

Andrey Kostyrev

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND



TEXTBOOK

Series Political Communication:
Theories and Practices

Andrey Kostyrev

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION:
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Textbook

Series Political Communication: Theories and Practices

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my sincere gratitude to the management of the European Humanities University (Vilnius), and personally to Professor Ryhor Miniankou – the Head of the Academic Department of Social Sciences, and Professor Irina Ramanava – the Head of the Center for Belarusian and Regional Studies – for their help to publish this textbook. I would like to express my great appreciation to the University of Latvia management, who provided organizational and financial conditions for work on this textbook. I am grateful to Dr. Jānis Ikstens – the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences – for mutual understanding and professional scientific support. I would especially like to very strongly thank Dr. Zigmārs Gailis – the Deputy Executive Director of Projects – for fruitful and timely organizational assistance and concern for the successful implementation of this project. I'm deeply indebted to the National Library of Latvia personnel for the opportunity to conduct the preparation of this textbook by using the collection of the Library's literature and obtaining access to other databases of electronic resources. I would like to thank Professor Oleksandr Chornyj – the Head of the Department of Law, Philosophy, and Political Sciences at the T. G. Shevchenko National University 'Chernihiv Collegium' – for his continuous professional, scientific-methodical, and friendly support, as well as for his optimism during the difficult times of Russian aggression against Ukraine. And, of course, I am sincerely grateful to Dr. Rūta Sutkutė – lecturer of the Academic Department of Social Sciences, European Humanities University (Vilnius), and Dr. Ojārs Skudra – Professor of the Department of Communication Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Latvia (Riga) for their meaningful and useful reviews. Also, I would like to thank my grandson Alexander Pelykh for his help in designing the Figures. I gratefully acknowledge the support of my wife Nina during the work on this textbook and all other times.

Glory to Ukraine!

ISBN 978-609-8220-26-1



Publisher: JSC Igmovila
Laisvės al. 38a-12, LT-44240 Kaunas

Andrey Kostyrev

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION:
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Textbook

Series Political Communication: Theories and Practices



European Humanities
University

VILNIUS

CONTENT

Introduction	5
Chapter 1. Information	7
Chapter 2. Communication	18
Chapter 3. Communication in social networks	34
Chapter 4. Political communication	49
Resume	73

INTRODUCTION

When starting a political science course, a student often doubts – What should I focus on? On political history or philosophy? Is it on Constitutional law? And maybe on the analysis of data from sociological surveys? Our answer is unambiguous – the main forces should be devoted to the study of political communication, without forgetting, of course, other courses. Because political communication is the most important thing in politics.

Political communication is a powerful driver of politics. No matter how we treat it: either as a higher form of activity aimed at ensuring the public good, or as an activity of social actors to obtain, maintain and use state power. Political communication determines the course of political processes and is the main means of functioning of political institutions. According to the catchphrase of Karl Deutsch, one of the most important experts in the field of political science, political communication is the nerve of government. Political communication determines the skill of political leaders, the viability of political elites, the effectiveness of political parties and the popularity of public organizations. And electoral technologies, PR, political management and marketing are, in fact, integral parts of political communication.

Only by mastering the theory and practice of political communication can you become a successful political leader, an influential deputy, an effective state manager, a respected member of local government, a deep political analyst, and an interesting political journalist.

Therefore, the choice in favor of political communication study is meaningfully justified both from the point of view of its primary importance in the system of political sciences, and from the point of view of benefit for the future profession.

But we will move to the top gradually. This textbook is the first in the “Theory and Practice of Political Communication: series. It reveals the basic theoretical provisions.

In the first chapter, we will look for an answer to the question What is information? What is this phenomenon that is omnipresent but cannot be felt? What determines the value of information? Maybe because of how many kilobytes of information is stored in our smartphone? How is information distributed?

In the second chapter, we will try to understand what communication is. Is communication a conversation? Texts in chats? Tweets and comments? How does communication differ from manipulation? How to establish communication with others? What is the purpose of communication?

In the third chapter, we will consider how communication is carried out in social networks. What is a social network? Facebook, Twitter and Tik-Tok? Or something broader? How to achieve effective communication in the network? Ask to put likes, bells, write comments and subscribe to the channel? Are there tools that will provide not just to increase the number of subscribers, but to use the network to achieve the goals of political activity?

And, finally, in the fourth chapter, we will get down to the main thing – we will find out what political communication is. Is political communication the speeches of political leaders? Is it campaign posters? Is it a TV debate? What is the formula of political communication? On what values should political communication be built to be viable and perceived by people?

At the end of each chapter, self-study questions are offered to the reader to reinforce understanding of the content.

The answers to these and other questions and the justification of the conclusions and recommendations presented in the textbook are based on the arguments of well-known scientists, as well as on the author’s reasoning. But we will rely on critical and a creative approach. It assumes that the words don’t have fixed or relatively fixed meaning and the function of definitions is not one of discovery of the cor-

rect meaning or term. Alternatively, definitions and statement can be regarded as human creations that are changeable over time, context, sociocultural language group, and purpose. The creative cognitive process in this approach is seen as search for utility of usage wherein definition and statement can be described or changed according to that utility. Our approach suggest “Let us use the term political communication to mean...” rather than “Political communication is...”. And even if we write “It is..” or “There are...” the reader should be critical of our arguments because, in political communication studies, there is no truth in the last instance. At the same time, the words of the Chinese sage Confucius should be taken as a guide – Studying without thinking is useless, but thinking without studying is dangerous.

So, let’s go! Per aspera ad astra!

INFORMATION

The term ‘information’ is probably one of the most used in the current lexicon. But what should be understood by this term?

There are hundreds of definitions of information. Almost every scientific discipline today uses the concept of information within its own context and with regard to specific phenomena. So, we can find the concept of information in the natural sciences, the concept of information in the information sciences, the concept of information in the humanities and social sciences, and information as an interdisciplinary concept (Capurro & Hjørland, 2003). In their seminal book *The Study of Information: Interdisciplinary Messages*, Fritz Machlup and Uno Mansfield (1983) collected key views on the interdisciplinary controversy in computer science, artificial intelligence, library and information science, linguistics, psychology, and physics, as well as in the social sciences. This multiformity reflects the complex history of the term. And, as always when we want to learn about the true essence of a phenomenon, we must turn to its sources.

The Latin roots and Greek origins of the word “information” are presented by Rafael Capurro and Birger Hjørland as “formation or molding of the mind or character, training, instruction, teaching” Similar references date from the 14th century in both English (according to the Oxford English Dictionary) and other European languages (Capurro & Hjørland, 2003). Jorge Reina Schemen reminds that Geoffrey Chaucer introduced the word ‘information’ into the English language in the ‘*Tale of Melibee*’, one of his *Canterbury Tales*: “Whanne Melibee hadde herd the grete skiles and resons of Dame Prudence and hire wise informaciouns and techynges”. The ‘*Tale of Melibee*’ was probably written sometime between 1372 and 1382. Chaucer’s use of the word ‘informaciouns’ (informations) would roughly fit the meaning that contemporary English speakers give to the word ‘sayings’. However, as time went by, other meanings gained greater popularity. In *Gulliver’s Travels* (1727), Jonathan Swift applied a meaning to the word ‘information’ that appears as early as the mid-fifteenth century and sounds more familiar: “It was necessary to give the reader this information”. Thomas Jefferson, in an 1804 letter, used ‘information’ as if it referred to a physical object: “My occupations... deny me the time, if I had the information, to answer them”. In the 20th century, scientists began to write as if information were a quantifiable variable, as in the following passage from the November 1937 issue of *Discovery*: “The whole difficulty resides in the amount of definition in the [television] picture, or, as the engineers put it, the amount of information to be transmitted in a given time”. By the beginning of the 21st century, English speakers had adopted the senses of information as a physical object and quantifiable variable. Taken together, these uses facilitate communicating in an information society (Schemen, 2009: 423).

Turning back to the old definition of information, it is important for us to understand that it is something that forms a human person. But does it design only a person? A broad philosophical debate continues as to whether the concept should address a knowledge process including, as a necessary condition, a human knower or, at the very least, an interpretative system, or whether it should exclude mental states and user-related intentions and be considered as addressing an objective magnitude or property of beings (Pérez Gutiérrez, 2000; Ropohl, 2001). So, multi-faceted concepts of information are embedded in more or less explicit two theoretical paradigms – attributive and functional. Between these two positions are different kinds of mediating theories, including the quest for a unified theory of information (Hofkirchner, 1999).

The Attributive Paradigm of Information

The attributive paradigm is based on the assertion that information is a fundamental property and an integral part of existence. This paradigm is divided into idealistic, materialistic and intermediate approaches.

The idealistic approach goes back to biblical postulates and draws its philosophical inspiration from the Platonic doctrine of ideas as the first cause of all things. It turns us to the main question of philosophy: What is primary spirit or matter? **In this context, it will be appropriate to mention the first lines of the New Testament, the Gospel of John: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” (John 1:1).** And if the ancient Greek “logos” is not translated as “the word” simply, but interpreted as “knowledge” or “information”, it means that information is the root cause of everything. So, in this approach, we find sources of information’s attributive paradigm, which has a thousand-year tradition.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, modern proponents of the attributive approach advocated materialistic positions in the nature of their time – the industrial age. They considered information as an objective property of all material objects (information is an attribute of matter). And very interesting intermediate approach was initiated by the formation of the information society in the middle of the last century. Then some postmodern scholars separated information from matter. One of the first definitions of information related to the “computer era” belongs to Norbert Wiener: “Information is a designation of content obtained from the external world in the process of our adaptation to it and adaptation of our feelings to it. The process of obtaining and using information is the process of our adaptation to the randomness of the external environment and our life activities in this sphere” (Viner, 1958: 31). After Viner, the majority of Western authors, directly or indirectly engaged in philosophical and methodological researches of cybernetics, spoke about information as a factor that allegedly indicates the possibility of moving away from the existing dilemma of ‘materialism – idealism’. For example, Lee Kerschner assures that the concept of information covers “one-third of the world”, and that it is neither matter nor energy (Kerschner, 1965). A refined interpretation of the concept of information, which goes back to Aristotelian philosophy, is given by Karl von Weitzacker. He reveals it with the help of the lexically related concept of form and claims that mass and energy are equivalent to information (Weizsacker, 1979). So, formed in the era of the postmodern information society so-called three-dimensional metaphysics declares information as some third, “neutral”, “intermediate” between spirit and matter.

As we can see, a very broad, almost comprehensive, interpretation of the concept of information was formed within the framework of the attributive approach over the millennia. In this broad sense, **information is an influence that transforms an object in the process of its interaction with a subject.** And this statement is an important stone in the foundation of the theory of political communication.

Depending on what / who transmits/receives information, it is divided into the following layers:

- 1) Divine, or the Supreme, which is identified with the Logos, the Absolute, the World Mind;
- 2) Physical, which is inherent in various forms of inanimate matter from the micro-level of weak energies of elementary particles to the macro-level of the gravitational attraction of the Universes;
- 3) Biological, which is produced and perceived by living beings from unicellular organisms to primates;
- 4) Psychological, which is the result of the cognitive activity of people from the individual to the group (social and political) level;
- 5) Technological, which is the result of the functioning of man-made technological products, from radio-controlled devices to computer networks and artificial intelligence.

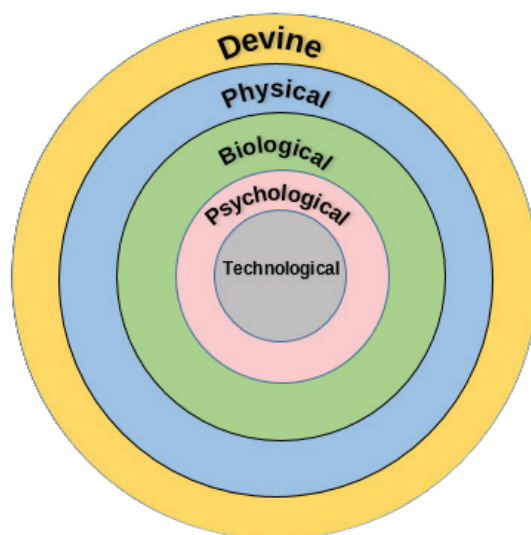


Figure 1.1. The Layers of Information

These layers are transparent and there is a constant circulation of information between them. As a result, there is a single entity that Pierre Teilhard de Chardin called the noosphere. The Noosphere is the sphere of thought enveloping the Earth. The word comes from the Greek *noos* (mind) and *sphaira* (sphere). The Noosphere is the third stage of Earth’s development, after the geosphere (think rocks, water, and air) and the biosphere (all living things). As mankind organizes itself in more complex social networks, the higher the noosphere will grow in awareness. This concept extends Teilhard’s Law of Complexity/Consciousness, the law describing the nature of evolution in the Universe. Teilhard argued the noosphere is growing towards even greater integration and unification, culminating in the Omega Point – an apex of thought/consciousness – which he saw as the goal of history (Teilhard, 1923: 71, 230, 261). In this regard, the words of his follower – Vladimir Vernadsky – are very convincing: “The future of mankind, as part of a single system of the biosphere, depends on when it understands its connection with Nature (God, Spirit, Higher Mind, World Information) and takes responsibility not only for the development of society (which all utopians aspired to) but for the biosphere as a whole” (Vernadsky, 2014: 382).

The Functional Paradigm of Information

And yet, despite the attractiveness of the philosophical depths that lead to the approaches proposed within the framework of the attributive paradigm, we will focus on the functional paradigm for the interpretation of the information concept. This paradigm concentrates on psychological information without rejecting biological and, especially, technological aspects, as well as taking into account the influence of physical (ecological) factors and Divine (religious) influences. It is based on the understanding of information as a function of human activity. As Fritz Machlup argues, information is a human phenomenon, which involves individuals transmitting and receiving messages in the context of their possible actions (Machlup, 1983). Political communication studies like other human sciences – psychology, economics, decision theory, and linguistics – had adopted the basic human-related meaning, asserting it with some restrictions.

The functional paradigm is a direct epistemological heritage of the Renaissance. At the same time, we consider it necessary to focus attention not on the scientific and technical innovations of the Renaissance, but on the fact that the new science of the Renaissance for the first time displaced the actual center of world perception. It marked a decisive transition from a theocentric to an anthropocentric

worldview. Therefore, in order to understand the essence of the functional paradigm of information interpretation, it is necessary to focus on the fact that the Renaissance became the cradle of the concept of an independent human. It should be noted that the postulate of freedom of information – the key to the theory and practice of political communication – is based precisely on this concept of an independent human.

The transition in the use of the concept of information – from ‘giving a (substantial) form to matter’ to ‘communicating something to someone’ – took place from the Ancient and Middle Ages to Modernity. The concept of information ceases to be a higher-level concept until the rise of information theory in the 20th century. Philosophers such as Francis Bacon (1561-1626), John Locke (1632-1704), George Berkeley (1685-1753), David Hume (1711-1776), and Thomas Reid (1711-1796) criticize scholastic hylomorphism and particularly the theory of abstraction. In the feverish demolition of medieval institutions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the notion that information consisted in the activity or process of endowing some material entity with form remained largely unchanged. But the notion that the universe was ordered by forms fell into disrepute, and the context of this in-forming shifted from matter to mind. Both changes inaugurated a massive inversion in the meaning of information (Capurro & Hjørland, 2003).

It can be detected in the natural philosophy of René Descartes (1596-1650), who calls ideas the ‘forms of thought’, not in the sense that these are ‘pictured’ (‘depictae’) in some part of the brain, but “as far as they inform the spirit itself oriented to this part of the brain| (sed tantum quatenus mentem ipsam in allem cerebri partem conversam informant)” (Descartes, 1996: 161). As John Peters states:

The ‘doctrine of ideas’, developed initially by Descartes, was central to early modern philosophy, both rationalist and empiricist. Abandoning the ‘direct perception’ of the scholastics – the immediate communion of Intellect and Nature – Descartes interposed ‘ideas’ between the two. An ‘idea’ was something present to the mind, an image, copy, or representation, with a problematic relation to real things in the world. For empiricists (like Locke), the stream of ideas was the raw material from which genuine knowledge could be built; for rationalists (like Descartes), it was a veil of illusion, to be pierced by logic and reason. (Peters, 1988: 13).

In this way, early modern rationalists and empiricists laid the foundations of the functional paradigm in the interpretation of the essence of information. Information, like the early modern worldview in general, shifted from a divinely ordered cosmos to a system governed by the motion of a mind. Under the tutelage of empiricism, information gradually moved from structure to stuff, from form to substance, and from Supreme order to sensory impulses. Here is interesting that the site of information is being shifted from the world at large to the human mind and senses.

Supporters of the functional paradigm proceed from the fact that **the properties of matter, nature, and society are potential information, but they become information only after a human perceives these properties.** And in this definition, we see the emergence of a contradiction between the properties that really belong to the object and the information that is perceived by the recipient. Therefore, the actual problem of communication studies is to determine the interaction and mutual influence between information as a reflection and what causes it.

In this context, it is important to emphasize that **information as a product of human activity cannot be objective in principle.** Hjørland (2007) describes the fundamental difference between objective and subjective views of information and provides the following example:

A stone on a field could contain different information for different people (or from one situation to another). It is not possible for information systems to map all the stone’s possible information for every individual. Nor is anyone mapping the one ‘true’ mapping. But people have different educational backgrounds and play different roles in the division of labor in society. A stone in a field represents typical one kind of information for the geologist and another for the archaeologist. The information from the stone can be mapped into different collective knowledge structures produced by e.g. geology and archaeology. Information can be identified, described, and represented in information systems for

different domains of knowledge. Of course, there are much uncertainty and many difficult problems in determining whether a thing is informative or not for a domain. Some domains have a high degree of consensus and rather explicit criteria of relevance. Other domains have different, conflicting paradigms, each containing its own more or less implicate view of the informativeness of different kinds of information sources. (Hjørland, 2007: 1451). In this context Schemen in the *Encyclopedia of Communication and Information* notes:

Similarly, two individuals can receive the same information, think about it, and produce new information with opposing interpretations. What is remarkable is that the information each received was the same, while the new information produced was different: same input, different outputs because each brain is unique. Each human takes data as input, organizes the input into a form that produces new information, and then makes sense of it by relating it to other ideas, thus bringing forth individual knowledge. The brain can expend a quantity of energy and think no new thoughts, or it can expend that same quantity of energy and invent a new cure for cancer. Brains are so capable of manipulating information that they can recombine the same information into an infinite number of new ideas. Nothing in the world of physical things behaves this way (Schemen, 2002: 422).

According to Daniel Bougnoux (1993, 1995), there is no pure information or ‘information-in-itself’ (that is, information is always related to some kind of redundancy or ‘noise’). To inform (others or oneself) means to select and evaluate. This is particularly relevant in the field of journalism and mass media, but, of course, also in political communication studies. Awareness of this fact is an important point in the theory of political communication.

The argumentation of the functional paradigm’s proponents is divided into five approaches, that interpret information as: (1) a reflection; (2) elimination of uncertainty; (3) a knowledge; (4) data; (5) a value. These approaches reveal different functional properties of information.

The first approach makes an attempt to correlate the information with the concept of reflection, revealing at the same time the need for the unity of reflection and interaction as a dialectical unity of polar categories. In this regard, it is worth noting that it was the category of reflection that turned out to be the key that, according to supporters of the functional paradigm, made it possible to discover the secret of the nature of the information; precisely this philosophical category turned out to be methodologically fruitful for penetrating into its essence.

In the second approach information is understood as a means that promotes eliminating the uncertainty (entropy) of this or that event, this or that object of perception. Within the framework of this approach, information can be interpreted as eliminated indistinctness, as diversity. Information appears when at least two elements in human perception differ, and it disappears if the objects are identified. Initially, the function of information was associated with the measure of elimination of uncertainty regarding a given number of possible outcomes or events. As Schemen notes, “All humans convert data into information and then use information to reduce the uncertainty they face when making decision – from simple decision such as choosing a cereal for breakfast to complex decision such as choosing a college” (Schemen, 2002: 422).

The third approach argues a broader functional interpretation of information as knowledge in general. Fred Dretske notes that “knowledge is information-produced belief” (Dretske, 1981: 91-92). This concept of information is the most popular in humanities and social sciences. In this approach, such a property of information as inexhaustibility is most clearly manifested. It is implied that in the process of transferring information as knowledge, it does not disappear from the one who transmitted it, but appears from the one who received it. For example, if I give a book to a student, it will disappear from me and appear with him/her. But the book is not actually information, it is a carrier of information. On the contrary, when I give a lecture to students, they receive information, but it does not disappear from me either. In this way information is multiplied. Schemen makes such a comparison:

If, for example, someone writes a manuscript for a book, that person possesses a new manuscript-information-that did not exist before. If the manuscript is sold to a publisher, that publisher pos-

sesses the manuscript and may print it as a book. Clearly, an exchange has taken place; the publisher owns the information as a manuscript and the writer has money from the publisher. However, even though the writer sold the manuscript, he or she still has the information. The information remains in the writer's computer or perhaps in a folder; he or she can still read it out loud and even give a copy of the text to a friend (Schemen, 2002: 423).

In the fourth approach information is presented as documented or publicly announced data about events or phenomena occurring in a natural environment, society, and state. This approach has solidified thanks to cybernetics. Proponents of this data-approach evaluate information in its quantitative dimension – in pages, characters, bits and bytes. In a more broad sense this approach is expressed in a popular definition of information such as following: “Information is a coherent collection of data, messages, or cues organized in particular way that has meaning or use for a particular human system” (Reuben, 1988: 12). Schemen demonstrates this effect:

For example, a teacher might decide that one report contains more information than another. Such a comparison implies that information is a quantity that can be measured in terms of more and less. That same teacher might describe the reports as if they were jars filled with information, so that one report might be filled with more information than the other (Schemen, 2002: 423).

In contrast, the value approach focuses not on quantitative, but on qualitative characteristics of information. Since information has an intangible nature, it is characterized by autonomy in relation to the medium, which means that the value of information lies in its essence, and not in the material medium on which it is fixed. Information as a value is also characterized by non-disappearance in the process of consumption, and therefore, the possibility of multiple use, preservation of the transmitted information by the transmitting entity, and the ability to reproduce, copy, save, and accumulate. Apologists of this approach emphasize the qualities of information that are designed to meet the needs and interests of the recipient. Through the prism of this approach, in certain situations, one word can be more important than terabytes of information garbage. From the standpoint of the value approach, the teacher demonstrated by Schemen should evaluate the report from the standpoint of its theoretical validity, novelty, compliance with the needs of society, and the possibility of practical application. So, for the apologists of value approach information is not a jar for a coherent collection of data, messages, or cues, but a lighthouse that shows the way in the stormy sea of human life.

Information, Consciousness and Knowledge

To consider this problem, in particular, and a critical analysis of functional paradigm's approaches, in general, we will consider them through the prism of consciousness concepts. Because the information in its psychological meaning and functional interpretation is impossible to understand outside this meaning. Really, a human's perception of information as a reflection of reality is distinguished by the presence of consciousness. The Cambridge Dictionary defines consciousness as “the state of understanding and realizing something” (The Cambridge Dictionary, 2023). This interpretation is very close to the understanding of information as the elimination of uncertainty. The Oxford Living Dictionary defines “The state of being aware of and responsive to one's surroundings”, “A person's awareness or perception of something”, and “The fact of awareness by the mind of itself and the world” (Oxford Living Dictionary, 2023). And these definitions present consciousness as a tool for the acquisition of knowledge by a human. Most scientists recognised as a general rule that **a human turns information into knowledge through consciousness. Thanks to this fact, such properties of knowledge as relativity and limitation are revealed.** They are most vividly illustrated by Plato's proverb: “I know that I know nothing, but others do not know it either”.

In addition, it should be borne in mind that concepts regarding the sources of information as knowledge have changed throughout history from pre-modern to modern and further to post-modern.

The mechanism of knowledge production changes is revealed by Yuval Noah Harari: “In medieval Europe, the main formula for obtaining knowledge was as follows: Knowledge = Holy Scripture × Logic ... The scientific revolution brought out a completely new formula for obtaining knowledge: Knowledge = Empirical data × Mathematics. The scientific formula of knowledge has led to astonishing breakthroughs in astronomy, physics, medicine, and a host of other disciplines. But it had one big flaw: it was helpless in matters of value and meaning. Medieval sages could say with absolute certainty that killing and stealing is wrong and that the purpose of human life is the worship of the Lord - after all, the Scriptures say so. But scientists do not make ethical judgments. No amount of data and no miracles of mathematics can prove that it is wrong to kill. However, without such value judgments, human societies are not viable” (Harari, 2017: 278-279). The positivist changes in the methodology of worldview laid the foundations for a subsequent reduction in the interpretation of the concept of “information”. So, in the rationalistic interpretation, information turns into data. The seeds of the axiological crisis of information society lie precisely in this transition. Because the concept of ‘data’ does not allow us to determine how relevant knowledge is important for an individual, that is, to establish the value or usefulness of the information. Its pragmatic assessment is possible only in comparison with the internal state or behavior of the individual and his goals. According to Yuval Noah Harari, a new formula of ethical knowledge was born in the postmodern age: Knowledge = Experience + Sensitivity. If we want to get an answer to any ethical question, we must turn to the experience of our inner feeling and listen to them with a certain sensitivity (Harari, 2017: 279). Thus, information as knowledge is first of all: a faith – for the pre-modern, a science – for the modern, and a feeling – for the post-modern. This feature of cognition, in particular political cognition, is described by Manuel Castells:

An increasingly influential stream of research demonstrates the integration of cognition and emotion in political decision-making. Political cognition is emotionally shaped. There is no opposition between cognition and emotion, but there are different forms of articulation between emotion and cognition in decision-making. Information processing (cognition) can operate with or without anxiety (emotion), leading to two different forms of decision-making: rational decision-making as a process of evaluating new information or routine models of decision based on past experience as processed in brain maps... Emotion highlights the role of cognition while influencing the cognition process at same time... Attitudes depend on feelings, and feelings are constructed through the perception of emotion. Some of these emotions play a particularly important role in the political process (Castells, 2013: 146, 149).

Postmodern consumption of information also manifested itself in the paradox of post-truth. This paradox is characterized by the fact that with the development of information and communication technologies (ICT), the lack of information is replaced by its oversaturation and overabundance. Thanks to the development of online networks, any interpretation of reality receives not only the right but also the opportunity for presentation and perception. As a result, information processes do not reduce entropy, but, on the contrary, increase uncertainty.

All these remarks can be taken into account to understand the essence of information as a reflection of reality in human consciousness. However certain observations should also be made. For example, numerous studies have proven that a significant amount of information can be processed by the brain in a dream. In general, consciousness is an analog of ratio in the positivist interpretation. Rationalism determined the name of a human as biological specie – Homo sapiens. But the conscious perception of information is not the only way in which a human perceives and learns the surrounding environment. As the research of Sigmund Freud and his successors showed, the psychological layer consists of the unconscious, subconscious, actual conscious, and superconscious levels. At the same time, a human’s reaction to the received information (signals from the environment) is powerfully determined precisely by the unconscious and subconscious levels. It is manifested, in particular, at the subconscious level, such a reaction to information, which is called intuition.

The development of the Internet put the problem of the importance of the subconscious in the perception of information in a new aspect. The multiplicity of productions, perceptions, and interpre-

tations, which is a marker of postmodernism, creates a previously unknown problem – the problem of information overload. As noted by Tim Cooper and Jem Thomas, one of the main changes that have taken place in just the last ten years is the transition from an environment of information scarcity to information overload (Cooper, Thomas 2019: 28).

