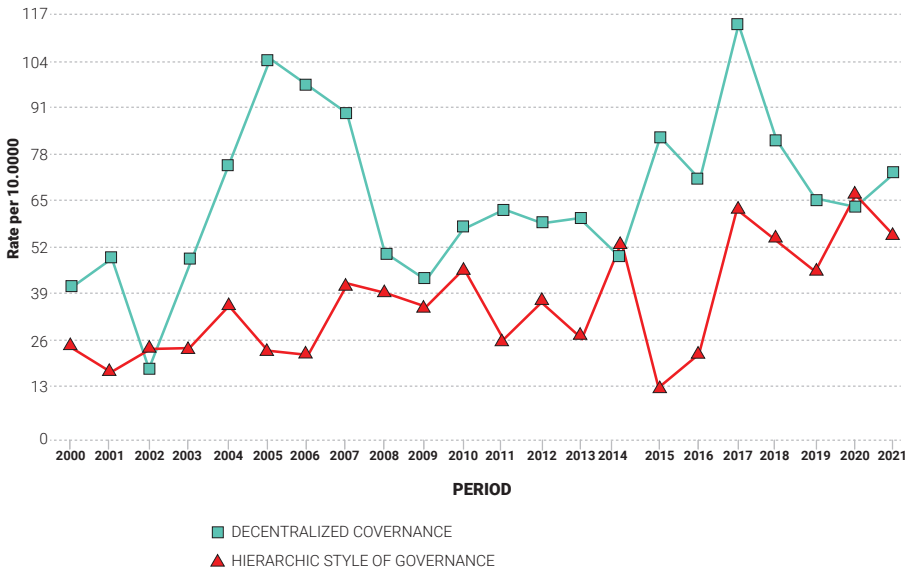
Kazakhstani president's rhetoric is described by higher concentration of decentralized governance key words than hierarchic except for 2002, 2014, and 2020. (See Figure 4.) Though, in comparison to his Russian counterpart, Kazakh president uses much more often strong directive terms such as instruct*, control*, regulat*, and enforce*. (See the graph below for rates per 10 000.) For example, concentration of the term 'instruct' in the Kazakhstani president's speeches six times higher than the Russian's president.

Figure 3. Hierarchic vs. Decentralized mode of governance in the speeches of the Russian president.



Source: Author.

Figure 4. Hierarchic vs. Decentralized mode of governance in the speeches of the Kazakhstani president.



Source: Author.

Textual data analysis points to directiveness in the governance style of the Kazakh president. Furthermore, “instruct the government” (“поручаю правительству”) is the second most frequent phrase of the Kazakhstani leader.

The president constantly instructs government, National Bank, the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan, dominant party Nur Otan. For example, Nazarbayev stated in his 2014 Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev to the people of Kazakhstan: “I instruct the presidential administration, the government, the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan together with the national movement “Kazakhstan-2050” to organize the development and adoption of the patriotic act “Mangilik El” (“Eternal country”- Author).”¹

President uses ‘instruct’ in relation to the pro-presidential party Nur Otan: “I instruct the party to work out the issue of creating a new system of children’s organizations, calling it, for example, “Zhas Kyran”.² The president uses “instruct” in addressing regional governors and regional legislatures: “I instruct akims (governors – *Author*), together with local maslikhats (local legislatures- *Author*), to ensure the direction of half of these funds to co-finance the modernization of housing and communal services and solve urgent social problems of regional residents.”³

To sum up, the rhetoric of the president of Kazakhstan reveals that president attempts to reassert authority in his public rhetoric.

Conclusion

Governance concept has transformed since the introduction of new actors into public service delivery and decision-making in Great Britain in 1980s and 1980s. These transformations were natural and organic in democratic states because they meant the rise of participatory government.

Governance in non-democratic regimes has not been the subject of particular interest. However, it does not imply that non-democratic regimes do not exercise governance in its modern understanding. For example, public-private partnerships or other forms of government – civil society relationships.

Governance answers the question *how?* Specifically, how public services are provided and how public decision-making goes on. So, we started with an assumption that how question should be revealed in public communication of political leaders.

International institutes develop the concept of metagovernance and emphasize that traditional hierarchical governance is not enough for efficient policy making and development. Participatory government is essential in tackling global developmental issues. In addition, governance is associated with new public management. In

¹ Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev to the people of Kazakhstan. January 17, 2014.

² Speech of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan at the 13th Assembly of people’s democratic party “Nur Otan”. February 11, 2011.

³ Address of the Head of state Kassym-Zhomart Tokayev to the people of Kazakhstan. September 2, 2019.

authoritarian systems governance is built on power-sharing or cooperation between the ruling elites and the neutralization of opposition.

As a result of tracing the evolution of governance concept, we concluded that modes of governance or styles of governance reflect the essence of the current approach towards governance. International institutes dealing with development issues emphasize the importance of network and market styles of governance. We incorporated market and network styles of governance into the category of decentralized governance in the Autocratic Speech Index. Similarly, we constructed and calculated Illiberal Speech Index for all the analyzed years for the political texts from presidents of Kazakhstan and Russia, for democratic leaders Barack Obama and Emmanuel Macron and overt dictators Josef Stalin and Saddam Hussein for comparative analysis.

The evidence show that the rhetoric of the Kazakhstani and Russian presidents does not differ significantly from the discourse of the leaders of long-standing democracies. Moreover, Barack Obama and Emmanuel Macron largely use nationalism/paternalism and maintenance of power rhetoric. The concentration of nationalism and paternalism key words in the political texts of Macron is higher than its average concentration in the speeches of Kazakhstani and Russian presidents. In addition, Obama uses more traditionalism key words than both analyzed autocratic leaders.

The discrepancy between modern Kazakhstan and Russia's leaders and 20th century overt dictators like Stalin and Saddam Hussein is substantial. First and foremost, stark differences can be found at a deeper level of subcategories. Saddam Hussein demonstrates massive overemphasis on traditionalism in his speeches: the table provided data for his frequent usage of the concepts 'god' and 'almighty'. Stalin has extraordinary exaggeration of maintenance of power subcategory, specifically he focuses on 'war'. Nationalism and traditionalism subcategories can be considered most conspicuous dictionaries: they reveal overt neopatrimonial dictators like Saddam Hussein.

On the technical part we can conclude that the measures on specific subcategories are more accurate.

The indices ASI and ISI are reliable for estimating dynamic changes. Autocratic and illiberalness indices (ASI and ISI) were constructed and calculated for both country leaders and for the period of 22 years. They show that the Kazakh president has always had democratic focus in his discourses. The Russian president on the contrary is increasing his discourse on power maintenance and nationalism.

Hierarchic mode of governance prevails in the language of the Russian political leader. Kazakhstani leader exhibits more decentralized style of governance than hierarchic most of the years (19 out of 22 years) in his addresses to the public. Kazakh president's usage of decentralized governance key words is almost three times higher than the Russian's president.

At the same time, while discussing intensively democratic values, president of Kazakhstan reasserts authority by repeating "instruct the government" and 'instruct' all other state bodies and even regional legislatures.

Comparative analysis of presidents of the analyzed countries show that Russia's president propounds autocratic procedures and illiberal practices while Kazakhstani president emphasizes democratic procedures. Liberalism and illiberalism are present in equal proportions in the discourse of the president of Kazakhstan. The Russian president uses more illiberal vocabulary than liberal.

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