

“PRO” and “COUNTER” OF MEDIA MASSIFICATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MASSES AND ELITES

*O.O. Susska, PhD in Philosophy,
Associate Professor of NaUKMA
Department of Public Relations*

A functional approach to understanding the nature of political communication is based on the consideration of a particular dominant feature. Both ideological and material-economic factor can prevail in the range of theoretical approaches. The theories of the greatest interest are those based on the functions of political control, i.e. the degree of the concentration of political power. According to Charles Wright [2] the main difference and integrative feature of modern communication systems is their public nature, based on the nature of mass perception. At the same time, the changes occurring in the field of mass media and mass culture require development of new theoretical and methodological foundations for an explanation of the process of mediaconvergence, which is steeped into modern life within the framework of technological, economic, social and cultural changes characterizing communicative media space today and will determine its future. Synthesis of the media in the world has reached a synergistic level, convergence of media formats and genres is so great that textual complexity of cross-media esthetics, which occurs at the intersection of languages: verbal, iconic and audio, requires a new understanding of practice of recipient's perception. The latter is a key figure, personifying simultaneously and consciously fulfillment of its role and the role of communicator, i.e. members of the “interpretative community”, which we previously called a mass audience, become personalized subjects of communication interaction. There is a *contamination of subjectivity*, where the creation of information field [17] - “individual information field” becomes a key moment for “cross-interpreter”. This field simultaneously embodies socio-culture, cognitive, integrative and other functions and performs the function of acquisition of cross-media experiences and information security (so-called “information immunity”).

In political theory that consistently uses the institutional foundations of Marxism, British sociologists H. Merdok and P. Holdinh [4] put the role of political factors that determine the function of the media in the first place.

The theory of mass society explains the raising role of the masses in history as a kind of society pathology; considers social and personal relationships as the interaction of various social institutions, which resulted in mass media integration, which enabled the influence of media on political decisions taken by the authorities. It is this theory emphasizes the role of mass media in shaping public opinion. The first step in the analysis according to functional approach is to examine the political characteristics of communication systems, the second stage is the analysis of their functional manifestations depending on the typological characteristics and political conditions; at the third stage the results of use of various shapes, structures, diversity of information processes are analyzed.

The emergence of fascism in 20-30th years of the twentieth century significantly changed the content of the theories of mass society. In these theories elements of protection of democratic rights and freedoms from unlimited rule of the ruling elite were enhanced (K. Mannheim, E. Lederer, H. Arendt). [1] After the World War II Ch.Mills, E.Fromm, D. Riesman were criticizing economic, political and social exclusion, conformity of human of "mass society"; they were joined by H. Markuze [13] with his theory of "one-dimensional man", which is a consequence and, at the same time, the product of distribution of standardized mass culture.

All variants of theoretical approaches, theoretical and methodological principles of which is the classical understanding of the role of mass media, can be considered as the theories established on dominance of material and economic factors. Within these approaches a social structure is defined as "mass" if in such structure the identity of a person is offset, gets "dimensionality" and becomes the depersonificated object of influence or submission. In the socio-economic sphere, the mass society is associated with industrialization and urbanization [3]; production standards of material product start penetrate the spiritual sphere of production. Accordingly, mass production envisages mass consumption. The main peculiarity of this mass consumption in the field of mass communication is its availability and widespread distribution through various means and channels of mass media. [5].

David Riesman considered three types of character that correspond to the specific types of social organization. First one, "traditionally oriented", conformal. Second one is "oriented from inside", formed in an industrial society, characterized by underdevelopment of mass communications, where tradition, intra-group communication and control of the primary groups are weakened. E. Fromm [18] has developed a theory on social character as a form of links between the individual's psyche and social structure. Ch. Mills [15] criticized "artificial" language of T. Parsons; he considered it to be a screen that hides the "poverty" of actual content [16].

In the current socio-political situation where there is no interference of elites and masses, but rather distancing and contradiction of each other, the "new sociology of science" and B. Latour M. Kallona should be mentioned [4; 9; 22]. It is often called radical constructivism (which represents a bit "modernized" desire to review classical sociology formed by M. Weber, K. Marx, P. Burdye, N. Eliasem, R. Aronson, E. Hiddenson, I. Hofmanom etc.) [14]. For operation according to the new schemes in today's economically and socially structured society, which at the same time is globalized and imbued with "networks", constructivist approaches are needed, but they mostly serve only to the economy, law and politics, missing the field of sociology.

If we consider the philosophy of postmodernism as "ideology of warning" than some apocalypticism of scientific research can really tempt to deny the epistemological foundations of scientific reflection [19]. To avoid this, we should get rid of the "dominant flow" and consider the subject as a zone of endless opportunities for application of educational technologies and cognitive reflection.

Analyzing the transformation processes in the field of media, it should be noted that most approaches to scientific criticism or speculation are based on the open selection of so-called "free market"; thus, the study of cities includes concepts of virtual space by analyzing their functioning in terms of contact between the space of flows and space of places, significantly large is the tempting to think in terms of society-world, because according to this concept "only communications, negotiations and cooperation are left that are always carried out in special situations" [20, p.130]. Similar criticism provides A. Matlyar, emphasizing on the fact that it is an uncritical use of terms that are nominated or re-nominated under the banner of "free trade". Indeed, we observe, as it was already emphasized above, "real deregulation of conceptual universes that

serve us for designation of the world “[21, p.351].