However, the possibilities of the human brain are not limitless. Under the pressure of information streams falling on him, a person falls into a state of stress. Losing the ability to rational analysis, the brain compensates for it with an image characteristic of any stressful situation and transfers intellectual reflection to the level of emotions and subconscious reflexes. Rosanna Guadagno and Karen Guttieri present the results of studies that prove that people using Internet communication suffer from information overload and, therefore, are more likely to process information received on the Internet not centrally, but peripherally. This means that people do not focus on the quality of arguments, but use subconscious tips for decision-making or cognitive heuristics to assess the merits of a persuasive appeal and are subject to the influence of these factors (Guadagno, Guttieri 2019: 178). Thus, we can state that the effect of irrationality really exists and is a natural result of the brain's reactions to a stressful situation laid down by millennia of biological evolution. The novelty of the situation is that the stress, in this case, is not caused by a lack of information, but by its critical excess and variety. So, it means that information as knowledge and especially as value is not always a product of rationality. Castels focuses:

For instance, people will make judgments based on information they recall from memory rather than on a complete set of information gathered from various sources. The reflexive system, meanwhile, plays a subconscious role in formation of attitudes (Castels, 2013: 149).

The statement about the importance of the subconscious perception of information and its assimilation at the level of sensitivities and feelings is another stone in the foundation of the theory of political communication. However, a human's perception of information is not limited only to the levels of the conscious and subconscious. Because a human is a carrier of both psychological and biological information, as well as the Higher Divine information, which is manifested at the superconscious level. Studying political communication, we should not lose sight of the fact that human is not only Political Animal and Homo Sapiens but Homo Spiritus. The ratio of these entities in the human character determines the value of information for each individual.

In the boundless ocean of information, **a human selects and consumes the information that can satisfy his/her needs and interests (real or imagined, conscious or subconscious).** Therefore, depending on a human's motivation for information, it can be differentiated in accordance with Maslow's pyramid (Maslow, 1943).

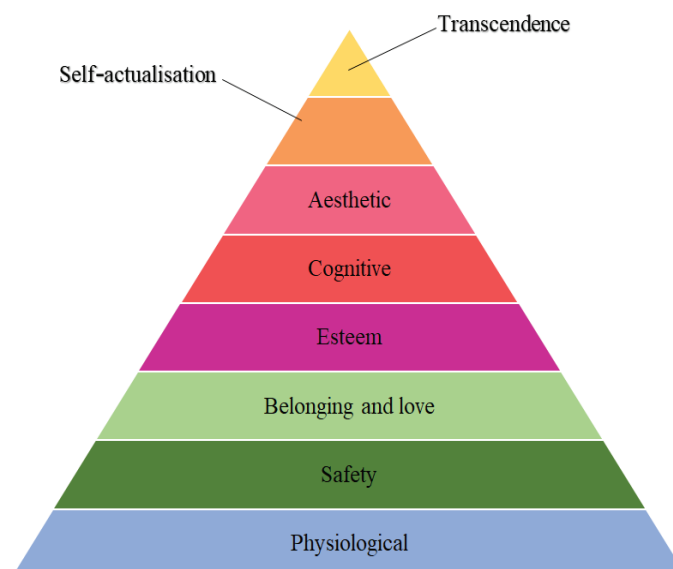


Figure 1.2. Maslow's Pyramid of the Needs

Empirical researches argue that most people primarily perceive information that is directly related to their physiological needs and safety. This statement is another cornerstone of the theoretical foundation of political communication. But requirements for information that corresponds to motivations can be different, depending on the nature of a person, external conditions, events and phenomena, abilities and motivations of an individual, and countless other factors. For example, the need for esteem may manifest itself differently: one needs to become an outstanding politician, deputy, or public figure and win universal approval and popularity, while for the other it will be enough for their own children to recognize his authority. The same widest range within the same need can be observed at any step of the pyramid, even at the first (physiological needs). Therefore, the content of information at each of these levels is significantly differentiated.

A person satisfies his/her needs in various spheres of activity. Depending on the sphere to which the object of information relations belongs, information is divided into: (1) economic, (2) ecological, (2) social, (3) political, (4) scientific, (5) cultural, (6) spiritual.

It is important to highlight that “When seeking information, people begin with their values, and then look for information to confirm their values” (Castels, 2013: 149). Summarizing, we can formulate the following definition and let us use the term

Information as a reflection of reality in the brain, which is manifested in the form of sensations, images, emotions, thoughts, ideas, beliefs at the unconscious, subconscious, conscious and superconscious levels and is perceived depending on the needs and interests of a person.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that although information is perceived by each person individually, it acquires group and social significance due to the social (political, according to Aristotle) nature of human. Moreover, information is a necessary condition for the existence of any community. Karl Deutsch – Czech-American social and political scientist and one of the political communication theory pioneer – highlighted that society and the political system survive and develop at least partly because they contain mechanisms that allow or encourage habit-forming and the other activities that go with this: the acquiring of information; the selection and storage of this information; the selection and norms relating to the use of the information gained (Deutsch, 1966: 12). This aspect of information is key to further understanding of political communication.

Conclusions

Information permeates our entire life while remaining elusive and mysterious in its essence. Countless theories of information can be formalized in two paradigms – attributive and functional. The attributive paradigm is based on the assertion that information is a fundamental property and an integral part of existence. It has a thousand-year philosophical and religious tradition. This paradigm considers information in a broad sense as an influence that transforms an object in the process of its interaction with a subject. There are three approaches in this paradigm: idealistic, materialistic, and intermediate. The idealistic approach considers information as the root cause – idea, logos, world mind. The materialistic approach considers that information is an inherent property of matter. The third approach ascribes to information the qualities of an independent substance. Accordantly with the attributive paradigm, information is developed into five layers: (1) Supreme (Divine), (2) physical, (3) biological, (4) psychological, and (5) technological. As a result of the co-evolution of these layers, a new form of existence – the noosphere – is created.

The attributive paradigm is based on the understanding of information as a function of human activity. This paradigm was generated by the Renaissance. Its supporters argue that the properties of matter, nature, and society are only potential sources of information, but they become information only after a human perceives these properties. Hence, information as a product of human perception cannot be objective in principle. Five main approaches stand out within the functional paradigm. In the frames

of these approaches, information is presented and studied as (1) a reflection; (2) elimination of uncertainty; (3) knowledge; (4) data; (5) a value. These approaches reveal different functional properties of information. In the functional paradigm, information is perceived by a human primarily through consciousness. Passing through consciousness, information is transformed into knowledge. In the functional paradigm, information is perceived by a person primarily through consciousness. The limitations and relativity of the human mind lead to the limitations and relativity of our knowledge. Information as a source of knowledge has changed its meaning in different historical ages. It was interpreted as a faith in the pre-modern, as a science – in the modern, and it means a feeling in the post-modern. So, the mind is not the only way to get information. But the mind is not the only way to get information. A significant part of it has been absorbed by humans through the subconscious for ages. In the current time, subconscious beliefs are the main guides for choice in the conditions of the information glut that is the product of the Internet. Emotions are a determining factor in the perception of information.

The value of information is determined by the impact on human activity to satisfy one's own needs and interests (real or imagined, conscious or subconscious). Therefore, the hierarchy of information value levels can be built in accordance with Maslow's pyramid. The motivational component determines that by controlling the information, one can control the behavior. Information has vital significance not only for a person but for social and political systems too.

Questions for self check:

1. What is information according to the attributive paradigm?
2. What are the layers of information in this paradigm?
3. What is the key difference in understanding information in the functional paradigm?
4. What are the main approaches in this paradigm and how do they interpret the concept of information?
5. What is the value of information?
6. How are information and knowledge related?
7. What role do the conscious and subconscious play in the perception of information?
8. How are the levels of information perception structured in accordance with human needs?

References:

- Bougnoux, D. (1993). *Sciences de l'information et de la communication [Information and communication sciences]*. Paris: Larousse.
- Bougnoux, D. (1995). *La communication contre l'information [Communication versus information]*. Paris: Hachette.
- Capurro, R., and Hjørland B. (2003). The Concept of Information. In Cronin B. (Ed.) *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, Vol. 37, Chapter 8, pp. 343-411. Retrieved from: <http://www.capurro.de/infoconcept.htm>.
- Castells, M. (2013). *Communication Power*, 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press.
- Consciousness*. Oxford Living Dictionary. (2023). Oxford University Press. Retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160925102008/https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/consciousness>.
- Consciousness*. The Cambridge Dictionary. (2023). Cambridge University Press & Assessment. Retrieved from: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/consciousness>.
- Cooper, T., and Thomas, J. (2019). *Nature or Nurture: A Crisis of Trust and Reason in the Digital Age*. London: Albany Associates.
- Descartes, R. (1996). *Oeuvres VII*, Ch. Adam & P. Tannery (Eds.). Paris: Vrin.
- Deutsch, K. (1966). *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control*. New York: Free Press.
- Dretske, F. I. (1981). *Knowledge and the flow of information*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Guadagno, E. R., and Guttieri, K. (2019). Fake News and Information Warfare: An Examination of the Political and Psychological Processes from the Digital Sphere to the Real World. *Handbook of Research on Deception, Fake News, and Misinformation*. Online IGI Global, P. 167–191. DOI: <http://10.4018/978-1-5225-8535-0.ch011>.
- Harari, Y. N. (2017). *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow*. London: Vintage.
- Hjørland, B. (2007). Information: Objective or Subjective/Situational? *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 58 (10): 1448-1456.

- Hofkirchner, W. (Ed.) (1999). The quest for a unified theory of information. *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Foundations of Information Science*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach.
- Kerschner, L. R. (1965). Cybernetics: key of the future? *Problems of Communism*, 14 (6): 55-56.
- Laswell, H. (1971). Policy Problems of Data Rich Society. *Information Technology in a Democracy*. Cambridge. pp. 187-197. DOI: 10.4159/harvard.9780674436978.c29.
- Machlup, F. (1983). Semantic Quirks in Studies of Information. In Machlup, F., & Mansfield, U. (Eds.), *The study of information: Interdisciplinary messages*. New York: Wiley. pp. 641-671.
- Machlup, F., and Mansfield, U. (Eds.) (1983). *The Study of Information. Interdisciplinary Messages*. New York: Wiley.
- Maslow, A. H. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*. 50 (4): 370–396.
- Pérez Gutiérrez, M. (2000). *El fenómeno de la información. Una aproximación conceptual al flujo informativo [The phenomenon of information: A conceptual approximation of the flow of information]*. Madrid, Spain: Trotta.
- Peters, J. D. (1988). Information: Notes toward a critical history. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 12: 10-24.
- Plato. (1966). Apology 22d. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Vol. 1. Trans. by Harold North Fowler. London: William Heinemann Ltd.
- Schemen, J. R. (2002). Information. In Jorge Reina Schement (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Communication and Information* (3 Volume Set). New York: Macmillan Reference USA (420-432).
- Ropohl, G. (2001). Der Informationsbegriff im Kulturstreit [The concept of information in the framework of the culturalist struggle]. *Ethik und Sozialwissenschaften*, 1: 1-12.
- Reuben, B. (1988). *Communication and Human Behaviour*. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company.
- Teilhard de Chardin, P. (1966). *The vision of the past*. London: Collins.
- Vernadsky, V. I. (2014). *Philosophical thoughts of a naturalist*. Moscow: Academic project. (In Russ).
- Viner, N. (1954). *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society*. 2nd edition. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- Weizsacker, C. F. von. (1971). *Die Einheit der Natur*, 4th edition. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag GmbH & Co. KG.

COMMUNICATION

Understanding the concept of communication is meaningful for our entire course. The subject of communication has concerned scholars since the time of ancient Greece. The word ‘communication’ has its root in the Latin verb ‘communicare’, which means ‘to share’ or ‘to make common’. In the English language, the term ‘communication’ has existed since the 15th century to indicate the general process of message’s transmission. And in this sense, it is interesting to pay attention to the fact that the word ‘communication’ is derived also from ‘communio’, which means communion as a sacrament. This etymological excursion discovers the spiritual roots of communication. But in the 17th century, the use of the term communication underwent changes in the direction of materialization. It included physical methods of movement (transportation) of goods – lines of communication (roads, canals, later – railways). From this crossroads, the ways of understanding communication diverge between spiritual and technical processes. This discrepancy persists to our time. And since then, the number of definitions of communication has been growing constantly. Thomas M. Steinfatt notes that the term ‘communication’ is commonly used in both broad and narrow senses, from imple human contact to technical uses in information theory (Steinfatt, 2009: 295). At the end of the last century, the Finnish scientist Osmo Vijo counted more than 200 of them. Probably it is true that there are about as many definitions of communication as there are authors of works about it. These difficulties come from the fact that the term is applied to diverse phenomena in different contexts, often with slightly different meanings. But in order not to get lost in these thickets, we will take as a starting point the simple understanding of communication as the transmission of information. From this starting point, the ways of interpreting communication begin to diverge along the already known for us directions of information understanding – attributive and functional.

The Attributive Paradigm of Communication

Scientists who defend the position of the attributive paradigm expand their interpretation, including all relationships in nature and society to communication. The Russian-American sociologist Pitirim Sorokin claimed: “Processes of human interaction, and therefore the formation of collective unity, can be caused by conditions: a) cosmic, b) biological, c) social-psychological” (Sorokin, 1947). These views of the thinker can be considered as the theoretical foundation of the idea about the universality of communication in the Universe. And Aleksander Sokolov proposed, perhaps, the broadest definition:

Communication is a mediated and expedient interaction of two subjects. The result of this interaction can be: the movement of material objects in three-dimensional geometric space and in astronomical time or the movement of ideal objects (meanings, images) in multidimensional imaginary (virtual) spaces and times” (Sokolov, 2002).

Niklas Luhmann nay rejects the view that communication is, on its most basic level, an interaction between two distinct parties. Instead, he holds that “only communication can communicate” and tries to provide a conceptualisation in terms of autopoietic systems without any reference to consciousness or life (Luhmann, 1992: 255).

According to such all-encompassing statements, communication, the same as information, can be shared into five layers: Divine, physical, biological, psychological, and technological. Some authors combine the first two layers into one – universal, in which the meaning of communication is considered a way of connecting any objects of the material and spiritual world (Dutsyk, 2005: 52). In a more specific dimension, communication can be classified based on whether information is exchanged between humans, non-human forms of communication, which include animal and plant communication, or non-living entities such as computers.

Psychological Layer of Communication

Just as we focused on the psychological level of information, we logically focus on the psychological aspects of communication. Exactly at this level amazing features of communication are revealed.

Dan H. O’Hair and William F. Eadie in the *21st Century Communication: A Reference Handbook* note:

Communication is thought of both as an ordinary action and as an extraordinary act. It is ordinary because it is a major human activity that we engage in each day, but it is extraordinary because communicating with others has the capacity to provide social support and comfort, engage others in deliberation and debate on important issues, delight us with stories and performances, help us understand and manage who we are as people, and manage or resolve conflicts. (O’Hair, & Eadie, 2009: 5).

It is clear that political communication functions precisely in the psychological layer of communication, because, as we argue in the Chapter 1, it is produced by human information activity. It should be emphasized that politics is a sphere that distinguishes a human from other creatures. In his *Politics*, Aristotle believed a man was a ‘political animal’ because he is a social creature with the power of speech and moral reasoning. This statement brings our discussion of communication into the realm of the functional paradigm.

In 1928 the English literary critic and author Ivor Armstrong Richards offered one of the first – and in some ways still the best – definitions of communication as a discrete aspect of psychological enterprise:

Communication takes place when one mind so acts upon its environment that another mind is influenced, and in that other mind, an experience occurs which is like the experience in the first mind, and is caused in part by that experience. upon its environment in order to transmit its own experience to another mind (Gordon, 2023).

The psychological layer concludes of three levels of communication: suprapersonal, intrapersonal and interpersonal. Suprapersonal communication is communication with God. It is carried out in the form of prayers, sacred vestments and the descent of Divine grace. Intrapersonal communication is communication with oneself (Chandler, & Munday, 2011). In some cases this manifests externally, like when engaged in a monologue, taking notes, highlighting a passage, and writing a diary or a shopping list. But many forms of intrapersonal communication happen internally in the form of inner dialog, like when thinking about something or daydreaming. Based on its role in self-regulation, some theorists have suggested that intrapersonal communication is more basic than interpersonal communication. This is based on the observation that young children sometimes use egocentric speech while playing in an attempt to direct their own behavior. On this view, interpersonal communication only develops later when the child moves from their early egocentric perspective to a more social perspective when the child moves from their early egocentric perspective to a more social perspective (Anderson, 2021: 239). Other theorists contend that interpersonal communication is more basic. They explain this by arguing that language is used first by parents to regulate what their child does. Once the child has learned this, it can apply the same technique on itself to get more control over its own behavior (Vocate, 2012: 9).

Without delving into the details of this discussion and without dismissing the importance of intrapersonal communication (and sometimes known in history suprapersonal communication) for politics, especially in the context of political psychology, we will focus our attention on interpersonal communication. Interpersonal communication is communication between distinct persons. If the information transfer is between two people it is dyadic communication. And if the transmission is between more people within groups and between groups, interpersonal communication becomes social communication. However, it can also take place on a larger level, for example, between organizations, social classes, or nations (Rosengren, 2000: 1-2). In this case, we deal with strategic communications.

The Functional Paradigm: Communication as a Social Phenomenon

The functional information paradigm gives rise to an understanding of communication as a social phenomenon. And Charles Cooley – an outstanding representative of the Chicago School of Sociology – introduced the concept of communication into scientific circulation in exactly the right sense. In the article *'The Significance of Communication'* (1909), he called communication a means of actualizing “organically the whole world of human thought”. Cooley wrote:

By Communication is here meant the mechanism through which human relations exist and develop – all the symbols of the mind, together with the means of conveying them through space and preserving them in time. It includes the expression of the face, attitude and gesture, the tones of the voice, words, writing, printing, railways, telegraphs, telephones, and whatever else may be the latest achievement in the conquest of space and time. Without communication the mind does not develop a true human nature, but remains in an abnormal and nondescript state neither human nor properly brutal. The system of communication is a tool, a progressive invention, whose improvements react upon mankind and alter the life of every individual and institution. A study of these improvements is one of the best ways by which to approach an understanding of the mental and social changes that are bound up with them (Cooley, 1983).

Communication in its social interpretation is considered by different authors in various aspects, which are united in two main directions: instrumentalist and social-activist.

The Instrumentalist Direction of Communication Studies

The instrumentalist direction considers communication as a tool of information share. This paradigm is based on a linear model of communication. Accordingly to its archetypal option, communication is a continuous process that mainly involves three elements viz. sender, message, and receiver.

The Linear Communication Models

This elementary three-component model of communication was refined in the 1940s by American information scientists Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver. Based on research on communication technology, Shannon proved that the communication process consists of five basic components: a source, a transmitter, channel, a receiver, and a destination (Shannon, 1948). The model was further developed together with Warren Weaver. Researchers also pointed to the presence of such a factor as noise, which affects the quality of communication (Shannon, & Weaver, 1962). This approach was mostly based on the principle of telephone operation and can be illustrated by the following figure:

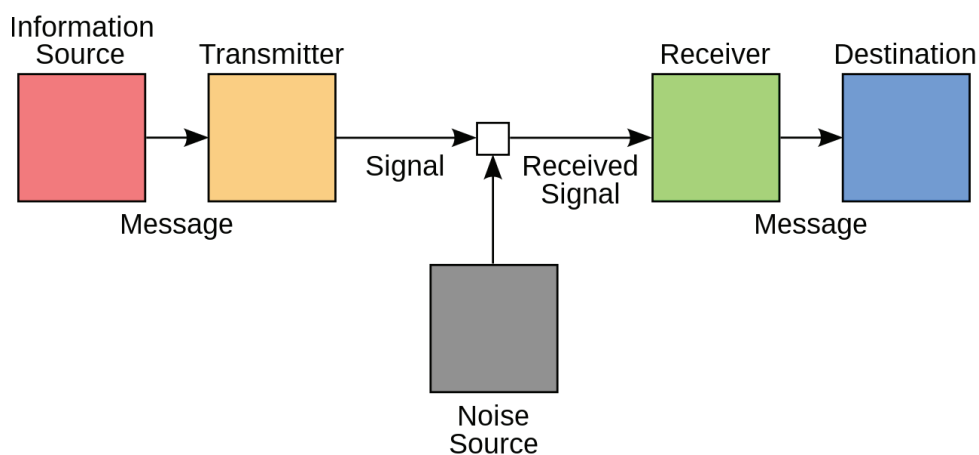


Figure 2.1. Shannon-Weaver's Model of Communication (Wikipedia, 2023)

The source produces the original message. The source of information is usually a person and decides which message to send. The transmitter translates the message into a signal, which is sent using a channel. The message can take various forms, such as a sequence of letters, sounds, or images. The transmitter is responsible for translating the message into a signal. To send the signal, a channel is required. Channels are ways of transmitting signals, like light, sound waves, radio waves, and electrical wires. The receiver translates the signal back into the original message and makes it available to the destination. The destination is the person for whom the message was intended. For a landline phone call, the person calling is the source. They use the telephone as a transmitter, which produces an electric signal that is sent through the wire as a channel. The person receiving the call is the destination and their telephone is the receiver. To apply this model accurately to real-life cases, some of the components may have to be repeated. For the telephone call, for example, the mouth is also a transmitter before the telephone itself as a second transmitter.

Shannon and Weaver distinguish three types of problems of communication: technical, semantic, and effectiveness problems. To illustrate the impact of these problems, we can recall the old well-known children’s game ‘damaged phone’. And the characteristic of the instrumentalist concept is that Shannon and Weaver focus on the technical level, which concerns the problem of how to use a signal to accurately reproduce a message from one location to another location. The difficulty in this regard is that noise may distort the signal. They discuss redundancy as a solution to this problem: if the original message is redundant then the distortions can be detected, which makes it possible to reconstruct the source’s original intention.

The Shannon-Weaver model of communication has been very influential in various fields, including communication theory and information theory. Many later theorists have built their own models on its insights. For example, David Berlo in his book *The Process of Communication* proposed the Sender-Message-Channel-Receiver (SMCR) model. It contains a detailed discussion of the four main components of communication: source, message, channel, and receiver. Source and receiver are usually distinct persons but can also be groups and, in some cases, the same entity acts both as source and receiver (Berlo, 1960).

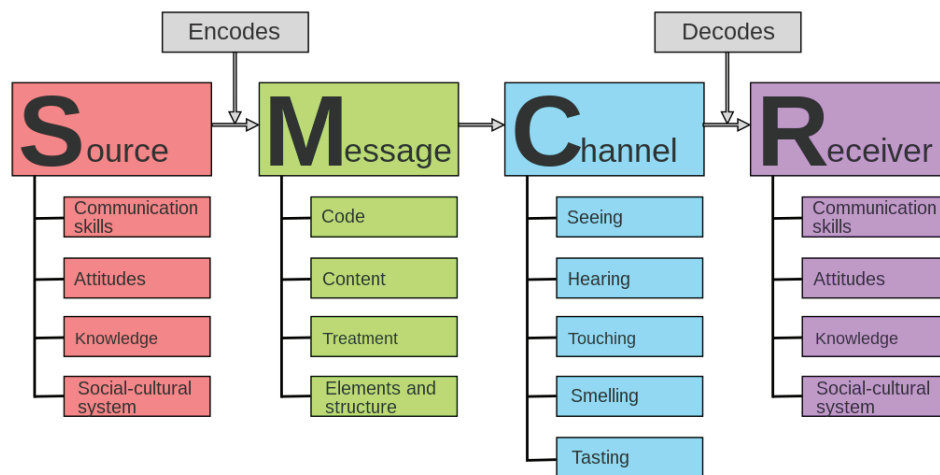


Figure 2.2. SMCR Model of Communication (Tengan, Aigbavboa, & Thwala, 2021: 94)

Berlo sees all forms of communication as attempts by the source to influence the behavior of the receiver. The source tries to achieve this by formulating a communicative intention and encoding it in the form of a message. The message is sent to the receiver using a channel and has to be decoded so they can understand it and react to it. The efficiency or fidelity of communication is defined by the degree to which the reaction of the receiver matches the purpose of motivating the source.

Each of the four main components has several key attributes. Source and receiver share the same four attributes: communication skills, attitudes, knowledge, and social-cultural system. Communication skills determine how good the communicators are at encoding and decoding messages. Attitudes affect whether they like or dislike the topic and each other. Knowledge includes how well they understand the topic. The social-cultural system encompasses their social and cultural background.

The attributes of the message are code, content, and treatment as well as elements and structure. A code is a sign system like a language. The content is the information expressed in the message. The treatment consists of the source's choices on the level of code and content when formulating the message. Each of these attributes can be analyzed based on the elements it uses and based on how they are combined to form a structure.

The remaining main component is the channel. It is the medium and process of how the message is transmitted. Berlo discusses it primarily in terms of the five senses used to decode messages: seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, and tasting. Depending on the message, some channels are more useful than others. It is often advantageous to use several channels simultaneously. The term 'communication channel' is used by instrumentalists with two meanings: (1) a set of means of communication between the source and receiver of information – telephone, radio broadcasting, television broadcasting, etc.; (2) frequency band, transmission time and other air resources allocated in communication systems for message transmission. So, in the instrumentalist concept communication channels are lines of communication (contact) along which the message (information) moves from the communicant to the recipient. Communication channels appear as the material side of social communication. Thus, the term 'communication channel' is used to define the physical carrier and transmitter of information. The concept of 'means of communication', which is used by proponents of social-active concepts is wider than the concept of 'communication channel'. It includes both communication channels and their social environment, which is manifested in the influence of society on the invention, creation, and use of certain technical methods of information transmission, as well as the subsequent impact of communication channels on society. So, in this sense 'means of communication' can be interpreted as media.

The SMCR model has been applied to various fields, such as mass communication, communication at the workplace, and psychology. It also influenced many subsequent communication theorists. It has been criticized for oversimplifying communication. For example, as a linear transmission model, it does not include the discussion of feedback loops found in many later models. Another common objection is that the SMCR model fails to take noise and other barriers to communication seriously and simply assumes that communication attempts are successful.

So, the linear models are often criticized based on the claim that it oversimplifies communication. One common objection is that communication should not be understood as a one-way process but as a dynamic interaction of messages going back and forth between both participants. Wilbur Schramm to take into account these aspects of communication expanded this model by including a feedback loop to understand communication as an interactive process (Schramm, 1963).

The Feedback Loop

In communication process feedback is verbal and non-verbal messages that a destination person intentionally or unintentionally sends in response to the sender's message. Therefore, receiver is able to influence the information activity of the sender precisely because of this reaction. Feedback can take the form of action if, after listening to the speaker, people act on his recommendations. This reaction is nothing but (in terms of information theory) a manifestation of feedback. This construct was derived from the studies of Norbert Wiener, the so-called father of the science of cybernetics. Wiener's cybernetic models, some of which provide the basis for current computer technology, were designed to be responsive to their own behavior; that is, they audited their own performances mathematically or elec-

tronically in order to avoid errors of entropy, unnecessary redundancy, or other simple hazards. Certain types of common communications—holiday greeting cards, for instance – usually require little feedback. Others, particularly interactions between human beings in conversation, cannot function without the ability of the message sender to weigh and calculate the apparent effect of his words on his listener. It is largely the aspect of feedback that provides for this model the qualities of a process because each instance of feedback conditions or alters the subsequent messages.

Feedback occurs when outputs of a system are routed back as inputs as part of a chain of cause-and-effect that forms a circuit or loop. Therefore, the **feedback exactly transforms the linear model of the information process into a circular communication system.** Focusing on uses in management theory, Arkalgud Ramaprasad defines feedback generally as “...information about the gap between the actual level and the reference level of a system parameter” that is used to “alter the gap in some way”. He emphasizes that the information by itself is not feedback unless translated into action (Ramaprasad, 1983: 11-12).

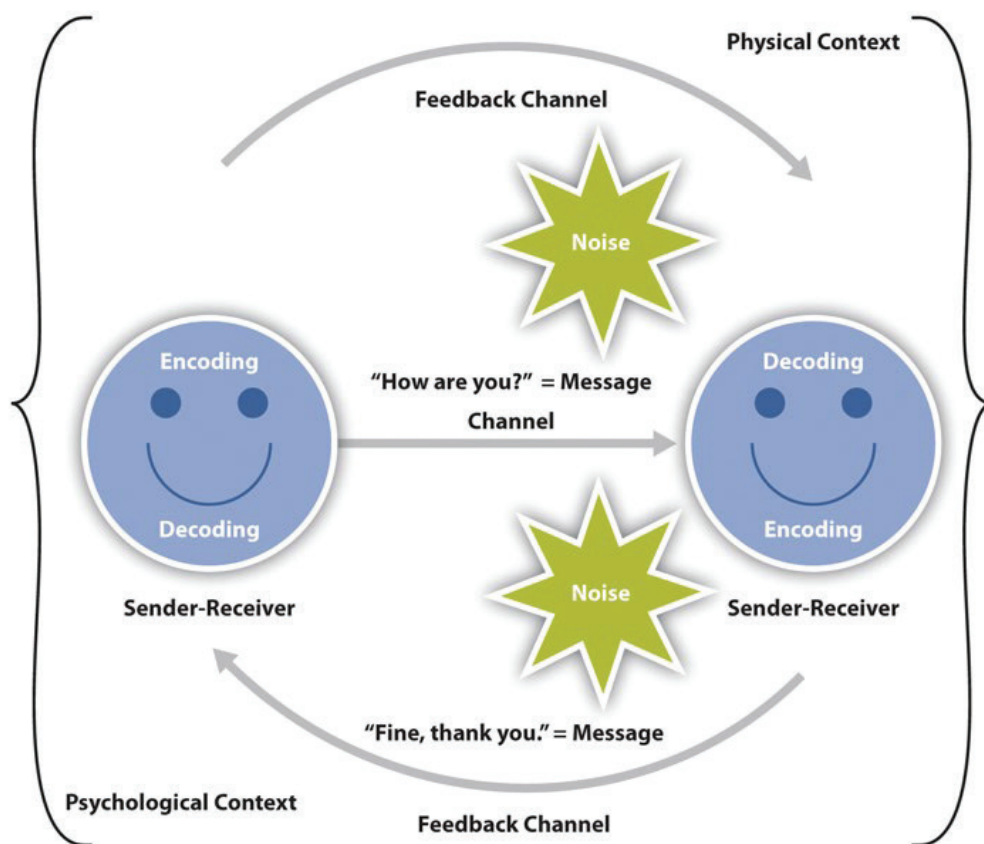


Figure 2.3. Feedback Loop's Cyclic Model of Communication (Wikipedia, 2023)

In interpersonal communication, we constantly give each other feedback, whether we want it or not. Everything we do or don't do in relation to or in interaction with others can be seen as feedback. A person's actions, in which his/her ability to communicate is revealed, precisely because of their 'reactive' (it is, which responds to a signal) character provide the possibility of feedback, and all the factors discussed above, improving the ability or hindering it, directly affect the content of feedback 'link'. As provided by Webster, feedback is the transmission of evaluative or corrective information about an action, event, or process to the original or controlling source (Merriam Webster Dictionary, 2023). In this way, **feedback theory bridges the gap between instrumentalist and value-activity directions.**

So, **feedback loop is a determining factor of communication.** Having considered in detail the theoretical and practical aspects of the feedback, we can draw an important conclusion that **communication is not only the transmission of information but the exchange of information.**

The types of communication

The instrumentalist direction defines **two types of communication: vocal and nonvocal**. Vocal communication is based on language (it is named verbal communication), and may also include other forms such as laughing, shouting, and crying. Nonvocal communication includes signals, signs, symbols, icons, gestures, facial expressions and postures (Gordon, 2023). Some theorists claim that the majority of the ideas and information conveyed happens this way. According to Ray Birdwhistell, for example, 65% of communication happens non-verbally (Birdwhistell, 1970: 25). This observation will be useful to us when considering the forms of propaganda and image of a politicians.

The instrumentalist theories had the most important influence on the concept of communication. Thus, in the second half of the 20th century, the tradition of understanding communication as a process taking place in a certain social environment, subject to the same principles by which the regulation of information and the exchange in technical devices. This theory, however, reflects a fundamental contradiction. Leonard Northrup wrote:

Thus, actually, two conflicting metaphors are being used: The well-known metaphor of information as a quantity, like water in the water-pipe, is at work, but so is a second metaphor, that of information as a choice, a choice made by: an information provider, and a forced choice made by an: information receiver. Actually, the second metaphor implies that the information sent isn't necessarily equal to the information received, because any choice implies a comparison with a list of possibilities, i.e., a list of possible meanings (Northrup, 1993: 5).

The main drawback of instrumentalist models of communication is that they lack a person as a person with their own needs, interests, values, emotions, and even language and gestures.

The Socio-Activity Direction of Communication Studies

As we can see, the instrumentalist direction of communication focused attention mainly on the technical issues of the information transfer process and paid little attention to the problems of the social environment and other important factors influencing the audience, which are much broader than purely technical ones. Therefore, in parallel with the technological scientific paradigm, other areas of communication research began to develop intensively in the middle of the 20th century. **These different scientific flows are united in the socio-activity direction. Representatives of this paradigm emphasize that one of the most important factors of communication is the human factor.** It greatly complicates the process of communication, information interaction of people, their groups, public and political formations in the process of communication. In the socio-activity direction, communication is understood as “a joint activity of communication participants (communicators), during which a common (to a certain extent) view of things and actions with them is developed” (Kashkin, 2000: 4). Revealing the essence of this direction, O’Hair, and Eadie refer to Peters (1999), who identified two basic forms of communication: dissemination and dialogue. Both have roots in ancient times. O’Hair, and Eadie compare these two forms of communication:

Dissemination is illustrated quite clearly in Jesus’ parable of the mustard seed. This parable exists in various versions, but in each version Jesus uses the idea of something small that potentially can grow into something quite large to illustrate how his teachings would take root and spread.

Dialogue is the other basic form of communication, Here, Peters calls on Phaedrus, which was written. by Plato, as an illustration. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to go into a detailed explanation of this philosophical exchange between Socrates, a renowned teacher, and Phaedrus, his student. Suffice it to say, though, that the conclusion reached by their philosophical conversation, according to Peters, is that the ultimate goal of human interaction is authentic connection, with mutual love being

the highest form of that bond (Peters, 1999). In such a view of communication, dissemination of information is relatively unimportant, except in how what we perceive we have in common serves to bring us together.

Dissemination and dialogue are not stand-ins for ‘mass communication’ versus ‘interpersonal communication’, however. Radio can be a very intimate medium, for example, creating at least the illusion that the host and listeners are having a personal exchange. On the other hand, much of our daily face-to-face interaction revolves around routine exchanges of information, creating almost no bond in the process. We surround ourselves with media and interpersonal environments that provide plenty of information, and yet each of us experiences loneliness and yearns for true connection. How to manage the dissemination and promote the connection is the central problem that all of us, as communicators, face, and it is the ultimate problem on which communication scholars focus their work (O’Hair, & Eadie, 2009: 5).

Socio-activity direction is based on the theory of social systems of the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann. According to Luhmann, communication is the only truly social operation. Meaning-making communication is the very essence of the social, so sociality without meaning is impossible a priori (the same applies to the system of consciousness). In his book ‘*Social Systems*’ (1984), he first considers social systems from the perspective of three levels – interaction, organisation and society. In Luhmann’s view, communication is an elementary operation responsible for the formation of society. At the same time, every communicative act that takes place in the world belongs to society, which is defined precisely through communication: without communication, society does not exist. Luhmann proves that social systems are systems of meaningful communication, and communication reproduces itself. For the problems of meaning and meaning-making, Ego and Alter (as elements of communication) have an important functional value, because through them communication makes selections (distinctions) necessary for the internal references of the system: communication is established through the synthesis of three different selections, namely: information selection, message selection of this information and selective understanding or misunderstanding of the message and its interpretation. There are three aspects of a single communication process, each of which cannot exist by itself, but they are not reducible to each other. Communication is implemented as such only if these aspects are present simultaneously (Luhmann, 1995: 158). And this is the fundamental point that distinguishes communication from the simple perception of information. It can be assumed that there are no meaningless communications. Communication is such system that reproduce themselves only through reflection and selection of values. Thus, we conclude that, if we are talking about communication, then we can say that it took place only if the mutual understanding and trust necessary for the interaction of the subjects were achieved as a result of the information process. This is the basic position for our subsequent conclusions.

In Luhmann’s concept, we can distinguish two main approaches stand out in socio-activity paradigm: semiotic and value.

The Semiotic Approach

The semiotic approach is based on the works of European (E. Husserl, F. De Saussure, G. Frege) and American (C. Peirce, W. Morris, P. Grice) scientists. Although these scholars practically did not use the term ‘communication’, however, in fact, they formulated fundamental approaches to the study of such special aspects of communicative interaction as meaning generation and interpretation of content, the context of communication, and forms of meaning’s presentation. El-Sayed el-Aswad in the *Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics* notes, that **communication is a process that involves sending messages or symbols in such a way as to help the receiver understand the meaning the sender or communicator intends to make** (El-Sayed el-Aswad, 2014: 305). Therefore, an important part of

communicative interaction is the interpretation of messages. During the interaction of communicators, each of whom is an encoder, decoder, and interpreter at the same time, the interference of messages' meanings and contents is going on. The numerous collisions occur in reaching mutual understanding between the source of the message and its addressee exactly at these stages of the communication process.

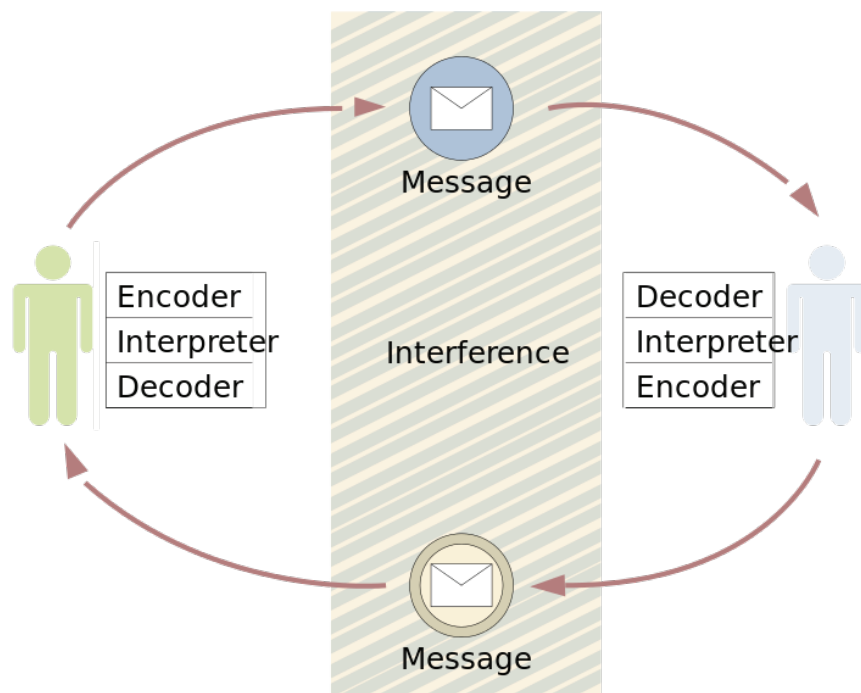


Figure 2.4. The Semiotic Model of Communication (Wikipedia, 2023)

Therefore, **from the standpoint of the semiotic approach, communication is the mutual interpretation of messages by social actors to create and share cognitive meanings in the form of different sign set: views, opinions, ideas, and beliefs.** As Stainfatt emphasis, “The central thrust of human communication concern mutually understood symbolic exchange” (Stainfatt, 2009: 295).

The Value Approach

Representatives of the value approach understand the concept of communication as a set of such signs as friendly relations, relationships, contacts, mutual understanding, and interaction, which define communication as a valuable social and spiritual, including psychological and moral formation. These researchers are united by the understanding of communication “as a socio-cultural interaction of people, groups and organizations, states and regions with the help of informational connections” (Zemlyanova, 1999: 91). As an example, we can cite the views of Joe Spencer, a representative of the Annenberg School for Communication. He believed that communication is social interaction using messages, that is, not connection at all, but only the exchange of information about events that have cultural significance for the participants of communication (Spencer, 1999).

We can easily understand the principal difference between the functional and social-activity approaches, having received a comment on the statement: **“In communication, it is important not only What to inform, but also How to inform”**. Representatives of the functional approach, commenting on this absolutely correct maxim, will, first of all, talk about the speed of transmitted information. And the representatives of the social activity approach will begin with discussions about the correct selection of signals (words, gestures, images, etc.) and the emotional saturation of messages (letters, speeches, adver-

tising, etc.). They believe that communication is formed by the modes of persuasion, Pathos, Ethos, or Logos (Sutanto, & Purbaningrum, 2022: 240). Logos, Ethos, and Pathos are the part of the three pillars of public speaking (Mshvenieradze, 2013: 1941): Logos refers to the ability of the speaker to provide a logical argument that the audience can believe in; Ethos relates to the credibility of the speaker; Pathos is about the emotional connection the speaker can create with the audience through the tone of their speech (Demirdöğen, 2010: 195-196). **To understand the essence of communication it is very important to emphasize that emotions are the forces that form communication.** Manuel Castells highlights:

Thus, emotions simultaneously prompt reasoning, frame understanding and mobilize action under the frames conveyed by the constructed message. Yet, the effects of emotional messages vary according to the context of the reception. They depend on the feelings of the receivers of the message at time and place of the message's reception. It is the capacity of one given set of stimuli to activate a given frame that defines its impact. While frames are pre-existing conditions in our brain, their association with specific images depends on the meaning of images in a given cognitive environment: example, the bombing of the World Trade Center becomes associated with a political message related to the war on terror in a context of still be at war; while the vision of an abandoned factory may resonate differently in an economic depression (unemployment) than it would in a boom economy (leaving behind the old industrial past for higher-paying jobs: new technologies). Information and emotion are mixed in the construct of political messages as well as in people's minds (Castells, 2013: 152).

Generally, the socio-activity concepts are built on the basis of Wilbur Schramm's expanded theory of communication. It primarily provides a model of a two-way process of communication, when both the one who sends and the one who receives information act within their own framework of correlation, mutual relations that have developed between them, and the social situation that surrounds them.

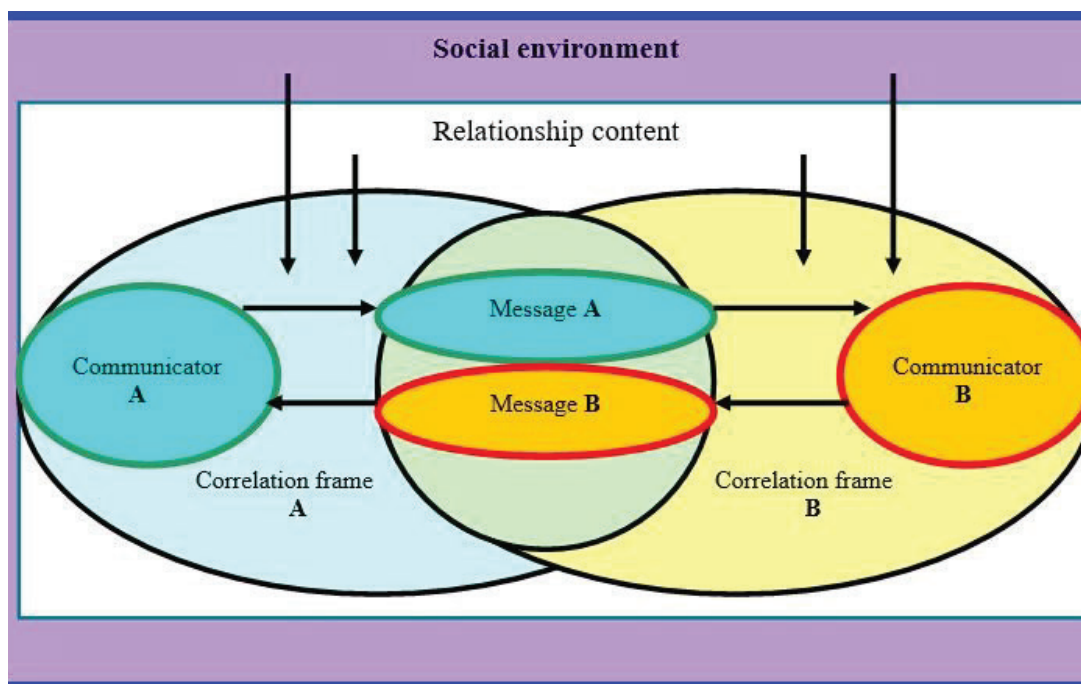


Figure 2.5. Schramm's Communication Model

Proponents of the semiotic approach draw attention to the fact that the proposed model reveals the special importance of two stages of the communicative process: a) coding stage (the message prepared by the source - communicator A must be translated into a certain signs (language) and sent to the one who receives the message - communicator B); b) the decoding stage (before taking action, the receiver of the message must interpret and decipher it).

But in order to understand the essential characteristics of value communication, special attention should be paid to crossing the framework of correlation of values/interests of communicators A and B, without which communication is impossible. At the intersection of the framework of correlation between communicators in the process of communication, the effect of trust arises as a necessary condition for social interaction. The greater the area of this intersection is, the more effective the communication process is. In other words, the more the subjects have in common, the faster they will reach mutual understanding, the stronger the trust will be and the more effective the interaction will be. So, **in the social-value approach, communication is understood as a process of social interaction, during which communicants exchange messages, which are relevant to their systems of individually significant values. Values are the glue that binds social actors together. Communication begins with the search for common needs and interests, but it can develop only by the energy of the synthesis of common values. Trust between communicators arises in the zone of value intersection exactly. Therefore, an increase in the area of value correlation frameworks intersection is a necessary factor for successful communication.**

Summarizing, we can formulate the definition and let us understand **communication as a two-way process of exchanging messages (signals) based on common interests and values and determined both by the content of the relationship between communicators and by the social environment, which is based on mutual trust and aims to organize an effective interaction.**

Pitirim Sorokin's theory gives us a key to understanding the communicative space from the standpoint of a socio-active direction, both in its semiotic and value approaches. The scientist claimed that a social phenomenon is a social connection that has a mental nature and is realized in the consciousness of individuals, at the same time going beyond its limits in terms of content and duration. This is what many call the 'social soul', this is what others call civilization and culture, this is what others define by the term 'world of values', in contrast to the world of things that form the object of natural sciences. Any interaction, no matter between whom it occurs, if it has a mental character will be a social phenomenon. At the same time, the nature of the centers of interaction and the nature of the interaction process itself are not something separate from each other, but inextricably linked to each other.

Sorokin formulated three main conditions that enable the above-described phenomenon of interaction: 1) the presence of two or more individuals who condition each other's experiences and behavior, 2) the presence of acts by which they condition mutual experiences and actions, 3) the presence of leaders, that transmit the action or irritation of acts from one individual to another (Sorokin, 1947).

Dyadic communication, which is presented in Schramm's model, is thought of as a relationship between two actors. In practice, this dependence refers to the dialogic relationship between people, which includes their mutual ideas, thoughts, behavior, ideals, likes and dislikes, questions and answers related to social life and life in nature. A sudden connection between two strangers on the street, which does not continue after the meeting, or if it does not have an influential effect of these subjects on each other, cannot be called dyadic communication. For it, such dialogue should be not only external, superficial or mechanical, but such, which actually brings two people into a sphere of interaction where each actor influences the other.

This effect particularly evident in feedback research. **The followers of the value approach argue that feedback is always evaluative.** Evaluative feedback is a message of one's opinion and one's attitude (as vocal, as non-vocal) to what is being discussed. A group of American researchers led by Jerry Jacobs explored the phenomenon, which was named 'probability jump'. Its essence is that positive feedback is always evaluated as more reliable than negative. As for the optimal sequence of providing feedback, a number of data obtained in the course of experiments show that negative feedback is evaluated as more reliable and desirable when it is given after positive feedback, and not before

it. One of the ways to increase the probability of feedback, discovered during the experiment, was called the ‘amplification effect’. Its essence is that the emotional ‘addition to the behavioral basis will increase the probability of feedback compared to purely behavioral feedback, if they are both positive. The same emotional additive reduces the likelihood of feedback if they are negative. In other words, ‘reinforcing’ a positive behavioral observation (“You’re attentive”) with a positive emotional response (“I like you”) increases the likelihood of a behavioral observation, while accompanying a negative behavioral statement (“You’re inattentive”) with a negative emotional response (“You are unpleasant to me”) reduces the credibility of a remark about behavior: this remark can be considered as biased, caused by a negative attitude. Jacobs argues that the use of the ‘amplifying effect’ is a powerful lever for changing the probability of feedback (Jacobs, 2012). These observations indicate that the emotional component is extremely important for effective psychological communication.

The influence of the social environment is also very important for communication. Society affects not only the evaluation of messages, but also the interpretation of signals and signs. This fact was confirmed by the famous experiment on a ‘black white sheet’. In the course of the experiment, the teacher takes one student out of the class and, in his absence, persuades the other students to say on a white sheet that it is black. When the student returns, the teacher asks the students what color the paper is. Everyone presents answers that it’s black. Then the teacher asks this question to the student who was absent. The unhappy boy looks, wide-eyed, at the white sheet, almost crying, but says that it’s black too. The same techniques, which were presented in these experiments can be used for negotiation, agitation and manipulation, that will be discussed in the following chapters of our tutorial.

The increased attention to the study of the features of the communication environment is fundamental for social-activity concepts. The communicative environment is both the external social situation or context in which communication is carried out, and the internal human emotional and mental states, which are a set of conditions for the exchange of information.

Ukrainian scientist Volodymyr Rizun presents a detailed definition of communication, which is formulated in the context of the socio-activity paradigm:

Communication is the process of establishing and maintaining contacts between members of a certain social group or society as a whole based on the spiritual, professional or other association of communication participants, which is determined by the situation and socio-psychological features of the communicators, which takes place in the form of interconnected intellectual-mental and emotional-volitional acts mediated by language and discrete in time and space, i.e. acts of speech, acts of a paralinguistic nature and psychophysiological influence, acts of perception and understanding and the like, which are related to the processes of gathering facts, their preservation, analysis, processing, design, announcement and, if necessary, distribution, perception and understanding, takes place with or without the use of various sign systems, images, sounds (writing, gestures, facial expressions, etc.), mass-media (newspapers, journals, radio, TV and other audiovisual programs), means of communication (telephone, telegraph, transport, and so on) and the result of which is the specific intellectual-mental and emotional-volitional behavior of the interlocutor, specific results of his activity, decisions made by him that satisfy the members of a certain social group or society in general (Rizun, 2008: 21-22).

To understand the process of value communication, we should pay attention to the opinion of the German scientist Friedemann Schulz von Thun, who considers communication as a process of establishing a relationship between various subjects. He claims that these subjects must be united by (1) a certain channel of signal transmission, (2) mutual expectations that generate information, (3) matching cognitive structures, for example, knowledge (we will also add common axiological principles - basic values), which determine expectations and give meaning to signals, (4) intentions of subjects to change their state or behavior (Shultz, 2008).

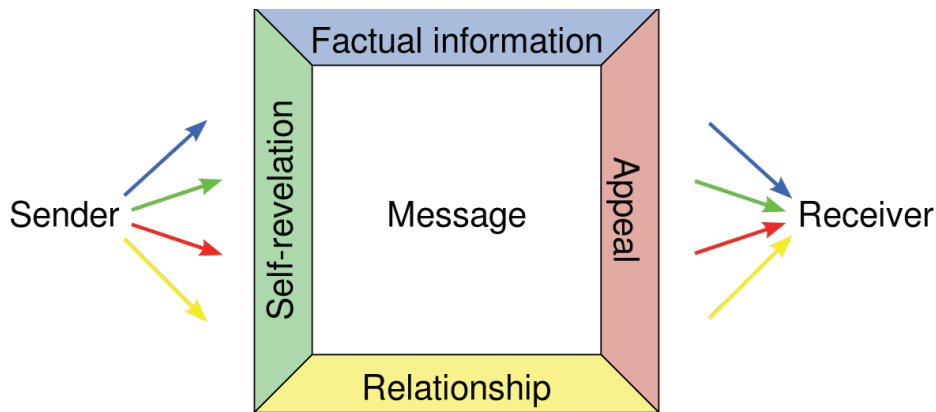


Figure 2.6. The Four-Sides Model of Communication (Wikipedia, 2023)

Thus, the communication process consists of (1) choosing mutually acceptable channels of information exchange, (2) finding common interests, (3) establishing the correlation of value frameworks, (3) further increasing the area of their intersection - strengthening trust, and (5) organising interaction.

At the same time, each specific type of communication can have its own special stages. For example, the process of informing includes: 1) drawing attention to communication; 2) achieving message perception; 3) interpretation of the message in a way that was foreseen in advance; 4) storage of information for further use. Instruction as a more demanding process adds a new stage: 5) stimulation of active learning and practical action. The process of persuasion goes even further, adding a sixth stage: 6) perception of change (susceptibility to action in accordance with the desire or point of view of the sender of the appeal). Of course, the obstacles to achieving the desired results through informing, instructing and persuading grow with the appearance of the fifth and sixth stages in the communication process.

The Communication Evaluate Formula

By tradition, instrumental analysis of any communicative process is carried out on the basis of five questions, which were proposed by Lasswell back in 1948: (1) ‘Who?’ – Control Analysis; (2) ‘Says What?’ – Content Analysis; (3) ‘In What Channel?’ – Media Analysis; (4) ‘To Whom?’ – Audience Analysis; (5) ‘With What Effect?’ – Effects Analysis (Lasswell, 1948: 117).

And we have to stress that **the role of communication is determined by the presence or absence of an influence effect**. This effect refers to the consequence of the communication process, in which something happens in the person’s mind that would not have happened without the act of communication. About the effectiveness of social communication, and therefore, about its criteria and indicators, in the sense of the activity paradigm, it is possible to talk only from the standpoint of changes in the way people think and feel, the nature of their practical activity. Therefore, social communication is characterized by expediency.

That’s why, at the methodological level of the socio-activity paradigm, communication researchers lead in Lasswell’s instrumentalist formula another question – ‘For What Purpose?’. Comparison of the aim and success makes it possible to discover the coefficient of information influence.

This question is a key point in the value understanding of communication. They make it possible to distinguish the concepts of ‘informing’, ‘manipulation’ and ‘communication’. Informing has only the purpose of transmitting information from the transmitter to the receiver, or even the exchange of information according to the above Shannon-Waver scheme. As an example, you can pro-

vide information about the weather forecast, stock exchange rates, currencies, etc. Manipulation has a completely different purpose. Cambridge Dictionary defines manipulation as “controlling someone or something to your own advantage, often unfairly or dishonestly” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023). APA Dictionary of Psychology defines manipulation as subterfuge designed to influence or control another, usually in a manner which facilitates one’s personal aims. It is clear that a person, interacting with others, interacts with the consciousness of other people, influencing their behavior in one way or another, but conscious manipulation begins from the moment when the manipulator sets himself the goal of manipulation. A classic example of manipulation is shown in the fable ‘The Crow and the Fox’.

Clarifying the difference between information transmission and value communication distinguishes its teleological direction. **Unlike informing and manipulation, communication aims to establish trust and achieve social interaction.** Since the goal of communication is interaction, it has not only a purely informational component. Different forms of communication interaction have to be constantly developed and improved to strengthen trust. But interaction is not the only criterion to evaluate communication. After all, interaction can be developed between criminals too. Therefore, to determine the meaning of communication, Lasswell’s formula requires the addition of the seventh question – ‘What Values is it Based on?’. **The answer to this question reveals the axiological sense and meaning of communication. Proceeding from this principle question to characterise political communication, we should be based on humanistic and democratic value criteria.**

At the same time, it should be highlighted that the relationship between values and tools is dialectical in nature. Values without tools are useless, tools without values are meaningless and nonsensical.

We have to take into account that the feedback loop, which is necessary for communication, unites the sender and the receiver of information in one chain. So, it actually eliminates the difference between the subject and the object. Therefore, the questions ‘*Who informs?*’ and ‘*Whom?*’ should be combined. As well as the question ‘*What?*’ have to reform to ‘*What and How do They Communicate About?*’. We also ought not overlook the question ‘*In What Circumstance?*’

So, the formula to evaluate each communicative act concludes of seven questions:

- 1. Who and Whom Informs?** – combined subject-object analysis.
- 2. What and How do They Communicate About?** – content and emotional analysis.
- 3. By What Channel?** – media analysis.
- 4. For What Purpose?** – teleological analysis.
- 5. Based on What Values?** – environmental analysis.
- 6. In What Circumstance?** – environmental analysis.
- 7. With What Effect?** – efficiency analysis.