The basis for the development of the theory of mass communication hegemony became a provision of the critical theory on mass media as a powerful mechanism able to arrange changes in the society [4; 6; 8; 9, 10]. But above all, it requires the development and implementation of corporate information ethics and does not allow monopolies in the information business. Representatives of this theory are the French sociologist, political scientist N. Pulantzas and French philosopher L. Althusser. [14] They are considering various forms of information important to the public, as well as mechanisms that ensure the formation of the consciousness of the masses and strengthen the important theoretical postulates. The authors of the doctrine of the free information flow believed [6] that before starting to study the effect of media on different social groups it is necessary to analyze the role and status of the group in the cultural sphere of society. They suggested treating the information not as the subject of material consumption and trade, but as a social good and product of culture. Canadian sociologist and writer Herbert Marshall McLyuen [12] and the French sociologist Abraham Mole confirmed the sustained cultural approach to the effects of the media that shape the character of society and “mass culture” attracts new values of modern times. In the “global village” free communication of people was organized through electronic communication. Historical set of culture M. McLyuen divided in oral, written and audiovisual; He claimed that while reading a book people think linearly sequentially, and reading electronic information - “mosaically.” This habit is elaborated not only while book reading, when the books are reviewed “diagonally”, but also during the perception of advertising, including political. Idealistic from a modern point of view theories of M. McLyuen and A. Mole considered mass communications and the culture they created as a new stage of social communication.

Nowadays, the formation of “parallel worlds” in informational sphere necessitated a rethink of most scientific theories that explain the changes that took place in politics discursive, socio-communicative environment of society of era of global transformation. The attempts to combine semiotics, linguistic, psychological and purely political approaches with socio-communicative approach led to a breach of classic methodological foundations of scientific knowledge, with an emphasis on descriptive and mostly “pre-analytical” nature of scientific reflection. Today the problem of “masses” and “elites” first of all demonstrates complete helplessness

of “elites” against the background of deep resentment (and sometimes “disturbance” of the masses). Sociological researches on the confidence in the elites showed that fact in its entirety; in recent time confidence in the mass media also decreases. Procedures of scientific research of modern social changes include the comparison of data, which enables to see the dynamics of these changes, including the decrease in trust to social institutions. So the problem is not in the “massification” of minds, or their “typology”, but in the possibilities of balancing controversiality of real and “media” images of the world, which is itself quite politically unstable and is in need of attention.

References:

1. H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* - K: The spirit and the letter, 2002. - 539 p.
2. R. Aron *The sociological thought development* / Raymond Aron; - K.: Universe, 2004. - 688 p.
3. D. Bell *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* / - M.: Academia, 1999. – 783 p.
4. Z. Brzezinski *The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership* / Zbigniew Brzezinski. - K.: “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy”, 2006. - 203 p.
5. N. Bolts *Alphabet of Media* / - M.: Publishing house “Evroma”, 2011. -136 p.
6. P. Bourdieu, *The Market of Symbolic Goods* // *Questions of sociology*. - 1993. -№ 1-2. - p.49-62.
7. Habermas J. (2000), *The structural transformation of the openness, civil society research category*, Litopys, Lviv, Ukraine. - 318s.
8. E. Giddens *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives* / - M.: Publishing House “Ves’ mir”, 2004. - 120 p.
9. *Global modernity* / edited by M.Fazerstouna, S.Lesha, R.Robertson; - K.: Niuka Center, 2008. - 400 p.
10. M. Castells *The power of identity* // *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture Volume II* - M.: Asademia, 1999. - p. 292-309.
11. McQuail, Denis (ed.) (2002), *McQuail’s reader in mass communication theory* Sage, - Kyiv, 2002.
12. Marshall McLuhan. *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* / Marshall McLuhan/ - K.: Nika-Tsentr, 2004. - 432 c.
13. H. Marcuse, *One-dimensional man: Studies in the ideology of advanced industrial society* /: OOO “Publishing House AST”, 2003. - 526 p.

14. Martin, D., Metzger, J. L., & Pierre, P. The sociology of globalization: Theoretical and methodological reflections / - K. : View. Dim "KM Akademiya", 2005. - 302 p.
15. Ch. Mills, Sociological imagination /Ch.R.Mills /. - M. : Strategy, 1998. - 264 p.
16. Parsons T. The system of modern societies / - M. : Aspekt-Press, 1997. - 270 p.
17. O. Susska, Information field of personality. Formation of information choice of the audience in today's socio-cultural environment: monograph / O.O.Susska. - K. : DAKKKiM, 2003.- 188 p.
18. Fromm E. Escape from Freedom. / Erich Fromm; - M. : Progress, 1995. - 256 p.
19. A. Schütz, On the multiplicity of realities [electronic resource] / A.Shyuts // Sociological Review. - 2003. - Vol.3. № 2. - S.3-34. - Mode of access: <http://sociologica.Hse.ru/2003-3-2/28146546.html>.
20. De Munck J."Pour une critique de la raison procedural" in D.Mercure (dir.) , Une societe monde? Les dynamiques sociales de la mondialisation. De Boeck Universite et presses universitaires de Laval, 2001.
21. Mattelart A., Histoire de l'utopie planetaire. La Decouverte, 1999
22. Ritzer, G. Contemporary Sociological Theory / G.Ritzer. - New York, 1992. – P. 608.