These questions make up the algorithm of our assessment of any information processes in the further work.

Conclusions

The concept of communication is derived from the concept of information. Information is a phenomenon, and communication is the process of movement of this phenomenon. Therefore, the basic approaches to the interpretation of communication flow from the main paradigms of understanding information - attributive and functional. For apologists of the attributive paradigm, the concept of communication is universal and covers any interactions in the universe, both material and spiritual. For supporters of the functional paradigm, the concept of communication is concentrated on the information process, the subject of which is a person. Therefore, it has a psychological basis. Psychological communication is divided into suprapersonal, intrapersonal, and interpersonal. It is interpersonal communication that is the object of our attention in the context of studying political communication. Interpersonal communication expands from dyadic (between two individuals) to social (intragroup and intergroup)

and further to strategic (between organizations and states). The study of interpersonal communication takes place in two directions - instrumentalist and socially active.

In the instrumentalist direction, communication is considered as a way of transmitting information. Therefore, it consists of three basic elements: the sender, the message, and the recipient. This direction focuses on technological aspects of communication. Research on the involvement of technical tools in communicative processes led to the supplementation of additional components. Based on the principle of telephone operation, the linear model of communication consists of five elements: a source, a transmitter, a channel, a receiver, and a destination. The justification of the principle of feedback changed the linear model to a cyclic one and presented communication as a system. Therefore, communication is not just a transfer, but an exchange of information, which is impossible without a feedback loop. This principle is a bridge that connected the instrumentalist direction with the socio-active direction.

For representatives of socio-active direction, communication is human informational interaction. In general, human-centrism is a marker of the socio-active direction. This direction is divided into two currents: semiotic and value. In the first stream, attention is focused on the mutual interpretation of the meanings and contents of messages by communicators. Representatives of the second stream prove that communication is built on the basis of common values. At the same time, both the interpretation of meanings and as the synthesis of common values take place under the influence of the social environment and internal emotional background. The result of communication is a change in a person's feelings, thoughts, and actions.

Lasswell's instrumentalist formula is traditionally used to assess communication. It consists of five questions: (1) 'Who informs?' – control analysis; (2) 'Inform What?' – content analysis; (3) 'In What Channel?' – media analysis; (4) 'To Whom?' – audience analysis; (5) 'With What Effect?' – effects analysis. But based on the principles of social activity concepts of communication, we combined the question 'Who informs?' with the question 'To Whom?', and complete the second questions by part 'Inform How?' – emotional analysis, also we add three more questions to this formula: "For What Purpose?" – teleological analysis, 'What Values is it Based on?' – axiological analysis, and 'In What Circumstance?' – environmental analysis.. Answers to these two questions make it possible to separate communication from information and manipulation. We will use these specified seven questions for a step-by-step evaluation of any information processes.

Questions for self check:

1. What is communication according to the attributive paradigm?
2. What is the key difference in understanding communication in the functional paradigm?
3. What are suprapersonal, intrapersonal, and interpersonal levels of communication?
4. What are the main components of the Shannon–Weaver linear model of communication?
5. What is the SMCR model of communication?
6. How does the feedback loop act?
7. What is the essence of the semiotic approach?
8. What are the communicators' frameworks of correlation in Schramm's model, and what is their role in establishing value communication?
9. What is Lasswell's formula?
10. What are teleological and axiological questions for communication?
11. What are the differences between informing, manipulation, and communication?
12. What are the purposes of value communication?

References:

- Anderson, J. A. (2012). *Communication Yearbook 11*. Routledge.
- Berlo, D. K. (1960). *The Process of Communication: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Birdwhistell, R. L. (1970). *Kinesics and context: Essays in body motion communication*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Castells, M. (2013). *Communication Power*, 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press.
- Chandler, D., and Munday, R. (2011). *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*. OUP Oxford.
- Coolley C. H. (1983). The Significance of Communication. In Jensen G. (ed.) *Social Organization. A Study of the Larger Mind*. New York: Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315129655>.
- Demirdöğen, Ü. D. (2010). The Roots of Research in (political) Persuasion: Ethos, Pathos, Logos and the Yale Studies of Persuasive Communications. *International Journal of Social Inquiry*, 3 (1): 189–201.
- Dutsyk, D. (2005). *Politchna Zhurnalistika [Political Journalism]*. Kyiv: Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (in Ukr.).
- El-Sayed el-Aswad. (2014). Communication. In Kerrie Harvey (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics*, Three Volume Set. George Washington University, USA.
- Feedback. *Merriam Webster Dictionary*. (2023). Retrieved from: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/feedback>.
- Four-sides model. *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. (2023). Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Four-sides_model.
- Gordon, G. (2023). Communication. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/communication/The-psychology-of-communication>.
- Kashkin, V. B. (2000). *Vvedenie v Teoriyu Kommunikacii: Uchebnik [Introduction to the Theory of Communication: Textbook]*. Voronezh: VGTU Publishing House. (In Russ.).
- Lasswell, H. (1948). Bryson, L. (ed.). *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society. The Communication of Ideas*. New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies.
- Lasswell's model of communication. *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. (2023). Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lasswell%27s_model_of_communication#:~:text=The%20channel%20is%20the%20way,the%20case%20of%20mass%20communication.
- Luhmann, N. (1992). What is Communication? *Communication Theory*. 2 (3): 251–259. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2885.1992.tb00042.x.
- Luhmann, N. (1995). *Social Systems*. Stanford University Press.
- Manipulation. *APA Dictionary of Psychology*. (2021). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Manipulation. *Cambridge Dictionary*, (2023) Retrieved from: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/manipulation>.
- Mshvenieradze, T. (2013). Logos Ethos and Pathos in Political Discourse. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 3 (11): 1939–1945. DOI: 10.4304/tpls.3.11.1939-1945.
- Nortrup, L. (1993). The controversy over the concept of information. An overview and a selected and annotated bibliography. *Cybernetics & Human Knowing*, 1(4): 3-24.
- O'Hair D. H., and Eadie W. F. (2009). Communication as an Idea and as an Ideal. In William F. Eadie (Ed.) *21st Century Communication: A Reference Handbook*. (5-11). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Peters, J. D. (1999). *Speaking into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ramaprasad, A. (1983). On the definition of feedback. *Behavioral Science*, 28: 4–13. doi:10.1002/bs.3830280103.
- Rizun, V. V. (2008). *Teoriya Masovoi Komunikacii [Mass Communication Theory: Textbook]*. Kyiv: Prosvita. (In Ukr.).
- Rosengren, K. E. (2000). *Communication: An Introduction*. SAGE.
- Schramm, W. (1963). *The Science of Human Communication*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schramm, W. (1971). The Nature of Communication Between Humans. In W. Schramm, & D. F. Roberts (Eds.), *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (3-516). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Schulz, von Thun, F. (2008). *Miteinander reden 1. Störungen und Klärungen: allgemeine Psychologie der Kommunikation*. [Talking to each other: Disruptions and clarifications: general psychology of communication]. Reinbek bei Hamburg. (In Germ.).
- Shannon, C. E. (1948). A Mathematical Theory of Communication. *Bell System Technical Journal*, 27 (3): 381. DOI: 10.1002/j.1538-7305.1948.tb01338.x.
- Shannon, C. E., and Weaver, W. (1962). *The Mathematical Theory of Communication*. University of Illinois Press.
- Shannon–Weaver model. *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. (2023). Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shannon%E2%80%93Weaver_model.
- Sokolov, A. V. (2002). *Obshchaya Teoriya Social'noj Kommunikacii [General theory of social communication]*. St. Petersburg. (In Russ.).
- Sorokin, P. (1947). *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics, A System of General Sociology*, New York & London: Harper & Brothers Publishers.
- Steinfatt, T. (2009) Definitions of Communication. In Stephen W. Littlejohn, and Karen A. Foss (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. SAGE Publications, Inc. (295-298).
- Sutanto, H., and Purbaningrum, D. (2022). Representation of Power and Ideology on Jokowi's Speech. *WACANA: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Komunikasi*. 21 (2): 238–251. DOI: 10.32509/wacana.v21i2.2143. ISSN 2598-7402. S2CID 255654982.
- Tengan, C., Aigbavboa, C., and Thwala, W. D. (2021). *Construction Project Monitoring and Evaluation: An Integrated Approach*. Routledge.
- Vocate, D. R. (2012). *Intrapersonal Communication: Different Voices, Different Minds*. Routledge.
- Zemlyanova, L. M. (1999). *Zarubezhnaya Kommunikativistika v Predverii Informacionnogo Obshchestva: Tolkovyj Slovar' Terminov i Konceptij [Foreign Communication Studies on the Eve of the Information Society: Explanatory Dictionary of Terms and Concepts]*. Moscow State University. (In Russ.).

COMMUNICATION IN SOCIAL NETWORKS

In the previous chapter, we considered Wilbur Schramm’s socio-communicative construct, which consists of two communicators interacting in a social environment. Such dyadic communication serves as the primary link in the construction of a communicative environment. However, it is clear that in real life communication models are much more complex and include many different subjects, and links between communicators form extensive social networks. Authoritative network theory specialists Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust note that “a social network is a social structure consisting of social actors (for example, individuals or organizations) and a set of dyadic connections between these subjects” (Wasserman, & Faust, 1994: 18). Awareness of the genesis, development, structure, and effectiveness patterns of these communication networks are necessary conditions for understanding social, and therefore political, communication.

Social networks

The term ‘social networks’ became particularly widespread not only in scientific circles but also in broad sections of society at the beginning of the 21st century. However, it should be noted that in modern discourse, social networks mostly mean networks built on the basis of Internet programs, in particular, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Telegram, and others. However, this approach is quite narrow, because Internet networks are only part of the general system of social networks, which is built on Web 2.0 information and communication technologies.

After all, the term ‘social network’ was introduced into academic circulation by James Barnes back in 1954 in the work ‘Classes and Meetings in a Norwegian Island Parish’, which was included in the collection ‘Human Relations’. Barnes proposed the definition of a social network as a set of points connected by lines. By points he understood both individual persons and social groups, lines denote the nature and features of their interaction (Barnes, 1954). Since then, this term has spread in various fields of socio-humanitarian knowledge.

As for the actual theory of networks, it is widely used both in sociology and in other sciences: physics, statistics, economics, and computer science. The subject of this theory is the study of symmetric and asymmetric relationships between any discrete objects. Network theory in its general form is derived from graph theory. It was founded by Leonard Euler, a member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. In 1736, he became interested in the problem of the seven bridges of Königsberg. Scientist’s purpose was to find out whether it is possible to walk over all the bridges without crossing anyone twice. To solve this problem, Euler derived a rule, using which it was possible to answer all similar questions. To illustrate this rule, he developed, an original scheme, in which, the graphic representation of the city part where the bridges were located was named ‘graph’, separate parts of the city are depicted as ‘nodes of the graph’, and the bridges connecting them are depicted as ‘edges’ (Euler, 1741).

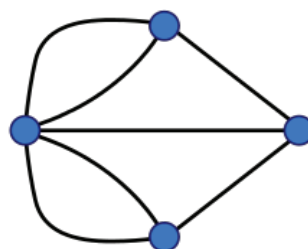


Figure 3.1. Königsberg Bridges’ Graph (Gribkovskaia, Halskau, & Laporte, 2010)

Since then, this approach has become classic in graph theory and network theory, as its component. It is widely used in the study of various communication systems. The terms ‘graph’, ‘nodes’, and ‘edges’ build the basis of network theory. Based on the analysis of the sources of network theory and the theoretical and methodological provisions of various sociological schools, we present the following definition and let us consider

A social network as a kind of network, the nodes of which are formed by social actors (individuals, micro- and macro-social groups), and the edges are produced by dyadic communication between them.

Genesis and Formation of Social Networks

So, we represent the **social network as a set of actors – nodes of the network, which are connected by communication interaction – its edges**. But unlike technological systems, a social communication network is characterized by the fact that each of its nodes (social actor/communicator) acts in accordance with its own interests, as was shown in detail in previous chapters. The authors of the theory of social capital claim that the purpose of social interaction is benefit. Some of them pay special attention to information resources (J. Coleman, R. Burt, M. Granovetter).

From this point of view, the formation of social networks can be considered everywhere through the prism of game theory, where each player interacts with others, seeking to obtain the maximum profit. At the same time, in the process of communication regarding interaction, players exchange available information and agree on the organization of cooperation and the distribution of won resources, which leads to a cooperative game. As Matthew Jackson points out, in this way, the network formation game plays out. And then, when the network is formed, it determines the results of the players’ activities and their winnings, and then the network-based game begins (Jackson, 2010: 234-240).

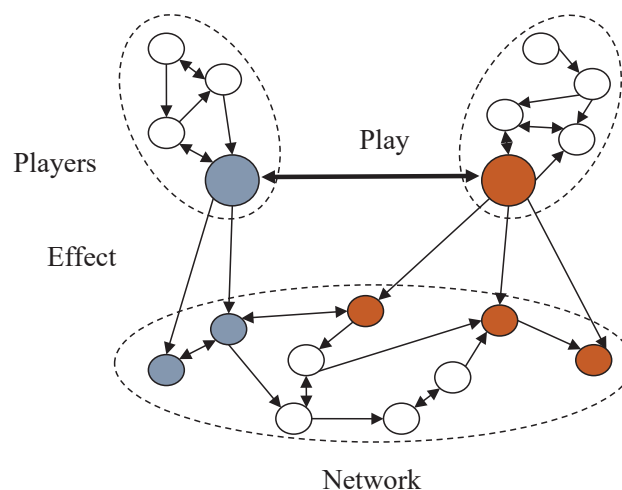


Figure 3.2. Network-Based Game

We can state that it is actually a two-stage game: first, players create a network, and then use it to transfer information, resources, etc. So, **at the first stage of social interaction, communication forms a network, and at the second stage, the network acts as a communication tool, structuring the communication space**. Therefore, the need for social cooperation inevitably leads to the formation of social networks that construct the communication environment in different ways. A network-based game is a game in which the nodes are the actors participating in the social network, and the communication edges represent the level of their trust in each other or their influence on each other.

According to the form of genesis, social networks can be divided into centralised and decentralised. In centralised networks, the main channels of communication are born from one node, around which a circle of supporters is formed. And although supporters also communicate with each other, the content of communication and, accordingly, the structure of the network is determined precisely by communication links with the center. Christ and the Apostles can be cited as an example of such a network.

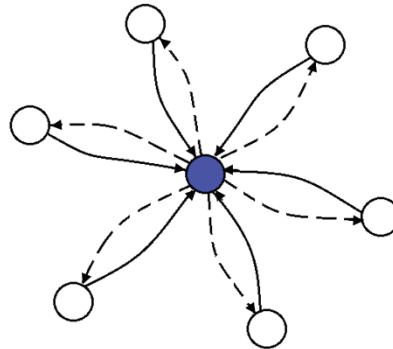


Figure 3.3. Centralized (Star) Primary Network

Decentralised networks are born out of common interest. All nodes are equal in them, and communication channels are approximately the same in terms of content and intensity. Therefore, the structure of the network is relatively homogeneous. As an example, we can cite friends-fishers.

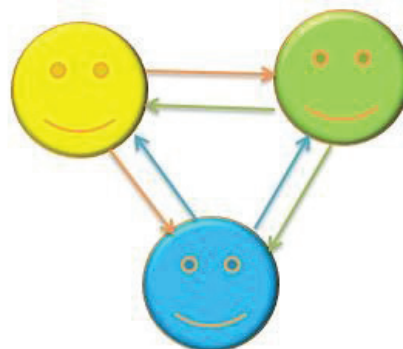


Figure 3.4. Elementary Decentralized Network

It should be noted that the tendencies of centralisation and decentralisation replace each other in the process of development. The Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ led to the dispersion of the network of Apostles and the creation of a wider network of the first Christians. The development of amateur fishers’ network leads to the creation of a Fisher-club with its own head and a hierarchical structure, as it is proven in the Robert Michels’s ‘iron law of oligarchic tendencies’ (Michels, [1962] 2016). In addition, zones of greater or lesser centralization are formed inside the large networks.

John Scott identified within a social network communication structures that are determined depending on the relationships that arise within individual subgroups: (1) a clique is a structure in which actors are directly interconnected by the shortest paths equal to one step, that is, strong ties; (2) a social circle is a construction in which a chain of mediated connections is possible; (3) joint position is a construction formed by actors having the same mutual relations with other actors, i.e. structurally equivalent actors; (4) cluster – a structure that is a closed network with a limited number of actors (Scott, 2013: 118-136).

The formation of social networks after their genesis take place according to different models. Alex Bavelas, the founder of the Laboratory of Network Groups at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology,

considered the social structure of groups from the standpoint of behaviorism. Based on empirical research, he identified **four types of communication in small groups: circular, linear, star-shaped, and multi-channel** (Bavelas, 1948). Some researchers identify the multichannel model as tree-like. Bayvelas drew attention to the fact that the level of mutual understanding in the process of solving the assigned tasks was significantly higher in groups with ring-shaped and multi-channel communication models, which indicates the importance of ‘horizontal’ lines of communication for improving the social and psychological climate within the group. Thus, he proved that the structural organization of ties between group members, both formal and informal, affects their productivity and moral state (Bavelas, 1950).

It is clear that these basic models can form various combinations in complex social networks. The illustration in Figure 3.3 presents a composite combination of a tree model (from A), a complete graph (from B), ring (A-B), linear (C), and star (D) models in the presence of two centralising hubs A and B.

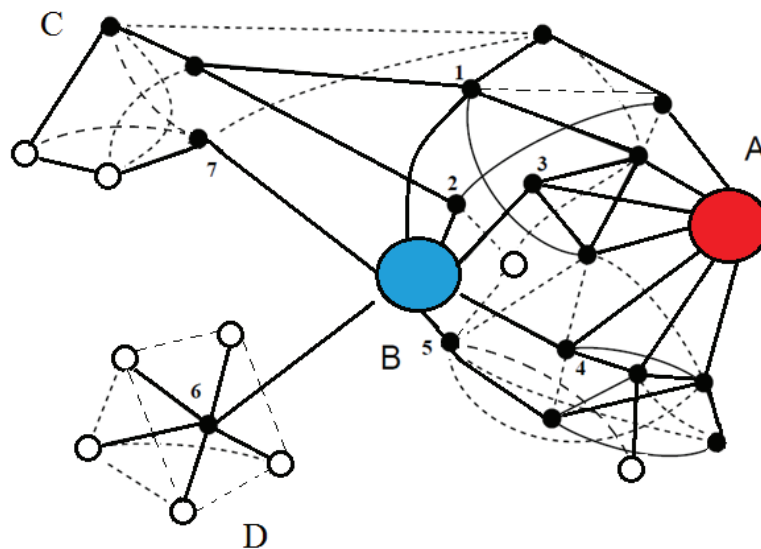


Figure 3.5. The Combined Model of Network Communication

In addition, it should be noted that in real relations, the level of trust between actors can vary in a wide asymmetric range and in the time dimension, which is reflected in the construction of the communicative space. Psychologists have noticed that the best company of guests consists of 6 – 9 people. Because all people can communicate with each other in such a quantitative composition, no one gets bored and no one feels lonely at the same time. Interestingly, the primary production team has about the same number of members as the work brigade and the infantry squad. However, in the Japanese alphabet, the hieroglyph for ‘quarrel’ consists of three hieroglyphs for ‘woman’. A well-known Ukrainian proverb says: “Where there are two Ukrainians, there are three hetmans”. In the 19th century, a short anecdote circulated in Europe: “One Pole – honor, two Poles – a duel, three – the Polish question”. These curious examples show that the effectiveness of communication in a social network is determined not so much by the number of participants, but by their nature and the nature of their relationship.

The Effectiveness of Communication in Social Networks

Significant parameters of communication in social networks are the number and nature of connections that arise between social actors. Determining the criteria for the effectiveness of communication in social networks involves taking into account, on the one hand, the dynamics of network growth (quantitative approach), and on the other hand, assessing its value and communication content (qualitative approach).

Quantitative Approach to the Effectiveness of Social Networks Assessment

Emphasis on quantitative parameters of network efficiency is characteristic of the instrumentalist approach. Representatives of the quantitative approach assume that the effectiveness of communication in a social network is determined by the number of potentially available communicators. Thus, the law formulated in the 1930s by David Sarnoff, the founder of the American National Broadcasting Company (NBC), states that the effectiveness of a radio or television network increases in proportion to the number of listeners/viewers (Hogg, 2013).

But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that the Canadian journalist and sociologist Malcolm Gladwell proved that the dynamics of the growth of social networks can be represented by an S-shaped function, which contains three phases of development: the first is the formation of the development base (slow growth of social capital), the second is rapid growth, and the third is saturation (slow growth) (Gladwell, 2006: 124).

This process, like many other processes in nature and society, has growth limits due to limited potential and resources (limitation of opportunities and capacity of the social network). In this connection, we can refer to the British anthropologist and psychologist Robin Dunbar, who claims that each person has a hard leading upper limit on the number of persons with whom he can personally maintain relationships. His psychological research proved that the maximum number of social connections is on average about 150 (“Dunbar’s number”) (Dunbar, 2013).

But unlike the potential of an individual social actor, the quantitative potential of a network can be practically limitless. This growth occurs as a result of a function defined by the American social psychologist Stanley Milgram. In the 1960s, he and his colleague John Travers experimentally proved the theory of «six handshakes». Milgram relied on the data of the experiment. Two cities in the USA were chosen as starting points – Omaha, Nebraska and Wichita, Kansas. The endpoint was Boston, Massachusetts, the most distant of the two American cities. Residents of Omaha and Wichita were given 300 envelopes to be delivered to a certain person living in Boston. Envelopes could be sent only through acquaintances and relatives. 60 envelopes reached the addressee in Boston. After doing the math, Milgram determined that, on average, each envelope passed through five people. Based on the obtained data, the concept of ‘small world’ was built. Milgram noted: “A simple formulation of the ‘small world’ problem consists in the assumption that certain persons in the world will know each other. But a more complex formulation is based on the fact that although persons X and Z may not know each other, there is a certain person Y who knows both of them”. One of Milgram’s significant conclusions from this research is the observation that people can rarely see beyond the chain of their immediate acquaintance; it is difficult for them to guess that circles in which friends are friends – not to mention people even more distantly related to each other – can spread so far (Milgram, 1967).



Figure 3.6. Milgram's Networks

Ultimately, the tangible contribution of Milgram and Travers's study to the network theory is to prove the fact that the contacts of individuals, extending to a geographically and socially distant goal, thanks to chains of acquaintances, can cover populations of enormous sizes. In addition, their experiment demonstrated the feasibility of using a 'small-world' methodology to study macrosocial networks and took a step toward demonstrating, defining, and measuring interconnectedness in a larger society. It proved that the theory of dimensionless graphs can be applied to social networks, scilicet, communication in social networks can be practically borderless.

The theory of six handshakes is fundamental to understanding the dynamics of communication in social networks. At the same time, it is important to note that the social network has its own 'hubs', that is some nodes through which a greater amount of communication passes (see Figure 3.5). And these nodes acquire certain powers in the construction of social interaction.

Qualitative Approach to the Effectiveness of Social Networks Evaluating

But in real life, there are many examples when the value of a network as a communication structure is measured not by the number of connected actors, but by the content and depth of communication. In this or that situation, actor A may be so influential that connecting with him/her for actor B may be more valuable in terms of acquiring social capital than meeting a thousand 'little bipods'. In another situation, if even just one actor A completely absorbs the value frame of communication of another actor B, then such a simple dual network can become the highest value for B (in this case actor B says about actor A: "She/He is everything to me!"). But the value structure of such a network can be asymmetric because in the communication frame of actor A actor B can occupy a very small area. In addition, from the point of view of evaluating the network as an integral factor of social interaction, we consider it necessary to emphasize that for a normal person, the value of family or friendship ties, which make up the so-called communication core, is much greater than hundreds of acquaintances in chats, which form the communication periphery.

The vector of finding answers to questions that are left out of quantitative method adherents' attention is determined by supporters of a qualitative approach to evaluating the cooperative effectiveness of social networks. They are based on the value understanding of communication, which was described in the previous chapter. But, having a common ground, scientists oppose each other in evaluating the effectiveness of ways to achieve the valuable communication purpose – social interaction.

Thus, according to the American sociologist James Coleman, since the basis of social interaction is trust, the most effective communication structures are closed social networks, where the ties between subjects are stronger. The scientist bases his analysis on the family as an elementary unit of society. Considering the process of organising a wider interaction, Coleman points out that in this case complex networks, which are formed from several closed networks, are effective. As an example, the researcher cites an underground radical organisation of South Korean students, which consisted of separate circles, the members of which were connected either by studying at the same institution, or by living in the same town, or by belonging to the same church parish (Coleman, 1988).

Such closed social networks, referred to above as cliques, are built on strong ties. Players in these networks are guided by clear rules of joint play, the provision of which is guaranteed not only by mutual trust, but also by strict adherence to accepted norms and a high price of reputation. In addition, they ensure the formation of the actors' identity, which can gradually rise from the family level to the organizational level and even to some extent the national level.

However, similar considerations, although they clearly demonstrate the process of social construction at the primitive level, are to some extent simplified, because social life is too complex for all its interactions to be reduced to closed networks. The families that make up the closed network in Coleman's example actually have many other connections in the social environment that certainly influence

the processes of raising children. Underground organizations sooner or later expose themselves either through traitors or agents. Both of them are ‘holes’ that uncork the network.

Another American sociologist Ronald Burt, developing Mark Granovetter’s theory about the power of weak ties, proves that the actors of the network through which it is able to communicate with other networks are nodes of accumulation of social capital. Because the so-called indirect ‘weak’ ties allow them to spread the network wide and, therefore, make it more effective. Thus, structural holes provide an opportunity to mediate the flow of information between people and control projects that bring people from opposite sides of the hole together.

Burt’s comparison of the efficiency of four types of networks is significant. It compares networks internally cohesive open – with existing external connections (A), internally cohesive closed (B), internally disintegrated closed (C), internally disintegrated open (D). Burt concludes that type A networks are the most efficient and type D networks are the least efficient.

The correlation between the intensity of internal and external communication links, on the one hand, and the effectiveness of networks, on the other, is demonstrated by the sociogram in Figure 3.7.

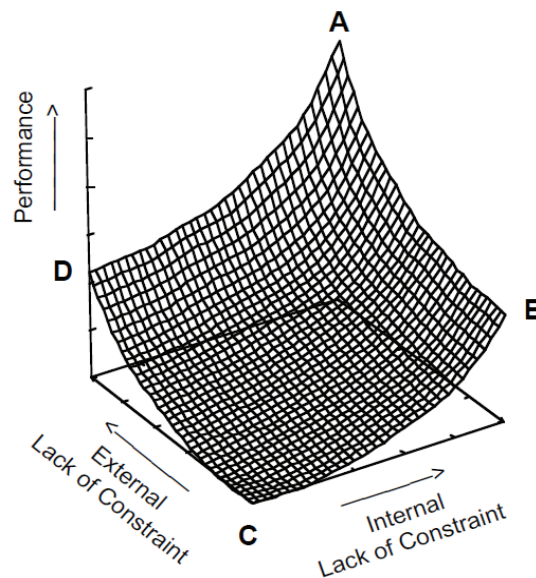


Figure 3.7. Sociogram of Closed and Open Networks Comparative Effectiveness (Burt, 2001)

At the same time, internally cohesive networks can be both centralised with the presence of a strong leader, and decentralised, but connected by dense communication channels. Disintegrated networks are defined by the fact that in them cooperative communication gives way to endless disputes and empty chatter.

The Structure of Communication in Social Multi-Networks

It should be emphasized that in reality each social subject fulfills certain roles in various social networks (at work, in the family, with friends, etc.), so completely closed networks simply do not exist. In addition, we can state that closed autarkic networks, if they are able to ensure the integral interaction of their members, are only functionally narrow and for a relatively short time. Over time, openings in the form of structural holes are necessarily formed in them, which, in our opinion, would be better defined as trans-network communication bridges. Thanks to such more extensive communication structures, open networks, for all their complexity, are ultimately more flexible, and therefore

more sustainable and efficient. Interaction is determined not only between network actors, but also between networks. In this way, complex structures of cross-network games are formed in the form of branched multi-networks.

Multi-networks by their nature are heterogeneous, because the number and strength of connections between actors in these structures are different. **Three main areas of communication are formed in multi-networks: core, semi-periphery and periphery.** The core is a relatively closed network with strong connections and a small number of participants, each of whom creates a huge social capital for the other (family, closest friends). The semi-periphery is formed through trans-network holes, through which the core has quite intensive connections with its closest limited environment (relatives, friends, close colleagues), including ‘friends’, followers and subscribers in online networks. The semi-periphery of a multi-network can include not only individual actors, but also other cores, for example, friendship families, or groups in online networks. The periphery is a zone of weak, often mediated connections that strives for scalelessness. The periphery includes acquaintances and acquaintances, including ‘friends of friends’ in online networks, etc. They may include cores and semi-peripheries of other multi-networks.

At the same time, each of multi-network communication zones has its own efficiency criteria. **The effectiveness of the core for organising group interaction is determined primarily by the qualitative categories of trust, respect, mutual understanding, love, as well as mutual responsibility and clear collective norms and sanctions. The effectiveness of the semi-periphery in the process of accumulating social capital in the network depends on both qualitative and quantitative parameters. The role of the periphery in determining the effectiveness of the multi-network is calculated using almost exclusively quantitative indicators, as it is done in cooperative networks.**

The effectiveness of a real social network (and it will necessarily be a multi-network) is determined by the presence of a cohesive core, a developed semi-periphery and a wide periphery. This network structure organically combines individualism and collectivism of group members, and becomes the most effective tool for accumulating social capital both for each actor and society as a whole. The synergy of the process is expressed in the fact that this type of capital is generated exclusively as a result of communication and cannot be divided into individual and group components. And thus, belonging to a social network already becomes a kind of capital that can create a competitive advantage for some individuals or groups in achieving their goals. The implication is that better connected people are able to obtain more of certain values.

So, the regularity of the functioning and development of social networks as factors of social interaction consists in the presence of two tendencies: on the one hand, this is the desire of the network for decentralisation and openness, on the other - for centralization and closure. In essence, this regularity is based on the existence of collectivistic and individualistic principles in human nature

The dialectic of the construction process of social networks is that ‘strong’ ties strengthen their structure, while ‘weak’ ties can be more creative and innovative. It is the synergy of these trends, along with taking into account quantitative indicators, that determines the effectiveness of social networks as an integral factor of group interaction in the communicative environment.

In the process of their development, they are transformed due to the conflicting effects of centrifugal and centripetal forces. The nature of these forces is determined by the essential contradiction of human nature, which exists in the unity and struggle of two principles - individualism and collectivism. These existential principles determine the strength of communication links between social actors and cause the processes of integration and fragmentation in social structures. The psychological and cognitive qualities of the actors determine the wave-like dynamics of the postgenesis development of social networks. **Social networks, in which, like honey in honeycombs, social capital is formed, are a structural basis for the motivation of social interaction.**

At the same time, emotions are a powerful force that affects the configuration of social networks. Castels argues:

Social networks play an important role in defining political behavior. If people find congenial attitudes in their social network, they are more active politically, while contradictory ideas in the social network reduce participation. Strong partisans are more likely to be in homogeneous political networks. Subjects' attitudes are influenced by feelings toward other people in the network. Attitudes are produced in shared practice, and therefore can be changed if the practice changes. Attitudes depend on feelings, and feelings are constructed through the perception of emotions... According to affective intelligence theory, the emotions that are particularly relevant for political behavior are enthusiasm (and opposite, depression) and fear (with its counterpart, calm) (Castels, 2013: 149, 146).

These emotions determine the directions and strength of communication links in social networks. Emotions saturate social networks with energy that forms a specific communication field.

Communication Field

The universal transparency of communication links in social multi-networks, the complexity, multi-layeredness and volume of areas of intersection of the value frameworks of the correlation of a large number of communicators gives us the possibility to assert the presence of such a fundamental substance as a communication field in society. We introduce this definition to denote the totality of these relationships, which by virtue of their social pervasiveness can be compared to the gravitational and electromagnetic fields that form physical networks.

The term 'field' was introduced into the social sciences by German-American psychologist Kurt Lewin. The logic of his theory begins with the definition of the 'psychological field' of an individual. In his opinion, the strength of the psychological field is determined by valence, that is, the energy charge that the surrounding objects carry to a given individual. According to Levin, if we consider the interaction of two or more individuals, then it is necessary to talk about the social field. The strength of this field affects the processes of social construction in the group (Lewin, 1951).

In turn, French sociologist and public intellectual Pierre Bourdieu calls the 'social field' the ability to influence and achieve immediate reactions of actors to situational changes in the social environment. According to Bourdieu's sociological theory, the field is a set of objective relations between subjects, which represents a certain structure of social positions. The social space itself appears as a set of fields, within which agents occupy positions that statistically determine their views on this field and their practices, aimed either at preserving or at changing the structure of power relations produced by this field. As he writes, "one ought to be able to recall at every point the whole network of relationships found there" (Bourdieu 1984: 120). Bourdieu claims that the field forms a single information continuum, in which information spreads so freely that it allows predicting and prejudging the actions of actors and, accordingly, positioning actors within the field relative to each other (Bourdieu, 1998: 58). Based on Bourdieu's interpretation, we can talk not only about the social, but also about the communication field, where relationships arise due to various information flows and are provided by a communication infrastructure that allows subjects to interact with each other. At the same time, the interaction of social agents takes place under the condition of the presence of areas of intersection of their social fields, which appear as nodes of structuring of social networks. These areas of intersection are created as a result of value communication, which becomes the main resource of social relations in networks.

A vivid of the communication field is been borning from the presentation drawn up by Pitirim Sorokin: "Mental interaction is concretely represented as an infinite number of threads that appear and disappear every minute between the members of communication, as if by a multitude of electric sparks, continuously running from one to another and back" (Sorokin, 1947).

The communication field is an inherent property of a social subject, just as the gravitational field is a property of physical bodies that have mass, and the electromagnetic field is a property of subatomic particles – electrons and protons. At the same time, the field cannot be identified with the subject itself.

The field manifests itself only in the presence of another object on which the corresponding forces of interaction act. Therefore, the communication field is not a network itself, it is a ‘filler’ and appears as the binding power of the social system that ensures interaction between actors. Thus, based on communication and network theory, we offer the following definition: **a communication field is a set of intersection zones of the framework of correlation of social actors (communicators), which form the edges of a social network and ensure interaction between its nodes in the social environment.** At the same time, taking into account the value-cognitive nature of communication, such edges have non-linear, three-dimensional, transmorphic properties.

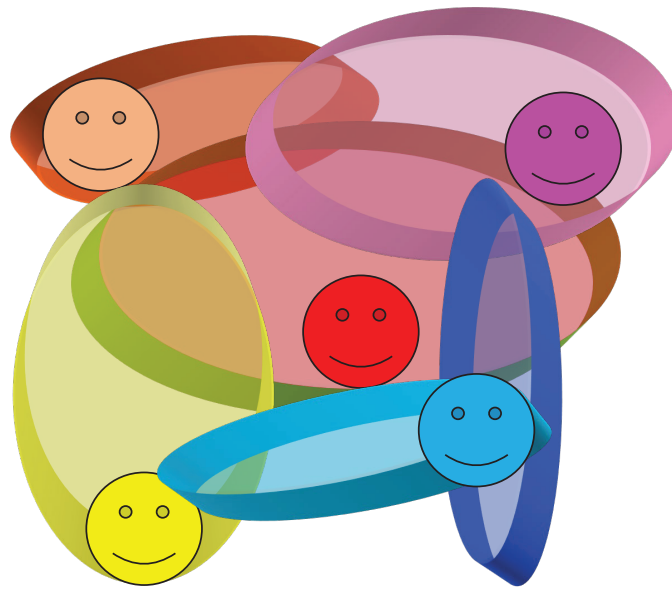


Figure 3.8. The Communication Field Model

The communication field’s influence on the formation of the network contacts’ space is determined by its following properties: strength and density, heterogeneity and nonlinearity, openness and ability to self-organisation, sensitivity and dynamism, cross-temporality.

The strength of the communication field, which is formed in the process of communication between communicators, is determined by the area of intersection of their correlation frames. This area is determined: firstly, by the number of shared values, secondly, by the level of trust, thirdly by the presence of a common communication code (language, symbols, etc.), and fourthly, by the capabilities of the communication channel. In addition, it is correlated with the characteristics of the surrounding social environment. But to determine the strength of the communication field in broader social networks, it is necessary to take into account the number of such correlation frames, or in the terminology of network theory – communication edges.

The communication field is colorfully emotionally saturated in the continuum *enthusiasm* (and opposite, depression) – *fear* (with its counterpart, calm), so it is heterogeneous. The configuration and functional characteristics of the communication field depend on the level of trust and the strength of communication ties between the actors.

In general, the concept of a communication field develops network theory, adding volume to the flat representation of graphs. Communication fields are non-linearity. It means that the nodes of the social network, the distance between which in the linear dimension would be very long, and it made impossible to form a direct framework of their communication relationship, in the non-linear dimension can appear one to each other, and vice versa.

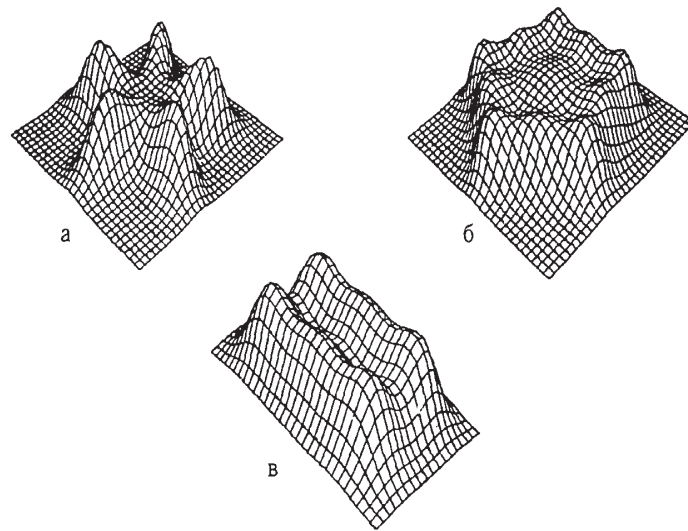


Figure 3.9. Models of Nonlinear Communication Fields (Knyazeva, & Kurdyumov, 2002: 123)

As Aleksandr Nazarchuk states: “The traditional idea of space as an abstract distance, that is, through the lens of an object’s ability to overcome it in a certain period of time, cannot be a guide in the network context, because in the modern context of social movements, the coordinate axes have changed. The pluralism of coordinate axes leads to the need to transfer the postulates of the theory of relativity to the social theory, which for a long time remained in the direction of naive Euclidean perception” (Nazarchuk, 2012).

The nonlinearity of the communication field affects not only the speed and intensity of information processes in the ‘curved’ communication space of social media such as Twitter or Facebook but also largely determines their role in political communication.

Valuence

The derivative of the number and strength of communication links determines the level of value attraction of a social network node – a communicator. To designate this value, we introduced the definition of ‘valuence’ as a derivative of the terms of ‘value’ and ‘valence’ (the ability of an atom to combine with a certain number of other atoms). The nodes with the highest valuence are the hubs of the social network, connected to a relatively large number of other nodes and form stronger communication links (central red smile in the figure 3.8). As a result, their social capital is multiplied, because their communication field is not only expanded, but also becomes more powerful.

In online networks, the primary valuence level of a node can be calculated as the ratio of the number of its contacts (subscribers, followers) and mutual positive activity (likes, positive comments, reposts). However, it is also important to take into account not only direct contacts in the zone of the communication core (‘friends’), but also waves diverging from them in the semi-periphery zone (‘friends of friends’) and ‘weak’ repeatedly mediated signals in the zone of the far periphery, which are almost impossible to calculate.

The valuence is also determined by indicators such as attractiveness, trust and complicity. It should be emphasized that the process of communication in this case implies not only a commonality of moral attitudes and closeness of views, but also emotional contact, psychological compatibility and empathy, that is, it is understood as a complex spiritual formation. It is no coincidence that the subjects that seem to us to be the nodes of the social network with the highest valence are called the ‘soul of the company’ at the household level.

The heterogeneity of the communication field leads to the creation of a different social interaction structure. At the same time, as we have already seen in games on networks, if at the first stage of social interaction communication forms a network in which the indicated emotional and psychological hubs are formed, then at the second stage it is these actors who use the network as a communication tool, structuring the social space accordingly. At the first stage of political communication, the effectiveness of network development depends on the attractiveness of social actors. Attractiveness is determined by how capable they are of articulating current social values, attracting attention and sympathy for the maximum number of citizens. And at the second stage – ‘playing on the network’ – trust and complicity are important factors. Trust is determined by an adequate (or perceived as adequate) reaction of leaders to those value requests that come from society through the created multi-layered multi-network along the ‘feedback loop’. And the complicity of citizens can manifest itself in various forms of online and offline activity, including voting in elections. It is important to emphasize that in political communication, which is implemented through social networks, trust in the image is more significant than trust in competence, because in the image each follower embodies those features that correspond to his own moral attitudes and values. In turn, complicity does not mean that a specific goal must be declared by a political movement since the mass character is ensured by the fact that each participant represents it in accordance with his/her ideal.

Communication Field's Transformations

The communication field is a very sensitive environment in which the structures of social networks are constantly changing. As Bourdieu pointed out, an event in one place of the field instantly changes the situation in all other places, which allows social classes to group and regroup, and social institutions to be formed and reshaped (Bourdieu, 2021). In this context, it is important to note that, just as in physical fields, there are centrifugal and centripetal forces in the communication field. They determine the entropy of the social-communication system and cause the dialectically interconnected tendencies of integration and fragmentation (or centralization and dispersion) of social structures. In stable social systems, these forces are balanced (for example, in pluralist democracies). The predominance of centripetal collectivist forces leads to the fact that the entire social network is actually absorbed by one most powerful hub and actually disappears, as in a black hole (for example – fascist and communist totalitarian regimes with their cult of personality). The strengthening of centrifugal individualist forces leads to the destruction of social structures (an example is the collapse of states (failure of state) as one of the main threats to the modern system of international security). At the same time, it is appropriate to note that the properties of scale-free networks are strictly correlated with the resistance of networks to decay. If violations of the balance of power in the communication field occur at a lower level, then this is almost not reflected in large hubs. At the same time, if a failure affects a large hub that concentrates the greatest valence, it can lead to the destruction of the entire network. This, in particular, explains the relative stability of open democratic regimes capable of self-organization and the instability of closed authoritarian ones.

The communication field provides self-organisation of social networks. The openness of the system is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for its self-organization. That is, every self-organising system is open, but not every open system is self-organising. Everything is determined by the unity and struggle of those two essential principles, which were discussed above. Collectivism contributes to the creation of structures, the establishment of an order based on common values and norms, and reduces the entropy of the system, which, however, leads to the freezing of the forms of its existence. However, the communication field itself ensures the functioning of social networks as open, self-organizing systems. Evaluating the potential of self-organisation as the ability of the communication field to provide a dynamic balance between integration and fragmentation of social networks allows us to determine the degree of their viability.

At the same time, the communication field is cross-temporal, because it combines social networks that have different ages and develop at different rates. The evolution of communication fields does not simply follow the classical dialectical linear law of ‘denial – denial’, but according to the synergistic principle of combining the previous and the following. But not any social networks at different stages of development, with different levels of interconnection, can be combined into one communication field. The inclusion of social networks with new parameters disrupts the symmetry of the communication field. Either way, it’s a very complex process with a limited set of tools that can provide the overlay of simpler social networks with more complex ones. And it is very important from the point of view of understanding the process of structuring the modern communication space.

Changes in the parameters of the communication field (the scope of shared values, the level of trust, the presence of common codes, and the characteristics of the communication channel) cause transformations in the structure of social networks. An unprecedented jump in the development of communication channels, which is associated with the rapid penetration of the Internet into all spheres of human communication, life, and existence, has radically changed the characteristics of communication fields and caused revolutionary shifts in social relations. First, Web 2.0 communication created new types of social networks, and then online networks created a new type of society, which is called a network society.

As Manuel Castells argues, the transformation of communication, caused by the explosion in wireless communication in the 1990s as well as by technological convergence between Internet wireless communication and multiple applications in the 2000s, has resulted in the empowerment of communicative capacity worldwide penetrating both public and private spheres of people. Citizens have become increasingly empowered to participate actively in political domains (Castels, 2010).

El-Sayed el-Aswad in the *Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics* emphasizes:

The one-way communication of radio, television, and print media provide information to an audience but cannot solicit immediate feedback. In contrast, the two-way communications of the Internet and cyber-network encourage political engagement and allow for mutual feedback. Cyber-communication or social networking refers to a type of online community that depends on a computer-based simulated circulatory milieu through which the participants or users interact with one another. This type of interaction and immediate social reaction to new phenomena tend to create special kinds of written visual contacts of a global form (El-Sayed el-Aswad, 2014: 305).

Demassification and individualization, differentiation and variability of information flows, which occur as a result of the development of the Internet and especially web networks, transform society from “a fabric is woven from many threads of interaction” (Simmel, 2007: 9267) into a global multi-colored patchwork quilt. However, the key difference of online-communication is interactivity, which eliminates subject-object differences. The interactivity of participants in online networks leads to the fact that “people see themselves as authorized participants in the construction of information flow” (Guadagno, & Guttieri 2019: 176). By choosing sources in the virtual space and producing one’s own information, a human reveals himself as an individual, and this determines the content and forms of the new communication.

Conclusions

In real life, communication occurs not only as two-way relations but in numerous social networks. From the standpoint of graph theory, on which the general network theory was built, a social network is a collection of nodes (social actors) that are connected to each other by network edges (communication links).

Social actors constantly communicate with each other for their own interests and the basis of common values. This communication creates a primary network, and then this network already determines the effectiveness of communication. Primary networks are centralized (star) and decentralized

(homogeneous). In the process of their development, these primary structures change, complement each other, and form complex network compositions. Proponents of a quantitative approach to analyzing the effectiveness of social networks believe that the number of participants is the main indicator. And although the number of communication contacts in each individual is limited by Dunbar's number (about 150), thanks to the effect of Milgram's law of the six handshakes, communication networks can become practically limitless. And supporters of the qualitative approach claim that social capital is the main criterion for the effectiveness of networks. At the same time, one of them (J. Coleman) insists that closed networks are the most productive because in them the ties between participants are stronger and trust is deeper. Others (R. Burt) argue that open networks are more relevant and flexible.

The analyses of discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of closed and open networks show that it is groundless because closed networks are always transformed into open through so-called structure holes, and every way each participant plays on several different social networks. The interaction between different social networks produces so-called multi-networks. The interaction of two trends – the network's striving for closeness and openness – is the pattern of social networks' communication. These trends construct more or less effective social network structures. The effectiveness of a real social network (and it will be a multi-network necessarily) is determined by the well-coordinated functioning of three communication zones: a cohesive core, a developed semi-periphery, and a wide periphery.

Summarizing, we define social communication as a balanced process of unhindered circulation of information, which is carried out within the framework of value correlation between the nodes of a certain social network, as well as between this social network and society as a whole or between different social networks with the aim of achieving mutual understanding and trust during social interaction. At the same time, the framework of correlation between communicators acts as a binding element of the social network, determining the nature of its structure. The directions and strength of communication links in social networks are determined by emotions.

Based on the theory of the psychological field by K. Levin and the theory of social fields by P. Bourdieu, we can describe the set of frameworks of correlation of various social actors as a certain communication field. The communication field is characterized by such an integral indicator as a valence. The valence is a derivative of the force of value attraction of a social actor and the number of his/her communication contacts. The hubs of the social network, which are distinguished by greater valence, get the opportunity to influence other nodes of the network. Thus, they become the owners of communication power. The communication field is heterogeneous, non-linear, cross-temporal, and changeable. Changes in the communication field are determined by both value factors (trust) and instrumental factors (ICT). The development of the Internet has radically reformatted the communication field at the individual, group, and global levels, which led to revolutionary social changes and gave rise to a new type of social structure - the network society.

Questions for self check:

1. What is a social network? What elements does it consist of?
2. What are the rules of the online communication game?
3. What are the forms of social network genesis? How do they relate and develop?
4. What is the essence of the quantitative approach to evaluating the effectiveness of communication in social networks? What are the dynamics of the quantitative growth of social networks? What is Dunbar's number? How does Milgram's law work?
5. What factors of effectiveness of communication in closed networks does J. Coleman advocate?
6. Why, according to R. Burt, open social networks are more effective?
7. What is the regularity of the development of social networks in the context of the social activity approach?
8. What zones does the communication space in networks consist of?

9. Which structure of multi-networks is the most effective?
10. What is a communication field? What are its properties?
11. What is valence? What does it depend on and what does it affect?
12. What factors determine the transformation of communication fields in the network space?

References:

- Barnes, J. Class and committees in a Norwegian Island Parish, *Human Relations*, 7 (1): 39–58. DOI: 10.1177/001872675400700102.
- Bavelas, A. (1948). A mathematical model for small group structures. *Applied Anthropology*, 7 (3): 16–30. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44135428>.
- Bavelas, A. (1950). Communication patterns in task-oriented groups. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 22: 725-730. DOI: 10.1121/1.1906679.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *On Television and Journalism*. Pluto Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2021). *Forms of Capital: General Sociology*, Volume 3: Lectures at the Collège de France 1983-1984. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Burt, R. S. (2001). Structural Holes versus Network Closure as Social Capital. In Lin N., Karen Cook K., and Burt R. S. (eds.) *Social Capital Theory and Reserch*. University of Chicago Press. pp. 1-30.
- Castells, M. (2013). *Communication Power*, 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press.
- Castells, M. (2010). *The Rise of the Network Society (The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture)*. Vol 1. 2nd Edition with a New Preface. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell Publ. DOI: 10.1002/9781444319514.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94 (Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure), pp. 95-120. University of Chicago Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2780243>.
- Dunbar, R. (2013). Dunbar Numbers. *Social Science Space*, 04 Nov. [online]. Retried from: <http://www.socialsciencespace.com/2013/11/robin-dunbar-on-dunbar-numbers>.
- El-Sayed el-Aswad. (2014). Communication. In Keric Harvey (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics*, Three Volume Set. George Washington University, USA.
- Euler, L. (1741). Solutio problematis ad geometriam situs pertinentis [The Solution of a Problem Relating to the Geometry of Position] *Euler Archive-All Works*, 53. Retried from: <https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/euler-works/53>.
- Gradwell, M. (2006). *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Differences*. New York: Little Brown & Company.
- Gribkovskaia, I., Halskau, O., and Laporte, G. (2007). The bridges of Koningsberg – a historical perspective. *Networks*, 49 (3): 199-203. DOI: 10.1002/net.20159.
- Guadagno, E. R., and Guttieri, K. (2019). Fake News and Information Warfare: An Examination of the Political and Psychological Processes From the Digital Sphere to the Real World. *Handbook of Research on Deception, Fake News, and Misinformation*. Online IGI Global, (167–191). DOI:<http://10.4018/978-1-5225-8535-0.ch011>
- Hogg, S. (2013). Understand and Obey the Laws of Networking. Ignorance of the laws of networking is no excuse. *Network World*, 05 Oct. [online]. Retried from: <http://www.networkworld.com/article/2225509/cisco-subnet/understand-and-obey-the-laws-of-networking.html>.
- Jackson, M. (2010). *Social and Economic Networks*. Princeton University Press.
- Knyazeva, E. N., and Kurdyumov, S. P. (2002). *Osnovaniya sinergetiki. Rezhimy s obostreniem, samoorganizaciya, tempomiry [Fundamentals of synergy. Blow-up regimes, self-organization, tempo-worlds]*. St. Petersburg: Aletheia. (In Russ.).
- Lewin, K. (1951). *Field Theory of Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers*. (Edited by Dorwin Cartwright.). New York: Harper & Brothers. DOI: 10.1177/000271625127600135.
- Michels, R. (2016). *Political Parties. A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendentions of Modern Democracy*. Transl. by E. Paul. Martino Fine Books.
- Milgram, S. (1967). The Small World Problem. *Psychology Today*, 1 (1): 61-67.
- Nazarchuk, A. V. (2012). Social'noe vremya i social'noe prostranstvo v koncepcii setevogo obshchestva [Social time and social space in the concept of a network society]. *Voprosy Filosofii [Questions of Philosophy]*, 10: 21-32.
- Scott, J. (2013). *Social Network Analisis*. Third ed. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Simmel, G. (1890). *Über sociale Differenzierung [On Social Differentiation]* Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot (In Gem.).
- Sorokin, P. (1947). *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics, A System of General Sociology*, New York & London: Harper & Brothers Publishers.
- Wasserman, S., and Faust, K. (1994). Social Network Analysis in the Social and Behavioral Sciences. *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*, Vol. 8. Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511815478.

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

In this chapter, we will consider the central issues of our course and try to find answers to the main questions about the essence and signs of political communication.

What does ‘Political’ mean? – Realistic and Idealistic Approaches

The communication field in the networks of primeval societies gave birth to politics as a social phenomenon actually. And Aristotle has already been quoted in this context. But now that we have understood what communication is, it is appropriate to return to this ancient giant of thought to see how he defined the role of communication in politics’ genesis and to see in his sentences the origins of semiotic, teleological, and axiological approaches. So, as Aristotle said:

Now, that man is more of a political animal than bees or any other gregarious animals is evident. Nature, as we often say, makes nothing in vain, and man is the only animal whom she has endowed with the gift of speech. And whereas mere voice is but an indication of pleasure or pain, and is therefore found in other animals (for their nature attains to the perception of pleasure and pain and the intimation of them to one another, and no further), the power of speech is intended to set forth the expedient and inexpedient, and therefore likewise the just and the unjust. And it is a characteristic of man that he alone has any sense of good and evil, of just and unjust, and the like, and the association of living beings who have this sense makes a family and a state.

Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But, if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims at good in a greater degree than any other, and at the highest good.

Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. And he who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either a bad man or above humanity; he is like the “Tribeless, lawless, heartless one”, whom Homer denounces- the natural outcast is forthwith a lover of war; he may be compared to an isolated piece at draughts. A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature, and yet he who first founded the state was the greatest of benefactors (Aristotle, 1999: 4-6).

The communication field of the ancient polis was very dense, because all citizens knew and communicated with each other. But even then it was heterogeneous. The hubs with the greatest valence stood out in such social networks as Agora. They were orators and demagogues who won communication power with their speeches and transformed it into political power under the conditions of democracy. It is interesting that initially the word demagogue (ancient Greek *δημαγωγός* – ‘people’s leader’) did not have a negative connotation. The term ‘demagogue’ begins to denote a populist politician and approaches its modern meaning from the middle of the 5th century B. C. E. Demagogy is a set of oratory and polemical techniques and means that allow misleading the audience (people) and incline it to their side with the help of false theoretical reasoning based on logical errors. We will return to these methods when we study propaganda. And now we focus on the important aspect that demagogues are not looking for the common good, not truth, not peace and justice, but only a way to present their personal interests as public ones and their decisions as the only true ones. Because the watershed in understanding the essence of political communication lies here.

To understand political communication, we have to see that politics is the unity and struggle of many interests (the art of management, taking into account the interests of all social sections). This definition is related to the etymology of the Greek. *πολιτικής*, where *πολι* means multitude, and *τικός*/

τόκος - interest; (literally – ‘many interests’). Thus, at the ancient Greece city (polis) public servants were called politikos (πολιτικός). And at Athens, a citizen who held no official position or who was not a habitual orator in the Assembly was branded as idiotikos (ιδιωτικός) – ‘private interests’ (Kreis, 2000). Since the ancient age, the balance of public and private interests is a fundamental problem of political communication.

Two main currents in the interpretation of politics in general and political communication, in particular, take their origins from here – the realistic and the idealistic. Paradoxically, supporters of both camps refer to Aristotle’s proverb that man is a ‘political animal’ as a starting point for their diametrically opposed conclusions. Apologists for the realist paradigm might state that, since politics is based upon violence and threats of violence, the phrase ‘man is a political animal’ emphasizes the ‘animal’ side of human nature. They assume that humans, like other species of animals, struggle for the distribution of resources and can have relationships in which individuals dominate others. Politics, like other spheres of human life, is built on the Darwinian principle of evolution – ‘survival of the fittest’. They call politics the struggle for power as a way of appropriating and distributing resources in their own interests.

Supporters of the idealist paradigm believe that when the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle said that ‘man is a political animal’, he certainly did not mean that when engaged in politics, people behave like animals – acting only on the instinct of struggle and dominance. Rather, on the contrary, he meant that politics is one of the primary activities that distinguish humans from other animals (along with the arts, religion, and science). Only people are able to cooperate for their common interests and follow collective rules. Idealists from the so-called Pufendorf-Grotius line are to say that human is naturally sociable and that they are naturally drawn to various political associations in order to satisfy their social needs.

It should be noted that the deeper source of different attitudes towards politics is rooted in different understandings of human nature. Because the essence of politics is a reflection of the essence of human. But human by his/her nature is contradictory. He/she combines the Divine and the animal. Therefore, some people see good in a person, and others – evil.

For idealistic current, coexistence is based on Christian principles of love: “Love your neighbor as yourself!” (Mark 12:31) and even “Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who mistreat you!” (Luke 6:27-29). These principles were embodied in Kant’s categorical imperative “Act only according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law” and “So act as to treat humanity, whether in your own person or in another, always as an end and never as only a means”. (For political communication principles it is important to focus, that Kant contrasted the categorical imperative, which holds absolutely or unconditionally, with hypothetical imperatives, which are valid only in the presence of some ulterior desire or goal – e.g., “If you want to be well-liked, do not lie”) (Bird, 2022).

For realistic current, human is a cruel, greedy, selfish creature. Politicians-realists completely agree with the Latin proverb “Homo homini lupus est”, which means “Man is wolf to man”. Their political theory and practice are based on Machiavellism. Characterizing human nature Niccolò Machiavelli noted, that “men **more quickly forget the death of their father than the loss of their inheritance**”. His teaching is an axiom of realist politics:

You must know that there are two kinds of combat: one with laws, the other with force. The first proper to man, the second to beasts; but because the first is often not enough, one must have recourse to the second. Therefore, it is necessary for a prince to know well how to use the beast and the man... Thus, since a prince is compelled of necessity to know well how to use the beast, he should pick the fox and the lion, because the lion does not defend itself from snares and the fox does not defend itself from wolves. So one needs to be a fox to recognize snares and a lion to frighten wolves” (Machiavelli, [1532] 2010: 89).

Eventually, for representatives of realism, in particular Hobbes, the state is a Leviathan capable of scaring the ‘wolves’ and ending a ”war of all against all and each against each”. But for representatives of idealism, the state is “the way of God in the world”, as Hegel manifested.

Within the framework of the realistic current, politics is a social activity aimed at preserving or changing the existing order of distribution of power and property in a state-organized society (domestic politics) and the world community (foreign policy, global or world politics). Machiavelli, back in 1515, characterized politics as “a set of means that are necessary in order to come to power, stay in power and use it with benefit”. For supporters of the idealistic current, politics is an activity aimed at achieving the common good. Its highest value is the common good, which includes such values as peace, freedom, justice, and well-being, its goal is to serve this common good, and norms are specific rules and laws leading to its achievement. Thus, even Aristotle believed that politics is the highest form of human activity because through it justice is established in relationships between people, and the good of everyone is achieved. Discussing the apologists of the realistic paradigm, Joseph Colomer notes:

We should not confound the collective aims of politics with the private motivations of individuals involved in such an activity. While certain members of interest groups, political party activists, and professional politicians holding public offices may be driven by the ambition of fulfilling their private desires, including domination and the enjoyment of power, the collective aim of their activity is the provision of public goods. Think a moment about the same problem but regarding another fundamental activity of human beings, the arts. While artists can be motivated by the search for admiration and applause, the object of artistic activity is not the struggle for applause, but, obviously, the production of artwork – whether plays or poems, paintings or buildings, songs or movies – that may be enjoyed by the public. Similarly, the object of politics is, regardless of the private motivations of its actors, the provision of freedom, security, justice, means of transport, education, health care, clean air, and similar goods to the members of the community. (Colomer, 2011: xiv).

So, where does political communication come from? – from the Voice of God or from the roar of Leviathan? In the idealistic trend, political communication aims to organise social interaction for the public good. Its way is to establish and strengthen trust. In the realistic trend, political communication is intended to conquest, use, and hold political (state) power. And its method is to intimidate, deceive and manipulate. In later chapters, we will pay due attention to manipulative technologies, but we principally consider them deviant forms of political communication that have a relatively short-term effect. Because, as Abraham Lincoln said: “You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you can not fool all of the people all of the time”.

In his *Politics*, Aristotle considered politics as “a social activity” – “one which is a dialogue, not a monologue” (Aristotle, 1962). In this way, he encouraged a view of politics as relational and communicative, features central to the study and practice of strategic communication. Legendary political theorist Robert Dahl also situated politics (or, rather, a political system) within the context of human relationships and added the elements of influence, power, and authority (Dahl, 1963).

Drawing on Aristotle and Dahl, politics can be conceived of broadly as a set of activities through which people, together, establish and refine the principles and guidelines (e.g., policies) under which they live, within a set of power relations. Individuals and social collectives (e.g., organizations) have competing needs and interests, different opinions and views on how they should live, differences which can lead to conflict and violence. But they are differences that can also foster unity, as paradoxical as that may sound. In these ways, politics cannot be divorced from conflict and cooperation; for at the heart of politics is the entangled interface of different views and interests and the quest to find common ground and sufficient concurrence (Heath, 2000) in order to develop a way forward.

Hence, **in the broadest sense, political communication is an interrelation between social actors, which is based on common values and is aimed at the public good achieving.** This maxim is the foundation on which we will build a more specific scientific understanding of political communication.

Political Communication Formula

We will define this specificity through the seven questions outlined in Chapter 2. We will only slightly change their sequence: (1) ‘Who and Whom informs?’ – combined subject-object analysis; (2) ‘What and How Do They Communicate About?’ – content and emotional analysis; (3) ‘By What Channels?’ – media analysis; (4) ‘For What Purpose?’ – teleological analysis; (5) ‘Based on What Values?’ – axiological analysis; (6) ‘In What Circumstance?’ – environmental analysis; (7) ‘With What Effect?’ – efficiency analysis.

In a condensed form, we find answers to some of these questions in Roger-Gérard Schwartzberg’s *Political Sociology*. French sociologist interprets political communication as “the process of transferring political information, thanks to which information circulates between various elements of the political system, as well as between political and social systems. A continuous process of information exchange is carried out both between individuals and between those who govern and those who are governed in order to achieve agreement” (Schwartzberg, 1971: 174).

‘Informs What?’ and ‘Communicates How?’ – Political Information

So, to the question ‘Informs What?’ we answer – ‘Political information’. In a specific sense, the term ‘political information’ refers to the content of messages about phenomena, facts, and events occurring in the political sphere of society. It is obvious that this interpretation correlates with the reflection approach. According to the approach of entropia elimination, political information is determined through the procedure of reducing uncertainty about political phenomena and processes. In the knowledge approach, political information means an awareness of politics from facts to essence. In the data approach, political information is presented as a set of data, mostly statistical, about the activities of political actors (states, parties, leaders) and election results. The value approach emphasizes that political information is intended to reveal the goals of politics and to facilitate the evaluation of it through the prism of a public good.

In this broad sense, the scope of the political information means also ‘politically significant information’, which includes the content of the entire set of messages that change the state of political actors in the process of their social and practical activities. Depending on the specific situation, not all ‘incoming’ political information becomes politically significant. At the same time, an element of politically significant information can be the content of a message about events and other spheres of public life that affect the interests of any political actor. It can be information about facts from the area of ecology or economy (for example, information about the improvement or deterioration of the economic situation in the region, which is disseminated during the election campaign), science, art, culture, and even information on a purely technical nature (for example, the characteristics of the national anti-missile defense system, which are developed in the USA and are the object of interest of the special services of many countries). In this broad sense, political information focuses not only on the level of the need for esteem, which is sublimated into the desire for power but also covers all motivational levels of information. **The sense and meaning of political information depend on public needs and are determined by political interests but it always focuses on the problem of power.**

The *Oxford Handbook of Political Communication* defines it as “making sense of symbolic exchanges about the shared exercise of power” and “the presentation and interpretation of information... with potential consequences for the exercise of shared power” (Jamieson and Kenski 2017: 4). Robert Denton and Gary Woodward in their book *Political Communication in America* represent a more detailed definition that answers our question ‘Informs What?’. According to these authors, political communication is an open discussion about the distribution of public resources (income), official authority (who gives power to make legal, legislative, and executive decisions), and official sanctions (what the

state encourages or punishes) (Denton, & Woodward, 1998: 12). Other aspects of politics that have nothing directly to do with acquiring and retaining power, such as the transmission of interests and demands of citizens, the symbolic legitimation of authority, and the clarification of alternative options in policymaking, also depend on communication (Blumler 2017).

Considering power as a way of appropriating and distributing resources, supporters of the realistic school point out that the distribution of information as a value fully reflects Harold Lasswell's views, according to which value can be both a means of achieving a goal and an end in itself, both at the same time (Lasswell, 1971). So, political information as content about power is a resource and a value in self. Sandra Braman provides an important discussion of approaches to defining information for policymakers. Four major views are identified: (1) information as a resource, (2) information as a commodity, (3) information as a perception of patterns, and (4) information as a constitutive force in society (Braman, 1989). The relative benefits and problems with each of these four conceptions are discussed. She points out that the selection of one definition or another has important consequences, and also that the tendency to neglect this problem results in conflicts rather than cooperation. Defining information is thus also a political decision.

To understand the perception of political communication content, attention should be paid to Manuel Castells' remarks:

The theory of affective intelligence provides a useful analytical framework that inspires a diversified body of evidence in political communication and political psychology supporting the notion that emotional appeals and rational choices are complementary mechanisms whose interaction and relative weight in the process of decision-making depend on the context of the process. Indeed, emotional impairment disables the ability to make proper cognitive judgments. Evaluation of events is emotional, and shaped by somatic markers. According to MacKuen et al., "Rationality is appropriate only in some situations". Increasing anxiety is indicative of uncertainty and uncertainty is associated with rationality ... The data from political science are crystal clear: people vote for the candidate that elicits the right feelings, not the candidate that presents the best arguments (Castels, 2013: 146, 154).

Castells proves that hope and fear are the strongest emotions that influence people's behavior and are therefore used by politicians.

So, to analyse political communication we should focus on a second important part of this first question – 'Inform How?'

'Who Informs?' and 'To Whom?' – Rulers and Public

Since, as we defined in the previous chapters, communication is the circulation of information, the questions 'Who Informs?' and 'To Whom?' are combined. According to Brian McNair, political communication includes: (1) all forms of communication carried out by politicians and other political actors in order to achieve specific goals, (2) communication addressed to these actors by subjects who are not politicians, such as voters and journalists, (3) communication about these actors and their activities contained in news, reports, articles, broadcasts and other forms of media discussion about politics (McNair, 2017). So, **political communication refers to the process of exchanging information, ideas, and messages between political actors and the public.** At the same time, each of these two blocks of political information senders/receivers has in its composition different categories of political relations subjects.

For example, British lecturer and researcher Darren G. Lilleker distinguishes two categories of political actors in the first block: (1) elective political officials – president, prime-minister and cabinet, national and local government, political parties), and (2) non-elective organisations – pressure groups, business sector, public organisations, terrorist groups (Lilleker, 2006: 5). As Frank Esser and Barbara Pfetsch note, politicians, parties, and governments can assume powerful roles in political communica-

tions. These researchers define three areas in which political actors engage in message production: government communication, parliamentary communication, and election communication (Esser, & Pfetsch, 2020: 347). In turn, Cloud Sainnet pays attention to the role of the political elite in the process of implementing political communication. The political elite exercises political power over society, as a rule, not directly, but indirectly, through the use of various intermediate links (for example, the bureaucratic apparatus or mass communication means). It is important to note that, according to Sainnet, the elites are trying to bring information to the masses that would strengthen their legitimacy (Sainnet, 1976).

The trends emerging from this block of political communication show that political actors professionalize their approach to government communication, parliamentary communication, and election communication at the same time as they perceive the mass media as increasingly important. In the area of election communication, there is a strong trend toward social-based campaigning (Esser, & Pfetsch, 2020: 349).

The second block – the public – is also not homogeneous and is differentiated by various characteristics, such as socio-political classes, religion, nationality, gender. Each of these groups defines its own specifics of political communication. At the same time, the generalizing term ‘masses’ is becoming very widespread to denote the public. According to Herbert Blumer’s classical definition, the masses are elementary spontaneously emerging collectives that in many ways resemble crowds, but in many respects radically differ from them. He identified the following distinctive characteristics of the mass: (1) it is formed from representatives of various social, cultural, racial, professional, etc. population groups; (2) the masses are anonymous groups, or rather they consist of anonymous individuals; (3) interaction and exchange of experience between members of the mass are on the minimum flux, as they are physically separated from each other; (4) there is no organizational structure among the masses, and, unlike the crowd, they cannot act in concert (Blumer, 1953: 43). Bloomer emphasizes that the mass media is the main tool that unites people into the masses. As a good example of the masses, he pointed to the huge masses of people who simultaneously follow the news in search of the next serial killer. TV viewers, listeners of radio stations or readers of newspapers, having completely different social characteristics (age, gender, income level, education, religion, etc.), in this case, become a mass. Since the mass does not have a social organization, leadership system, traditions, statuses, and roles, it cannot be considered a society. But it is not a crowd either, since, unlike it, the mass is not predisposed to active actions in accordance with the instructions of the leader. The reactions of the masses are less aggressive, but just as elementary as the reactions of the crowd. That is why the products of the mass media and everything related to mass culture are produced in the simplest and most elementary form. And this form of communication is called ‘mass communication’.

A counterversion to the designation of the public as a ‘mass’ is defined as the ‘public sphere’. And this concept is very important for understanding the essence of political communication and its current state. The ‘public sphere’ is generally conceived as the social space in which different opinions are expressed, problems of general concern are discussed, and collective solutions are developed communicatively. Thus, the public sphere is the central arena for societal communication. The term was originally coined by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas who defined the public sphere as “made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state” (Habermas, 1989 [1964]: 1). This ‘public sphere’ is a “realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens” (Habermas, 1989: 137). Communication scholar Gerard A. Hauser defines it as “a discursive space in which individuals and groups associate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment about them” (Hauser, 1998: 85).

For Habermas, there are five types of actors who make their appearance on the virtual stage of an established public sphere: (1) Lobbyists who represent special interest groups; (2) Advocates who either represent general interest groups or substitute for a lack of representation of marginalized groups that

are unable to voice their interests effectively; (3) Experts who are credited with professional or scientific knowledge in some specialized area and are invited to give advice; (4) Moral entrepreneurs who generate public attention for supposedly neglected issues; (5) Intellectuals who have gained, unlike advocates or moral entrepreneurs, a perceived personal reputation in some field (e.g., as writers or academics) and who engage, unlike experts and lobbyists, spontaneously in public discourse with the declared intention of promoting general interests (Habermas, 2006:).

Habermas claims “We call events and occasions ‘public’ when they are open to all, in contrast to closed or exclusive affairs” (Habermas, 1989 [1964]: 1). He argues that the public sphere requires “specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive it” (Habermas, 2006: 416). According to Habermas, there are two types of actors without whom no political public sphere could be put to work: professionals in the media system and politicians. His argument shows that the media are of particular importance for constituting and maintaining a public sphere. Discussions about the media have therefore been of particular importance in public sphere theory.

Nowadays, the public sphere is rapidly transforming thanks to the rapid development of the Internet. By enabling interactive communication that is unlimited in time and space, the Internet creates a new and expanded public sphere that transcends national borders (Castels, 2008: 80). This is a new field of communication and, ultimately, a new environment, the basis of which is computer networks, the language of which is digital, and the senders are globally distributed and globally interactive (Castels, 2010: xxx). So, we can define the current public as a social multi-network. This new public – network society – determines the patterns of development and functioning of political communication in a way that was described in the previous chapter.

Thus, we are dealing with two fundamentally different interpretations of the public as a participant in political communication. The mass is a passive object of influence by political actors: elites, governments, parliaments, political parties, political technologists. And the public sphere is an active subject of political communication, which is able to affect politics at all its successive phases: (1) setting the agenda; (2) development of a political course; (3) making political decisions; (4) implementation of political instructions; (5) monitoring and evaluation of political activity (van Dijk, 2012: 55). But the effectiveness of these functions’ implementation is determined by the specifics of political communication in social networks. Gisela Goncalves in the *International Encyclopedia of Strategic Communication* states:

Nonetheless, thanks to the democratization of most political system, the nature of political communication has changed. Political communication shifted to the public sphere when people, mostly as a result of increased access to information, became involved in political activity. The simple act of voting is no longer enough and voters have become active citizens who are able to organize and become in political causes, thereby developing horizontal communication among political actors and citizens and giving rise to actions and protests that are covered by the media (Goncalves, 2018: 1120).

‘In What Channel?’ or ‘By What Means?’ – Vis-à-vis, and Media

So, we came to the next important question: ‘In What Channel?’ (or as we have noted in Chapter 2 ‘By What Means?’). Schwarzenberg singled out three main methods of political communication, based on the use of various means: (1) communication through printed (press, books, posters, etc.) and electronic means (radio, television, etc.) of mass information; (2) communication through organizations, when political parties, interest groups and so on serve as transmission links; (3) communication through informal channels using personal connections (Schwarzenberg, 1971: 174-175). Formal political communication often involves politicians and government officials, while informal communication often occurs between citizens and grassroots organizations. Nowadays political communication encompasses various forms of communication channels, such as traditional media (e.g., television, radio, newspa-

pers), digital media (e.g., social media, websites, blogs), and direct interpersonal communication (e.g., speeches, debates, town hall meetings).

Considering the particularly large role of the media in creating, shaping, disseminating, and providing feedback in the process of political communication, many researchers consider it not only a channel, but also a subject of political communication in addition to political actors and the public. Having analysed fifty concepts of political communication, Lilleker notes:

Therefore, modern texts focus on three actors, some of whom operate beyond the boundaries of any single state, each of whom produce political communication. These are, firstly, the political sphere itself: the state and its attendant political actors. Their role is to communicate their actions to society in order to gain legitimacy among and compliance from the people. Secondly, there are the non-state actors, where we would include a range of organisations with political motivations as well as corporate bodies and, of course, the voters. Each of these organisations and groups communicate messages into the political sphere, in hope of having some level of influence. Finally, there are the media outlets, the media communicates about politics, influencing the public as well as political spheres. In a free, open, and pluralist society, on which the majority text concentrate, each of se communicates independently but synergistically with one another. In other words, they say what they want when they want but are influenced by one another and may well be led by one particular group when formulating arguments, opinions, policies, perceptions or attitudes (Lilleker, 2006: 1).

Jean-Marry Coutret's model of political communication illustrates this point of view.

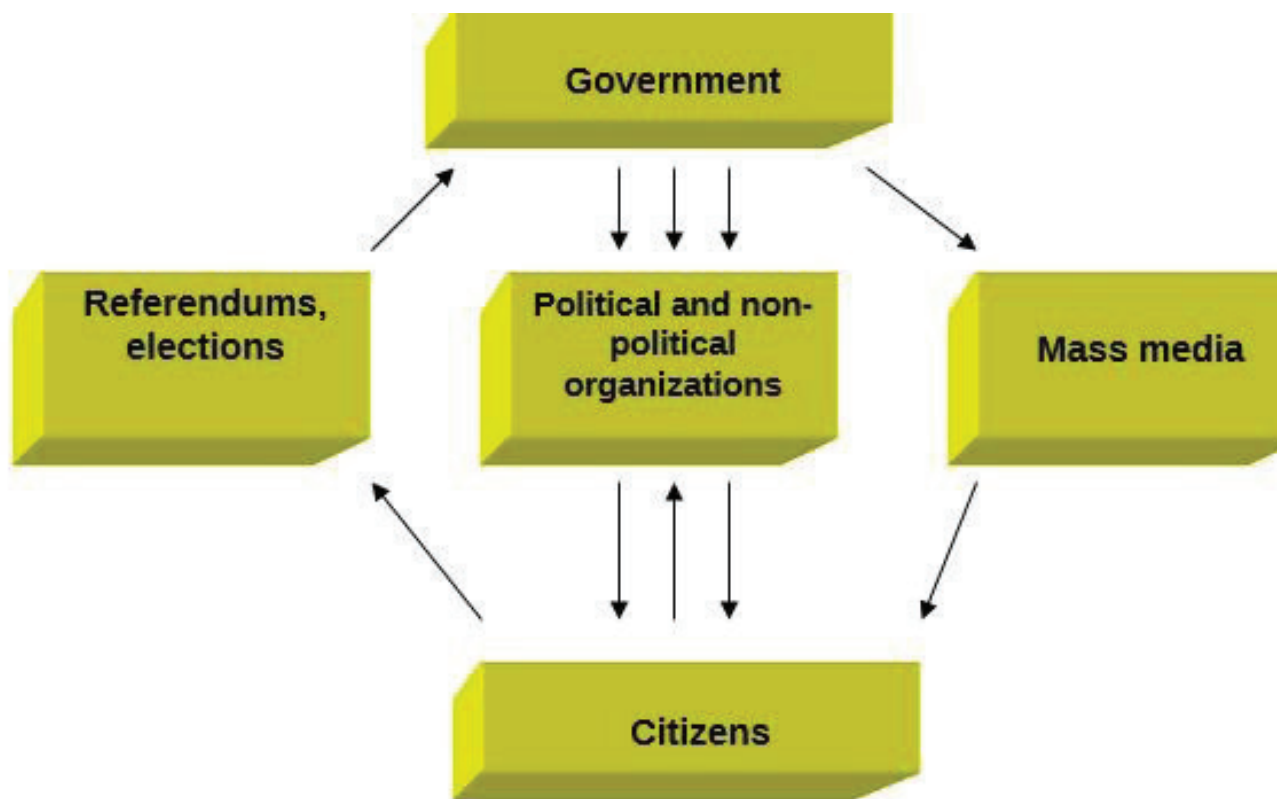


Figure 4.1. Coutret's Model of Political Communication

However, we can notice that this model represents the public as managed, that is, as a mass, therefore the mass media function in a single-channel mode 'from top to bottom'. So, more correctly for democratic societies is detailed Brain McNair's model (McNair, 2017).

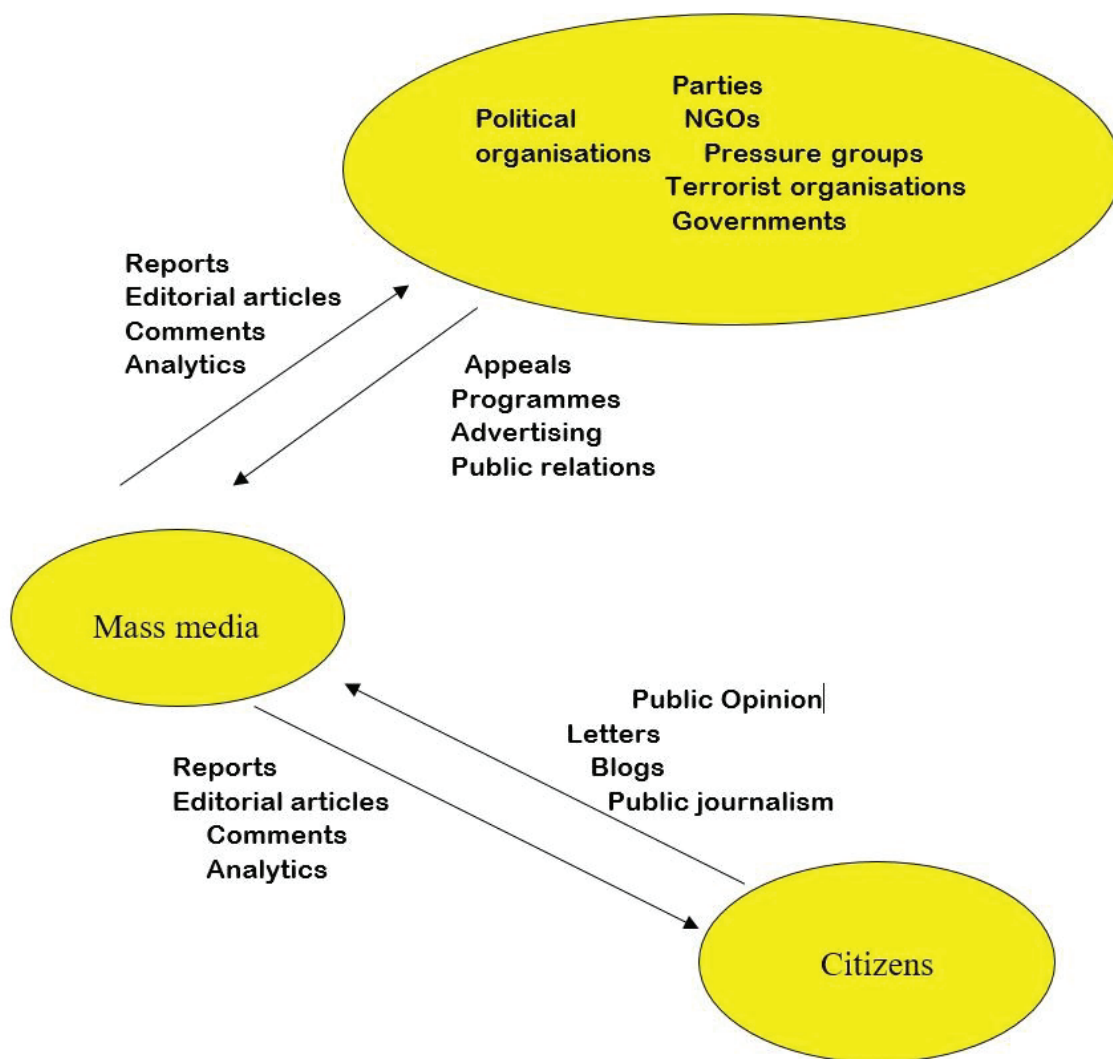


Figure 4.2. Elements of Political Communication (McNair, 2017)

As we can see in this model, citizens are active participants in the political communication process. But it shows only mediated political communication and ignores direct interpersonal and group communication. However, this original way of communication retains its potential. One British candidate for parliament recalled that people liked public meeting because ‘when they asked an awkward question they liked to see if you sweated or not’, he claimed, ‘because on television everyone is very prepared and staged’ (Lilleker, 2006: 1). At the same time, voters not only participate in processes of mass communication, thus opening up avenues for media influence; to varying degrees, they also talk to other people and discuss political matters. The messages they receive during such conversations may also influence their attitudes and behavioral intentions (Huckfeldt, & Sprague, 1995).

In this context we have not forget about the style of communication. For example, the American author Doris Graber includes such visual components as clothes, make-up, hairstyle, manner of behavior and speech, etc. in political communication, that is, everything that can be defined as an image. She introduces such a comprehensive definition as ‘political language’, which she proposes to include not only rhetorical, but also paralinguistic signals such as body language (facial expressions, gestures, etc.) and political acts (boycotts, protests, etc.) (Graber, 1981). Lilleker represents his model of political communication, which includes the direct interconnections between elective political officials, non-elective organisations, and the public (citizens and voters) (Lilleker, 2006: 5).

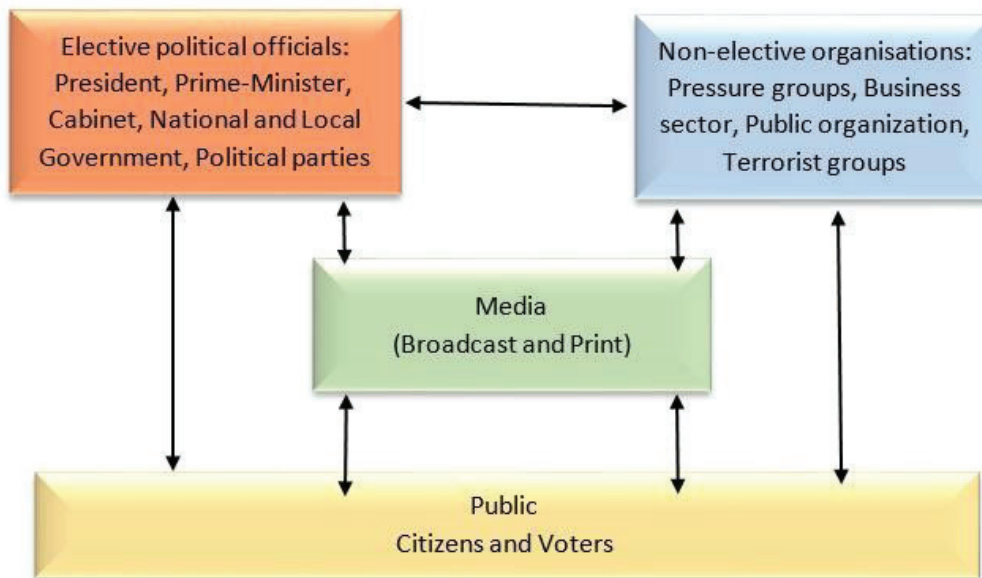


Figure 4.3. Levels of Political Communication (Lilleker, 2006)

But this model does not include parliaments and other local representative bodies and does not illustrate the influence of political pundits and opinion leaders. So, we propose the combine model of political communication.

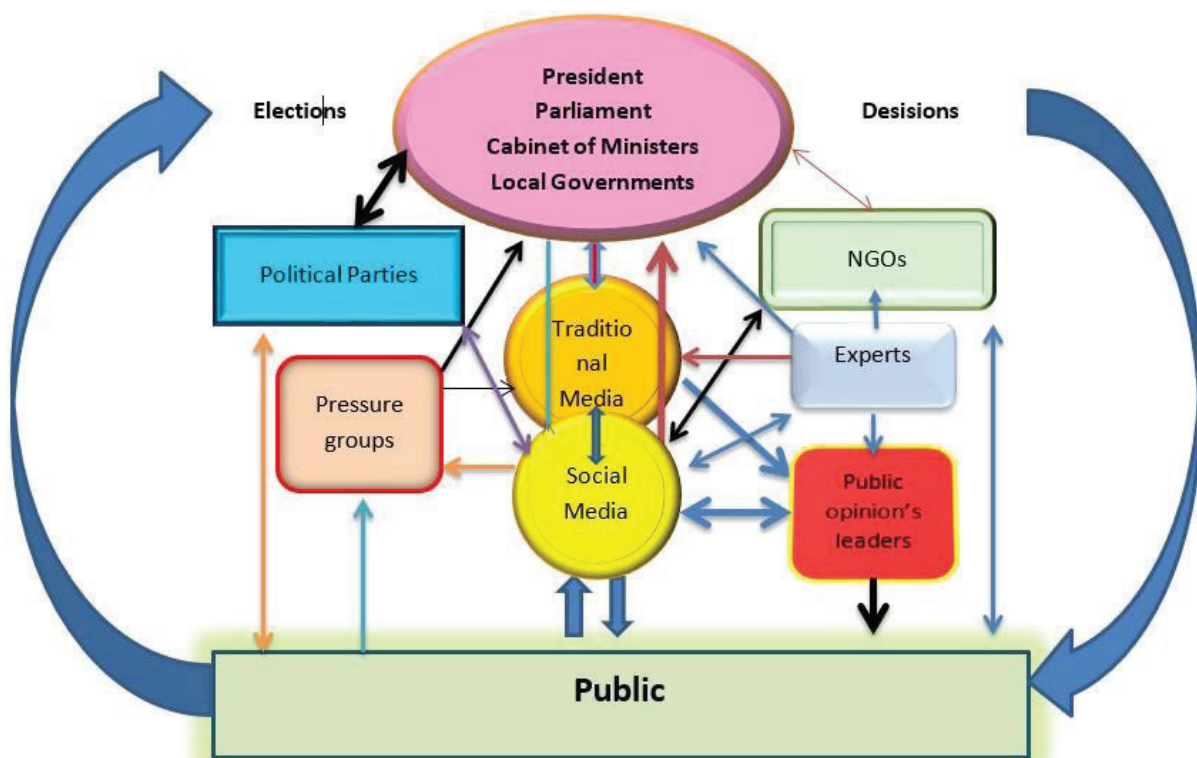


Figure 4.4. The Combine Model of Political Communication

To understand the construction of political communication field it is useful to pay attention to Goncalves's conclusion:

The field of political communication therefore deals with the construction and dissemination of messages that may potentially have a direct or indirect impact on politics. Classically political parties

are the most important political organization in political communication and policy-making process. But they are not the only significant organizations in political communication context. Mass communicators may be other organizations, such as think tanks, nongovernmental organizations such as churches, unions, environmental organizations, human rights organizations, or other interest groups. Journalists are also very important agents in political communication process, as are new social movements (Goncalves, 2018: 1120).

We will detail observe the media's role in politics in the next textbook of this series. However, now it is necessary to note the influence of a theoretical approach that assigns a central role in the processes of political communication to the means of communication. Since most of the theorists of this direction worked in the city of Toronto in Canada, this approach is very often associated with the name of this city, and this direction of communication studies has been called the 'Toronto School'. Harold Innis was the founder of this approach, and one of the most famous representatives is Marshall McLuhan. McLuhan adapted the Gestalt psychology idea of a figure and a ground, which underpins this meaning. He used this concept to explain how a form of communications technology, the medium, or figure, necessarily operates through its context or ground. The essence of his theory is expressed by the catchphrase "The medium is the message" (McLuhan, 2015 [1967]).

McLuhan argued that we must study media in its historical context, particularly in relation to those technologies that preceded them. The present environment, itself made up of the effects of previous technologies, gives rise to new technologies, which, in turn, further shapes societies and individuals. According to this approach, the means of communication promote certain types of political communication and hinder others. Thus, the emergence of new mass media can most decisively influence the course of political processes and even lead to a change in the political system of society.

Recent research has documented the growing importance of communication technologies and Internet media as uncensored platforms for sustaining freedom of expression as well as for disseminating their user's political views and activities. Jaime Raul Seixas Fonseca notes:

Communication technologies and social networks including the Internet, Google, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, e-mail, mobile phone, texting (short messaging service, or SMS), forums, and blogging, to mention a few, are used not only as means to maintain social connectivity but also as mobilizing tools to express social and political demands, such as social justice, freedom, and democracy, among other civil rights. For example, in many countries, the Internet has contributed to a more active, critical, and politicized citizenry, where citizens are no longer passive receivers of state-oriented media. Put differently, politically oriented and mediated communications do not merely express people's political ideologies but also generate, establish, and proliferate their political ideologies in public zones. The rise of online and cyber-communication has significantly impacted the practices of political leaders as well as the content and fashion of political communication (Seixas Fonseca, 2014: 305).

The emergence of new communication channels based on Web 2.0 technologies has led to the fundamental changes in the interplay between politics and the media, which has been described as the transition to a fourth age of political communication (Bennett and Pfetsch 2018; Blumler 2016; Davis 2019). This new age is characterized by the broad influence of the Internet and associated technologies on commerce, culture, social relations, movements, politics, and media. Core representative organizations of democracy (including established parties and legacy news media) are losing their importance vis-à-vis new players who operate according to different rules. Although these new players (including Facebook and Twitter) contribute to greater diversity, they have also encouraged a disintegration of what was left of a national public sphere (Esser, & Pfetsch, 2020: 342). These processes characterize politics in the network society. We will put especially attention to it in the next section too. But for political communication, it is important to know not only what channels are used, but also who and what profit have or want to have by their use.

‘With What Effect?’ – Information, Discursive, and Communication power

And then, from the question about channels and means of political communication, we move on to the question ‘With What Effect?’. It should be emphasized that Esser and Pfetsch attribute the effects of political communication to its integral components, such as creating, shaping, disseminating, and processing information among actors from the political system, the media, and the public (Esser, & Pfetsch, 2020: 336). Generally, the following types of political communication effects are distinguished: (1) ascertaining (neutral); (2) persuasive (which pushes certain actions); (3) motivating (which encourages certain actions). But we have to admit that the effect of political communication is persuading others, and therefore, a neutral effect can be described as a zero effect. El-Sayed el-Aswad in the *Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics* shows the directions of political communication effect:

Good communication might lead to effective persuasion in which communicators try to convince other people to adopt a certain view or change their attitudes or behaviors regarding an issue by the transmission of a message through free choice. For example, electoral competition between more or less united or consolidated political parties is the main framework in which much political communication and persuasion take place. News is designed in order to persuade or tell narratives that are appealing and make sense to audiences, rather than in order to deliver the most comprehensive information possible (El-Sayed el-Aswad, 2014: 305).

McNair outlines the main approaches to the effects of political communication within media studies, and examines the evidential bases of effects research. As a political communication effect indicator, he considers the extent to which the purposeful communicative behaviour of political actors, such as political advertising and conference speeches, can influence the attitudes and behaviour of the intended audience. He points that effects of this type appear at the micro-level of the individual consumer of the message, or at the macro-level, when individual responses to political communication are aggregated together in the form of public opinion polls and other indices of the collective political will including elections (McNair, 2017: 32).

We propose to consider the question of political communication effect in a deeper way than researchers do within the framework of a purely instrumentalist approach. So, we claim that **the political communication effect is solely concerned with the acquisition of power**. At this point, we proceed from the definition that “power is the relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor(s) in ways that favor the empowered actor’s will, interests, and values” (Castells, 2009: 10). And although the following statement by Castells does not ‘discover America’, it is nevertheless very important for understanding the effect of political communication:

The most fundamental form of power lies in the ability to shape the human mind. The way we feel and think determines the way we act, both individually and collectively... The human mind interacts with its social and natural environment through communication. This process of communication operates according to the structure, culture, organization, and technology of communication in a given society. The communication process decisively mediates the way in which power relationships are constructed and challenged in every domain of social practice, including political practice (ibid: 3-4).

As we can see, these considerations of the Spanish pillar of modern communication theory completely overlap with our proposed concept of value communication, which is built on the foundation of Schramm’s model. Based on this statement, we prove that **political communication effect consists of information, discursive, and communication power**.

According to the functional paradigm’s position, the value of information is determined by its impact on human activity. Therefore, information as a value is an important resource of social management. Francis Bacon said it more artfully: “The better information one has, the more one will be able to control events” (Bacon, 2013 [1597]). Considering through the prism of a value approach to information, the category of power, which is key for political science, as an available possibility for distributing resources, we come to the most important conclusion for the theory of political communication about information power.

It is necessary to highlight that political information forms political consciousness as a set of knowledge, assessments, attitudes and feelings about the political sphere both at the individual and group, including mass, levels. Therefore, in a broad sense, political information determines political relations in society. “Who gets What, When, and How?” – these questions regarding information are determined by a set of interpersonal relationships in such aspects as power and influence. Karl Deutsch in his famous book *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control* hypothesized about “information elites, controlling means of mass communication and, accordingly, power institutions, the functioning of which is based on the use of information in their activities” (Deutsch, 1966: 67).

Information power is a form of personal or collective power that is based on controlling information needed by others in order to reach an important goal. Rulers have long relied on informational power as knowledge for influence, decision-making, and control. Information power was and remains an effective means of politics. As Castells points out, “the power is based on the control of communication and information, be it the macro-power of the state and media corporations or the micro-power of organizations of all sorts” (Castells, 2009: 3).

Information power has existed since the birth of politics, and we find evidence of this in Confucius, Plato, and Aristotle. But in the age of mass media, a new type of this power appears – it is discursive power. Andreas Jungherr, Oliver Posegga, and Jisun An define that discursive power is “the proven ability of contributors to the political communication space to introduce, amplify, and maintain topics, frames, and speakers that come to dominate attention in ongoing political discourse”. The authors of this concept note that competition influences political actors, media actors, and civic actors when they vie for attention and strive to control political communication through discursive power (Jungherr et al. 2019: 417). So, **discursive power is not only the possibility to control the information but the ability to victory the attention.** Discursive power comes from the public sphere. The model of its formation and functioning was developed on the basis of Habermas’s theory.

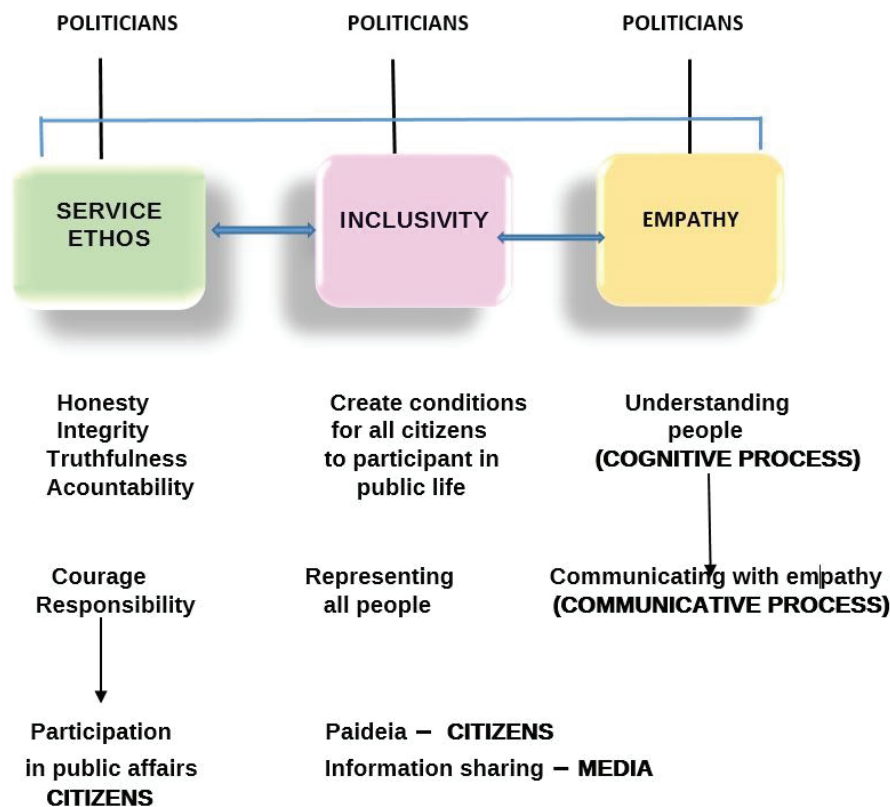


Figure 4.5. Veneti and Lilleker’s Three-Dimensional Normative Model for Political Communication (Veneti, and Lilleker, 2022)

It is important to note that the distinctive feature of the proposed model is its focus on the result of interaction, and not just on the transmission of messages. Thus, the formation of public opinion is the result of communication in the public sphere. The result of further communication in political parties is the formation of will. And the end result is decision-making.

In the Internet age classic information power transforms into communication power. Because in the network society, it is impossible both to control the access to information and to establish a strict framework for the agenda of public attention. Hence, our concept of communication power is based on the theory of Castells, but is somewhat different from it, because it is the result of the communication field study and the identification of such participants of network communication characteristic as valence, which was presented in the previous chapter.

As we know, dominance is the basis of any power. But in the network society, the dominance of political actors (leaders, groups) is ensured not by the power of coercion and control, but by the power of their communication field. An actor capable of aggregating and articulating the dominant values mentally inherent in a given ethos in such a way that they are perceived by the public not so much as intellectual arguments, but as a soul, becomes a valence node of the social multi-network. And since the network communication space is heterogeneous, the participants with the highest valence enjoy the greatest influence in it. In this way in the network society, its own type of power is born – communication power.

To understand the thin difference between information and communication power it is useful to rethink the Deutsch's statement "The political system is nothing but a communication network". Information communication is emphasized by him as being central to the governance process and is regarded as "the nerve of government". According to this viewpoint, the government is 'steering' rather than controlling a communication system with processes and mechanisms for the acquisition, collection and transmission, selection and storage of information, developed over a period of time (Deutsch, 1966). So, information power is a control of information, but communication power is a 'steering' of communication.

Based on the conclusions of the previous chapter, we formulate the following definition. **Communication power is the ability of one network node to influence other nodes through the edges of communication links. Communication power is caused by such factors as attractiveness, trust, and complicity.** It is determined not only by the number of connections in the network, but also by the positive activity of the communicating nodes and is formed by the well-coordinated functioning of three communication zones: a cohesive core, a developed semi-periphery, and a wide periphery. And if capital is the resource of economic power, social capital is the resource of social power, and rational knowledge is the resource of information power, then attractive valence is the resource of communication power. Cooperation and interaction as results of communication power refers to the high degree of connectivity, mutual observation, mutual adaptation, and imitative behavior. So, communication power is at the heart of the structure and dynamics of network society. **And communication power is a main effect of current political communication exactly.** But there we face the important teleological and axiological issues, which we have marked in Chapter 2.

*'For What Purpose?' – "A politician thinks of the next election.
A statesman, of the next generation"*

And therefore now we will turn to the next question from our formula: 'For What Purpose?'. The aforementioned Denton and Woodworth characterize political communication by defining the sender's efforts to influence the political environment, they indicate that the decisive factor that makes communication 'political' is not the source of the message, but its content and purpose (Denton, & Woodworth, 1998: 21). And McNair pay especially attention to the purposeful nature of political communication too

(McNair, 2017). As we saw in Chapter 2, the category of purpose defines the difference between neutral information, self-interested manipulation, and value communication exactly. It is here that we find the difference between the ‘dirty’ politics of the Machiavelli style, in which ‘the end justifies the means’, and politics as the highest form of human activity, in which, according to Kant, ‘man is always an end and never a means’.

But in order to see the stars, but not leave the ground, we must define that political communication has both long-term purpose and short-term goals, as well as specific tasks for their achievement.

In the long term, political communication can aim for changes in the economic, safety, ecological, health, cultural, and other conditions of society (to the fair order and public good as an ideal). In the short term, political communication has to maintain political actors’ influence on each other and on the public by means of messages sent, communicative reactions, and anticipated adaptations (to the election’s victory). Here we can recall an American minister, theologian and author James Freeman Clarke, who said; “A politician thinks of the next election. A statesman, of the next generation”. In addition, it should be noted that long-term purpose orientation is one of the criteria of strategic communications.

At the same time, as Lilleker argues:

At the most simplistic and obvious level, political communication is all about winning over other (Moloney, 2001). We know that electoral candidates want to win voters, but also dictators want to win the love of their people, cause groups and activists want to win attention; the public want a say, it is perhaps as simple as that. Hence, in realistic paradigm political communication is reduced to ‘winning over’. However, this can suggest a somewhat cynical view of politics and really means that all political communication is nothing more than propaganda (Lilleker, 2006: 10-11).

Even so, there is a range of contextual factors that alter the functions that political communication performs. And Lilleker indicates some of them: make the candidate appear in touch with the majority of voters; heal rifts between social groups or classes; show that groups will not be excluded; make the candidate appear to identify with the people. This means it cannot be purely cynically produced by propaganda, particularly as a 21st-century voter in the majority of liberal democracies is a sophisticated political animal and cannot be fooled easily (Lilleker, 2006: 11).

These figurative remarks are closely correlated with the functions of political communication, which derive from famous American political scientist Gabriel Almond’s theory of political systems (Almond, 1956). Having analysed his structural-functional concept we state that political communication is involved in such political system’s functions: (1) political socialization and involvement in political life; (2) articulation of interests, that is, the formation of requirements that correspond to real or imagined interests; (3) aggregation, that is, a combination of interests; (4) actually political communication, i.e. bringing articulated and aggregated demands from the people to the authorities and providing feedback. And according to the definition of communication teleological markers in Chapter 2, we should add one more point – (5) interaction. Interaction is a way to implement public requirements and support by political system. **So, the relevant purpose of political communication is to expand the circle of interaction and mobilization of supporters. Therefore, they perform three functions: (1) dissemination of information (ideas), (2) search for supporters, and (3) their mobilization and organization of interaction.**

Determining the role and significance of the functional requirements for the political system, Almond saw its main purpose to select a certain number of goals necessary for the vital activity of society from a limited number of alternatives, and then to translate them into concrete actions. And we have agreed that **the strategic purpose of political communication is ‘the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people’**, as Jeremy Bentham proclaimed (1996 [1780]). But can Hitler’s, Stalin’s, and Putin’s propaganda, which proclaimed nazi, communist or ‘russian world’ ideals as the common good and the goal of social development, be considered such a purposeful and consolidated political communication in this case?

‘Based on What Values?’ – ‘Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité’

Thus, we logically approached the final and most important question of our formula ‘Based on What Values?’. By this, we mean that values are the nourishing ground and guiding star of political communication at the same time. Values determine the nature of the relationship between political actors/authority and the public/masses, the direction and control of communication channels, the interaction between political and media systems, as well as the effect and purpose of political communication. As Castels states, “values shape citizen’s decisions more often than their interests do (Castels, 2013: 154).

The value that appears as a criterion for the classification of political communication is a human, his/her life, dignity, rights, and freedoms. Based on this postulate, born of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, and taking into account the general typology of political systems (Dobratz, 2015: 47), **we distinguish the following types of political communication: totalitarian, authoritarian and democratic.** We will study these types in detail when we will consider the model of interaction between political and media systems in the next section, and now we will describe them briefly.

For a totalitarian system, people are only cogs in the state mechanism. The state determines the content of political information, totally controls all channels of its distribution, information flows are directed exclusively from top to bottom, there is practically no feedback, the ideological propaganda effect is decisive, the purpose of propaganda is the mobilization of society to build a certain ideal imaginary state project (Soviet or China communism, Nazi Reich, ‘Great Russia’).

An authoritarian system is the quintessence of the realist approach realization. In this system, people are just a means to obtain, hold and use power for rulers’ interests. The authorities control information flows only in the context of suppressing the opposition. Authoritarian regimes have no ideology, so political propaganda as such is almost absent. Mass communication has an entertaining, mind-numbing nature. The effect of political manipulation is determined by the unanimous support of official leaders during formal elections. The purpose of information work is to make the people an apolitical submissive mass and to control them endlessly.

In an ideal democratic system, a person becomes a main value, a goal, and an active subject of politics. It is logical because the term ‘democracy’ comes from Greek and means ‘rule of the people’. And in Lincoln’s stirring words from the Gettysburg Address, democracy is “government of the people, by the people, for the people”. The authoritative theorist of democracy Robert Dahl notes that at a minimum, an ideal democracy would have the following features:

- (1) Effective participation. Before a policy is adopted or rejected, members of the *dēmos* have the opportunity to make their views about the policy known to other members.
- (2) Equality in voting. Members of the *dēmos* have the opportunity to vote for or against the policy, and all votes are counted as equal.
- (3) Informed electorate. Members of the *dēmos* have the opportunity, within a reasonable amount of time, to learn about the policy and about possible alternative policies and their likely consequences.
- (4) Citizen control of the agenda. The *dēmos*, and only the *dēmos*, decides what matters are placed on the decision-making agenda and how they are placed there. Thus, the democratic process is ‘open’ in the sense that the *dēmos* can change the policies of the association at any time.
- (5) Inclusion. Each and every member of the *dēmos* is entitled to participate in the association in the ways just described.
- (6) Fundamental rights. Each of the necessary features of ideal democracy prescribes a right that is itself a necessary feature of ideal democracy: thus every member of the *dēmos* has a right to communicate with others, a right to have his vote counted equally with the votes

of others, a right to gather information, a right to participate on an equal footing with other members, and a right, with other members, to exercise control of the agenda. Democracy, therefore, consists of more than just political processes; it is also necessarily a system of fundamental rights (Shapiro, Froomkin, & Dahl, 2023).

It is obvious that each of these features is the result of political communication. The postulates substantiated by the founders of democracy theory are a basis to formulate the key principles of democracy: (1) the principle of pluralism, (2) the principle of citizen participation in public affairs, and (3) the principle of political communication.

These principles are implemented by the distinctive properties of democratic political communication, which include: (1) political information is open to the people and critical to the authorities; (2) the public sphere is a platform for political communication and feedback is a condition for its effectiveness; (3) free media, which will provide it, serve as the watchdog of democracy; (4) the political communication effect is to give the official governance power through free elections to those who have communication power as more credible, attractive, and expressive of public aspirations participants of national or local social networks; (5) the main purpose of democratic political communication is to ensure human rights and freedoms; and (6) relying on fundamental ideas about the essence of democracy, we define three pillars that ensure the stable and effective functioning of a democratic political communication – the values of freedom, justice and public good. These fundamental democratic values have their source in the slogan of the Great French Revolution ‘*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*’.

But democracy is not monotonous. In democratic societies, such fundamental values as freedom, public good and justice are ranked differently. We argue a pattern according to which democratic principles – freedom, justice, and public good (*rēs pūblica*) – determine the formation of three basic types of democracy – liberal, deliberative and participatory (republican). These ideal types of democracy, which differ in their understanding of the essence of human and his/her relationship with society and the state, are described in the works of Jurgen Habermas (Habermas, 1992), Rainer-Olaf Schultze (Schultze, 2004), David Held (Held, 2006) and others. Within the framework of these types, corresponding kinds of democratic political communication are formed, which differ in their purposefulness. Among the main features of an ideal democracy, which can be distinguished on the basis of Dahl’s theory of democracy analysis, the protection of basic civil and political rights and the provision of equality in voting are most evident in the liberal kind of political communication; in the participatory kind, effective participation and involvement in the political process come to the fore; in the deliberative kind, the priorities are improving citizens’ awareness necessary for thorough public discourse and civic control over the agenda. A purpose orientation of these kinds, in turn, determines the functions that political actors, the public and the media have to perform, the concrete forms are constructed accordingly to these functions, and the political communication tools are being used.

But ideal models, as always, do not coincide with real practices. Back in 1995, Michael Gurevitch and Jay Blumler highlighted the emergence of a crisis of public communication in liberal democratic societies. Focusing on political communication Blumler highlighted a number of developments which he argued to be negative. He argued that political communication failed to meet the standards required of a democratic society and suggested the practices and tenors should be measured according to clear criteria: Does it serve citizens more than politicians and journalists? Does it offer meaningful choices between governing teams and agendas? Does it promote a broad sense of participation in government? Does it satisfy our symbolic commitment to the notion of democracy? (Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1995). In his most recent article, Blumler contends that this crisis still persists but with a clearer focus on what he calls a “crisis of communication for citizenship” (Blumler, 2018: 83).

Many political activists and scientist sound the alarm and announce that perhaps, however, the crisis is deeper. Anastasia Veneti and Darren Lilleker enphaze that it is not simply a crisis of political or indeed public communication but part of a wider crisis facing democratic institutions (Veneti, A., and Lilleker, 2022: 1). And in April 2020, Joe Biden in his article ‘*Why America Must Lead Again. Rescuing*

U.S. Foreign Policy After Trump states that democracies – paralyzed by hyperpartisanship, hobbled by corruption, weighed down by extreme inequality – are having a harder time delivering for their people. Biden indicates authoritarianism, nationalism, and illiberalism as the main obstacles (Biden, 2020). Experts cite many different examples of the manifestation of this crisis, but most of them agree that a crisis of trust lies at the heart of the general crisis of democracy and democratic political communication. Therefore, the crisis of democracy has not an instrumental, but a valuable character. With reference to such developments, various scholars call for the need to “re-embed an ethical code into politics” (Lilleker, 2021). This in particular needs to rethink and revisit current political communication practices, along a more citizen-centric approach (Blumler, 2018).

‘In What Circumstance?’ – Three Zones and Three Dimensions of Political Communication

As we can conclude after considering the processes of social networks’ genesis and functioning in Chapter 3, the external environment of the political communication act is a certain communication field. Accordingly, this field has three levels: (1) periphery (passive consumers), (2) subperiphery (active users – from sympathy/anti-pathy or likes/dislikes to comments), (3) core (closed groups of supporters). At the peripheral level, the effectiveness of political communication is measured by quantitative indicators. Therefore, it is important that as many people as possible receive political information from some political actors, which they transmit as truth. At the level of the subperiphery, qualitative – value – indicators are added to the case, because the circle of supporters is formed on the basis of common values. And their structure of political communication circumstance has the character of open networks. Exactly at this level social environment produces heated debates. And this is a very important stage in the organization of support for policy-makers. These discussions cannot change the beliefs of ardent opponents, but it is more important to identify supporters and increase their activity. Because discussions contribute to the fact that, as a result, groups of like-minded people are formed. They are value motivated, and so, exactly at this level the main goal of communication – interaction – is realized. These groups have the nature of closed networks. They isolate themselves and form so-called echo chambers, or bubbles. Inside these bubbles, unanimity of opinion prevails. Clustering of society leads to the fact that social environment becomes bubbly, that is, composed of echo-chamber’s bubbles. At the same time, as practice has shown, in time of aggressive external invasion, these bubbles did not merge into one ball, but stuck tightly together. That is, contradictions remained, but solidarity began to dominate. In this way, the effect indicated by the classics of the network society concept, Wellman and Castells, is manifested – glocalization. And we can see this effect on the example of the war in Ukraine. Support has a global character, but is implemented at the local level through closed groups.

External factors of the political communication act can be either friendly or opposite even hostile. So, external circumstance of political communication can also be used in the opposite direction – to disorganize interaction in the camp of the enemy/competitor. Then fakes (disinformation) are launched into a communication space. In addition, unlike the structures of traditional media, in the space of social media, each participant can produce his own information, which he believes or passes off as truth. In this way, a post-truth world is formed in the space of political communication. And this phenomenon is called ‘post-politics’ (Cooper, & Thomas, 2019).

Analysis of empirical research data shows that the perception of post-politics is a natural process due to the fact that in a situation of stress caused by information overload, people rely more on experiences associated with internal beliefs rather than on rational arguments. Under these conditions, personal moral values have become an influential power in the selection of sources, as well as in the interactive processes of reaction and production of information. By gaining a greater degree of freedom in the information space and becoming a subject of the communication process, the individual assumes a

greater degree of responsibility for making political decisions. Moral values become the basis of political communication and structuring of its communication field (Kostyrev, 2021). So, all three levels of political communication act's external environment have their own value dimension.

Veneti and Lilleker respond to such calls by suggesting a principal shift in political communication evaluation. They define that **there are three fundamental and interrelated valuable dimensions of political communication: service ethos, inclusivity, and empathy**. Let's explore this interesting value set.

'Ethos' is a word of Greek origin that means morality, showing the moral character/nature of a person, group or institution and was used by Aristotle in his Rhetoric. Modern scholars have approached the concept of ethos by focusing on civic society. This ethos becomes an important pre-requisite for the existence of a meaningful public space; with its decisive qualities being courage, responsibility, and shame (*aidos*, *aischune*). As Castoriadis puts it "Lacking these, the 'public space' becomes just an open space for advertising, mystification, and pornography" (Castoriadis, 1983: 104). The ethos requires that "political actions should be consistent with one's values and beliefs" (Veneti, and Lilleker, 2022: 6). Ethos is a spiritual filler of the communication field. The spirit of freedom is what distinguishes the communication field of democratic nations. For example, when a person crosses the border between Belarus and Lithuania, he/she does not see changes in nature outside the window, but immediately feels a unique atmosphere of freedom when he/she enters the communication field of a democratic European nation.

'Inclusivity' means involvement in public affairs. And it is a priority for participatory type of political communication. In a 2009 report, United Nations defined an inclusive society as a "society for all in which every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, has an active role to play" (United Nations, 2009: 7). In an inclusive society, regardless of their backgrounds (race, ethnicity, religion, gender, social status, (dis)abilities, or sexual orientation), all citizens are equally able and motivated to participate in civic, social, economic and political activities. At times of crisis, and in particular, when a crisis coincides with a period when a nation has become politically polarized, leaders need more than ever to develop an inclusive and uniting mode of communication (Veneti, and Lilleker, 2022: 6-7). And when members of the LGBT community hold their parades in democratic countries, they do it to demonstrate their inclusiveness, but not in order to shock the public. This is not accepted in countries where the rulers and the people are not permeated by inclusively, for example in Russia.

'Empathy' derives from a Greek word meaning 'to make suffer' and requires personally feeling and speaking to the emotions of another person. Empathy should not be conflated with sympathy, a feeling of compassion, but denotes understanding and sharing feelings within a particular context. Research suggests that effective leadership, trusted and transformational, is built through the communication of 'weness'. In other words, there is no separation between leader and follower, leaders represent everyone, act in the way anyone would and demonstrate how 'we' is reflected within word and deed (Van Dick, et al. 2018). In many ways this goes beyond communication and to the character of the leader, they cannot see themselves as exceptional or above the masses but of and as one with the people (Jetten, et al., 2021: 28). This aligns empathy with authenticity, but not as a device of communication but as a philosophy of performing the role of leader (Veneti, and Lilleker, 2022: 9). Empathy is thus a crucial component of the ethos of political leadership and at the heart of honest authenticity. Through empathy the leader demonstrates their emotional intelligence and pathos, a core component of persuasive but trustworthy communication which builds a relationship between the speaker and audience based on shared understanding and experience (Miao, Humphrey, & Qian, 2018). Empathic policymaking involves building an understanding of the contexts of each community within a nation into decision-making. Hence there are strong links between empathetic communication and policy making, a demonstrable ethos of honest and moral governance and inclusivity (Veneti, and Lilleker, 2022: 11). After the beginning of the full-scale Russian aggression, those Ukrainians who were forced to leave the Motherland immediately felt deep empathy in the communication fields of Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Estonia, and other democratic

countries. Streams of sincere empathy have flowed not only from the governments, which could be explained by political reasons but from ordinary strangers to a greater extent. And on the contrary, the citizens of Ukraine experienced great disappointment, because they felt a complete lack of empathy on the part of their acquaintances and even relatives in Russia.

Veneti and Lilleker conceptualise these three dimensions and build a normative model for their application while discussing the relevant shortcomings and current issues as they relate to contemporary political communication.

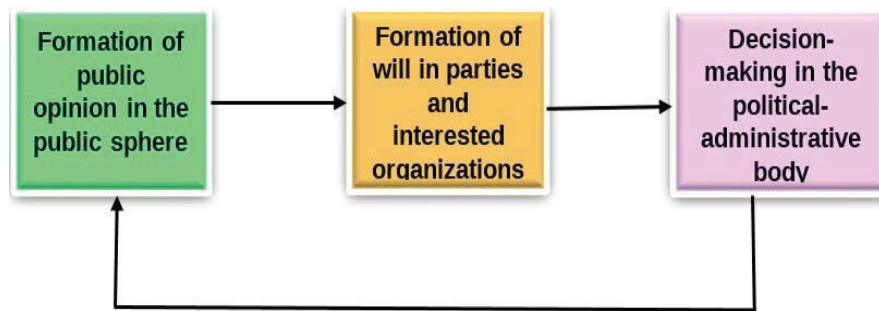


Figure 4.6. Habermas's Model of Political Communication (Habermas, 1990)

We have devoted so much attention to Veneti and Lilleker's concept of 3D Normative Model for Political Communication that it opens a new page in the development of a value approach to the analysis of political communication. Combined with the value analysis of political systems and democratic political communication, this concept provides a comprehensive answer to the most important question of our formula 'Based on What Values?'

Conclusions

There are two basic approaches to the interpretation of the essence of political communication – realistic and idealistic. The fundamental contradictions between them come from different understandings of the essence of politics, and if we look deeper, from different understandings of the essence of man. Realists proceed from the fact that man is selfish by nature, so politics for them is a sphere of brutal competition for resources, where conflicts are resolved by force. Strength rules and fear wins. Therefore, political communication is intimidation, manipulation and deception in order to gain, maintain and use power in one's own interests. Idealists, on the other hand, claim that a person is a social being, so politics is a sphere of cooperation and wise coordination of interests for the sake of the public good. Wisdom rules and love wins. From this, political communication is generally formulated as a cooperative interrelation between social actors, which is based on common reasonable humanistic values and is aimed at achieving the public good.

The specificity of political communication is revealed through the application of the communication evaluation formula, which consists of the questions described in Chapter 2, regarding the analysis of content, senders and receivers, channels, effect, purpose and fundamental values. Application of this formula results in the following signs of political communication:

- 1. The political communication content consists of political information.** Political information is interpreted in a narrow sense as information about the power and in a broad sense as politically significant information, or information for power. **This content is always emotionally charged.** The main emotions that determine the content of political communication are fear and hope. Exactly through them, political information affects political behavior.

2. Because, as was shown in previous chapters, communication is the circulation of information between senders and receivers, the question of the formula ‘Who Informs?’ and ‘To Whom?’ can be combined. So, since ancient times, **two subjects/objects have been involved in political communication – the rulers (authority) and the demos (Greek), or the public (Latin)**. The ruling bloc consists of institutionalized and non-institutionalized subjects. Institutionalized subjects of politics in republics are elected (president, government, parliament) and non-elected (parties, public organizations, business structures involved in politics and religious bodies, terrorist organizations). Monarchs are among the institutionalized subjects in monarchical states. Non-institutionalized ruling subjects are political leaders and elites. The ‘demos’ block consists of citizens. Its nature is determined depending on the civil position. It can be a passive mass – a consumer of demagoguery, or an active public that forms its own communication field – the public sphere. Political information circulates (direct and feedback) both between these two blocks and between each of their components and individual participants.

3. **Channels (means) of political communication can be direct or indirect.** The ruling block uses such direct channels as speeches at rallies, meetings with voters and the public, personal conversations (verbal), as well as posters and photos (non-verbal). The public uses such direct channels as questions, letters, complaints, petitions, rallies, protest actions, etc., as well as non-verbal figurative forms – caricatures, and memes. **Intermediary channels are divided into three categories: (1) personalized (opinion leaders, political experts and think tanks, and pressure groups); (2) traditional means of mass communication (press, film, radio, television) and (3) modern online platforms – social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Threads), and messengers (Telegram, Tik-Tok, Viber, WhatsApp), which form a global Internet multimedia network.** Since the improvement of printing technology and the universal spread of literacy, in first, newspapers, and following them, after the introduction of information transmission technologies using electromagnetic waves, – radio and, especially, television, have created a mass media system. Since then, **the media has become not only one of the channels but a third autonomous actor of political communication** alongside the rulers and the public. And after the active ingoing of Internet technologies into the process of communication, a new era of political communication has started. McLuhan’s thesis “The medium is the message” was fully realized in online networks. The relationship between the ruling block and the ‘demos’ has changed, because, thanks to interactivity and individualization, citizens have ceased to be a mass and have become an active but differentiated public.

4. The effect of political communication is determined by the category of power. This power rests not on violence or the threat of its use but on persuasion or manipulation. **Depending on the method of achievement, political communication effect can be defined as information power, discursive power, and communication power.** Information power is achieved by controlling information. Discursive power carried out by establishing ‘agenda items’. Communication power is based on valence as a combination of attractiveness, trust, and cooperation.

5. The purpose of political communication are divided into short-term and long-term goals. **The political communication short-term goal is to win the election or lead the crowd.** It can be achieved by manipulation. And this ‘dirty business’ is the lot of politicians. **The long-term goal of political communication is presented as a public good.** This goal is achieved through trust, conviction, and cooperation. And this is the highest art of wise statesmen. But public good as ‘the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people’ consists of the individual ‘happiness’ of each person. It is based on individual interests, which are ranked according to Maslow’s pyramid (this was demonstrated in Chapter 1). Therefore, **the political communication purpose can be achieved by the gradual fulfillment of tasks (1) political socialization and involvement in political life, (2) articulation of interests, (3) aggregation of different interests, (4) bringing articulated and aggregated demands from the people to the authorities and providing feedback, (5) interaction.** Political communication achieves the greatest effect thanks to a skillful and wise combination of personal and public interests.

6. Values are the foundation and guidepost of political communication at the same time. **A human, his/her life, dignity, rights and freedoms are valuable criteria for differentiating types of political communication. So, there are three main types of political communication: totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic.** For totalitarianism, a human is a cog in the state mechanism. For authoritarianism, a human is a means of gaining power and developing resources in the interests of those in power. For a democracy, a person is a source of power as a voter and its consumer as a taxpayer, so a citizen is always right. **Under the conditions of totalitarianism, political communication is replaced by ideological propaganda. Under authoritarianism, political communication turns into manipulation and distraction from politics with the help of the entertainment industry. Under the conditions of democracy, political communication is an active public discourse.** It is clear that these absolute types in real political practice form diverse cocktails.

In the democratic type, humanistic values are distributed according to the famous slogan of the Great French Revolution – ‘*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*’. The principle of freedom presupposes the dominance of individualism and sovereignty inherent in the liberal type of democracy. The principle of equality is aimed to achieve justice, which is a priority for a deliberative type of democracy. The principle of fraternity means solidarity and involvement in a common cause (*rēs pūblica*), which are signs of a participatory (republican) type of democracy. Within these ideal value types, political communication performs its own kinds with their priority functions, especial forms, and tools.

7. **The external environment of political communication is a social communication field.** This field consists of three zones – periphery, sub-periphery, and core. In each of these zones, some powers can either facilitate or hinder the purposes of political communication. However, the real effects of these forces are determined by the value dimensions of the participants in the process of political communication.

Deprived of value core and long-term target orientation, instrumentalism led to a crisis of political communication, which was primarily affected by the loss of trust in political actors and media. Innovative proposals for reviving the attractiveness and effectiveness of democratic political communication contain in Veneti and Lilleker’s ‘Three-dimensional normative model for political communication’, which include the dimensions of ethos, inclusively, and empathy. These dimensions are related in a unique way to the principles of individual freedom, equality, and fraternity. Obviously, in current postmodern reality, political communication became not instrumental, but a valuable category.

So, the purposefulness of political communication processes, their focus on dialogue and the achievement of mutual understanding, and the dominant humanistic values transmitted by communication channels in the value-structured communication field determine the nature of political communication.

Questions for self check:

1. What does ‘political’ mean?
2. What is political communication interpreted by realistic and idealistic approaches?
3. What is political communication content about?
4. What elements are composed ruler’s block of political communication participants?
5. What is the difference between a ‘mass of the people’ and a ‘public’?
6. What are the direct and indirect channels of political communication?
7. What is media in a political communication channel or actor?
8. What is the effect of political communication?
9. What is common and different between information, discursive, and communication power?
10. What are political communication’s short-term goals and long-term purposes?
11. What is a valuable criterion to differentiate political communication types?
12. What are the main kinds of political communication within the democratic system what values they are based on?

References:

- Almond, G. A. (1956). Comparative Political Systems. *Journal of Politics*, 18 (3): 391-409.
- Aristotle. (2012 [350 B.C.E]). Rhetoric. Transl. by Waterfield, R. Oxford: Acheron Press.
- Aristotle. (1999 [350 B.C.E]). *Politics*. Book 1. Transl. by Jowett, B. Batoche Books Kitchener. Retried from: <https://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.1.one.html>.
- Aristotle. (1962 [350 B.C.E]). *Nicomachean Ethics*. Transl. by Martin Oswald. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Bacon, F. (2013 [1625]). *Essays. The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral*, Of Francis Ld. Verulam Viscount St. Albans. Retrieved from: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/575/575-h/575-h.htm>.
- Bennett, W. L., and Pfetsch, B. (2018). Rethinking political communication in a time of disrupted public spheres. *Journal of Communication*, 68(2), 243–253.
- Bentham, J. (1996 [1780]). *Introduction to the principles of morals and legislation*. Burns, J. H., & Hart, H. L. A. (eds.) London: Oxford Clarendon press.
- Biden, J. R. (2020). Why America Must Lead Again. Rescuing U. S. Foreign Policy After Trump. *Foreign Affairs*, March/April.
- Bird, O. A. (2022). The *Critique of Practical Reason* of Immanuel Kant. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retried from: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Immanuel-Kant/The-Critique-of-Practical-Reason>.
- Blumer, H. (1953). The Mass, The Public, and Public Opinion. In B. Berelson and M. Janowitz (eds.) *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*. Glencoe: Free Press, P. 43-49.
- Blumler, J. G. (2016). The fourth age of political communication. *Politiques de Communication*, 6(1), 19–30.
- Blumler, J. G. (2017). The Shape of Political Communication. In K. Hall Jamieson and K. Kenski (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 47–58.
- Blumler, J. G., and Gurevitch, M. (1995). *The Crisis of Public Communication*. London: Routledge.
- Blumler, J. G. (2018). The Crisis of Public Communication, 1995-2017. *Javnost: The Public*, 25 (1-2): 83– 92.
- Braman, S. (1989). Defining information: An approach for policymakers. *Telecommunications Policy*, 13 (1): 233-242.
- Castells, M. (2013). *Communication Power*, 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press.
- Castells, M. (2010). *The Rise of the Network Society (The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture)*. Vol 1. 2nd Edition with a New Preface. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell Publ. DOI: 10.1002/9781444319514.
- Castels, M. (2008). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 616 (1): 78–93. DOI: 10.1177/000271620731187.
- Castoriadis, C. (1983). The Greek Polis and the Creation of Democracy. *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal*, 9 (2): 79-115.
- Colomer, J. M. (2011). *The Science of Politics. An Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Cooper, T., and Thomas J. (2019). *Nature or Nurture: A Crisis of Trust and Reason in the Digital Age*. London: Albany Associates.
- Davis, A. (2019). *Political communication. A new introduction for crisis times*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Denton, R., and Woodward, G. (1998). *Political Communication in America*, 3rd Edition. Praeger.
- Deutsch, K. (1966). *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control*. New York: Free Press.
- Dobratz, B. A. (2015). *Power, Politics, and Society: An Introduction to Political Sociology*. Taylor & Francis.
- El-Sayed el-Aswad. (2014). Communication. In Kerric Harvey (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics*, Three Volume Set. George Washington University, USA.
- Esser, F., and Pfetsch, B. (2020). Political Communication. In D. Caramani (Ed.) *Comparative Politics*. Fifth edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 336-358.
- Graber, D. A. (1981). Political Languages. In D. Nimmo, & K. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of Political Communication* (pp. 195-224). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Habermas, J. (1989) [1962]). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Transl. by Thomas Burger, Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. (1989), The Public Sphere, in Stephen E. Bronner; Douglas Kellner (eds.), *Critical theory and Society: A Reader*, New York: Routledge, pp. 136–142.
- Habermas, J. (1990). *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt/M, Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Habermas, J. (1992). Drei normative Modelle der Demokratie: Zum Begriff deliberativer Politik. In: Münkler, Herfried (Hg.) *Die Chancen der Freiheit. Grundprobleme der Demokratie*. München. (11–24).

- Habermas, J. (2006). Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research. *Communication Theory*, 16 (4): 411–426. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00280.x.
- Hauser, G. A. (1998). Vernacular Dialogue and the Rhetoricity of Public Opinion. *Communication Monographs*, 65 (3): 83–107.
- Goncalves, G. (2018). Political Communication. In Robert L. Heath, and Winni Johansen (Eds.) *The International Encyclopedia of Strategic Communication*, 3 Volume Set. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Held, D. (2006). *Models of democracy*. Stanford University Press.
- Huckfeldt, R. R., and Sprague, J. (1995). *Citizens, politics, and social communication: Information and influence in an election campaign*. Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511664113.
- Jamieson, K. H., and Kenski, K. (2017). Political Communication: Then, Now, and Beyond. In K. H. Jamieson and K. Kenski (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-12.
- Jetten, J., Reicher, S. D., Haslam, S. A., and Cruwys, T. (Eds.). (2020). *Together Apart: The Psychology of COVID-19*. London: Sage.
- Jungherr, A., Posegga, O., and An, J. (2019). Discursive Power in Contemporary Media Systems: A Comparative Framework. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 24(4): 404–425. DOI: 10.1177/1940161219841543.
- Kostyrev, A. G. (2021). Post-Politics in Post-Truth Networks. *Polis (Political Studies)*, 2: 64-75. DOI: 10.17976/jpps/2021.02.05. (in Russ.)
- Kreis, S. (2000) The Athenian Origins of Direct Democracy (Lecture 6), *Lectures on Ancient and Medieval European History*. Retrieved from: <http://www.historyguide.org/ancient/lecture6b.html>.
- Laswell, H. (1971). Policy Problems of Data Rich Society. *Information Technology in a Democracy*. Cambridge. pp. 187-197. DOI: 10.4159/harvard.9780674436978.c29.
- Lilleker D. G. (2006). *Key Concepts in Political Communication*, 1st edition. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Lilleker, D. G. (2021). *Communicating crisis: Political communication in the age of uncertainty*. Keynote Address for ECREA Political Communication Division Conference, Bucharest, 26 March 2021.
- Machiavelli, N. (2010). *The Prince: Second Edition*. University of Chicago Press.
- McLuhan, M. (2015). *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man*. Gingko Press.
- McNair, B. (2017). *An Introduction to Political Communication*. Routledge.
- Miao, C., Humphrey, R., & Qian, S. (2018). Emotional Intelligence and Authentic Leadership: A Meta-Analysis. *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, 39 (5): 679-690.
- Schultze, R.-O. (2004). Deliberative Demokratie. In Nohlen, D. & Schultze, R. O.(eds.) *Lexikon der Politikwissenschaft. Theorien, Methoden, Begriffe*. Vol. 1. München: Beck'sche Reihe.
- Schwartzberg R.-G. (1971). *Sociologie politique [Political Sociology]*. Vol. 1. Montchrestien.
- Shapiro, J., Froomkin, D., and Dahl, R. (2023). Democracy. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/democracy/Features-of-ideal-democracy>.
- United Nations. (2009). *Vision for an Inclusive Society*. Retrieved from: <https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/compilation-brochure.pdf>.
- Van Dick, R., Lemoine, J. E., Steffens, N. K., Kerschreiter, R., Akfirat, S. A., Avanzi, L., Dumont, K., Epitropaki, O., Fransen, K., Giessner, S., Gonzales, R., Kark, R., Lipponen, J., Markovits, Y., Monzani, L., Orosz, G., Pandey, D., Roland-Lévy, C., Schuh, S. C., Sekiguchi, T., Song, L. J., Stouten, J., Tatachari, S., Valdenegro, D., van Bunderen, L., Vörös, V., Wong, S. I., Zhang, X-A., & Haslam, S. A. (2018). Identity leadership going global: Validation of the Identity Leadership Inventory (ILI) across 20 countries. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 91: 697-728.
- van Dijk, J. (2012). Digital democracy: Vision and reality. In Snellen, I., M. Thaens, M., and van de Donk, W.(eds.) *Public administration in the information age: Revisited*. Eds. By. Amsterdam: IOS-Press, P. 49-61.
- Veneti, A., and Lilleker, D. G. (2022). Proposing a Three-Dimensional Normative Model for Political Communication. In D. Palau-Sampio, G. López García, & L. Iannelli (Ed.), *Contemporary Politics, Communication, and the Impact on Democracy* (pp. 1-18). IGI Global. DOI: 10.4018/978-1-7998-8057-8.ch001.

RESUME

Congratulations! Together, we passed the first stage on the path of studying the theories and practices of political communication. You have mastered the theoretical background of this core of politics and found answers to the questions you asked at the start. For confirmation, let's repeat the main positions once again and summarize all the material in one resume.

We started with the question What is information? According to the Biblical version, information is that gave rise to the Universe, and it is identified with God. In the first lines of the New Testament, the Gospel of John we read: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1). But as a cornerstone of the theoretical background of political communication, we adopted a 'down-to-earth' version. Information is a reflection of reality in the brain, which is manifested in the form of sensations, images, emotions, thoughts, ideas, beliefs at the unconscious, subconscious, conscious and superconscious levels and is perceived depending on the needs and interests of a person.

This definition gives grounds for the following conclusions:

- (1) Information has a binary nature: its reception, on the one hand, changes what we know - the object, but on the other hand, it simultaneously changes the one who knows - the subject.
- (2) Objective information does not exist in principle. It, like a quantum, always bears the imprint of both the one who prescribes it and the one who distributes it.
- (3) Information forms the basis of knowledge, but it cannot be purely rational. Information is always emotionally colored.
- (4) A person prescribes information according to his needs, interests and values (ethos). Their totality forms a corresponding circle, which not only determines the character of a person, but also constructs his communication links and generally forms the communication field.
- (5) The value of information is determined by the impact on human activity to satisfy one's own needs and interests (real or imagined, conscious or subconscious).

Information is the content of communication. But communication is not just the transfer of information and not even purely the exchange of information. Communication is a two-way process of information exchanging based on common interests and values and determined both by the content of the relationship between communicators, and by the social environment. Communication is established on the basis of the intersection of circles of interests and values – the so-called framework of correlation of communicators, that is, on the condition that there is at least a minimum of common needs. In the process of communication, the area of intersection of correlation frames must constantly increase. This leads to the growth of trust – a necessary condition for interaction. Interaction is the purpose of communication. We added the question *For What Purpose?* to the well-known Lasswell's five-component formula of information process. This criterion provides a possibility to distinguish communication from informing and manipulation. Informing has only the purpose of transmitting information from the transmitter to the receiver. Manipulation aspires to influence or control another, usually in a manner which facilitates one's personal aims. Unlike informing and manipulation, communication aims to establish trust and achieve social interaction.

But interaction is not the only criterion to evaluate communication. After all, interaction can be developed between criminals too. Therefore, to determine the meaning of communication, Lasswell's formula requires the addition of the seventh question – 'What Values is it Based on?'. The answer to this question reveals the axiological sense and meaning of communication. Proceeding from this principle question to characterise political communication, we are based on humanistic and democratic value criteria.

So, the formula to evaluate each communicative act concludes of seven questions:

1. **Who and Whom Informs?** – combined subject-object analysis.
2. **What and How do They Communicate About?** – content and emotional analysis.

3. **By What Channel?** – media analysis.
4. **For What Purpose?** – teleological analysis.
5. **Based on What Values?** – environmental analysis.
6. **In What Circumstance?** – environmental analysis.
7. **With What Effect?** – efficiency analysis.

The dyadic communication *Vis-à-Vis*, described by the classics – Claude Shannon, Warren Weaver, David Berlo, and Wilbur Schramm, is an elementary component from which more complex communication structures are built. These constructs are social networks.

A social network is a kind of network, the nodes of which are formed by social actors (individuals, micro- and macro-social groups), and the edges are produced by communication links between them. The purpose of using social network is to expand the circle of interaction and mobilization of supporters. At the first stage of social interaction, communication forms a network, and at the second stage, the network acts as a communication tool, structuring the communication space. Social media is a form of social networking that operates in the Internet space. Communications in social media perform three functions: (1) dissemination of information (ideas), (2) search for supporters, (3) their mobilization and organization of interaction. Accordingly, communication in social networks is carried out on three levels: (1) periphery (passive consumers), (2) subperiphery (active users: from likes/dislikes to comments), (3) core (closed groups). At the peripheral level, the effectiveness of social media is measured by quantitative indicators. At the level of the subperiphery, qualitative – value – indicators are added to the case, because the circle of supporters is formed on the basis of common values. And their structure has the character of open networks. Exactly at this level social media produces heated debates. These discussions cannot change the beliefs of their participants. Because discussions contribute to the fact that, as a result, groups of like-minded people are formed. These groups are value motivated. They have the nature of closed networks. They isolate themselves and form so-called echo chambers, or bubbles. Inside these bubbles, unanimity of opinion prevails. But exactly at this level the main goal of communication – interaction – is realized. Support may be a global, but is implemented at the local level through closed groups. In this way, the effect indicated by the classics of the network society concept, Barry Wellman and Manuel Castells, is manifested – glocalization. Therefore, the regularity of the functioning of social network consists in the combination of two tendencies – the pursuit of openness and the aspiration to closedness. The effectiveness of social media is determined by (1) the expansion of the periphery, (2) the activity of the subperiphery, and (3) the cohesion of the core. Likes and bells forge only the first task, and comments also the second. Therefore, they only matter to advertisers and PR, not to actual political activity.

Like any tool, social media can also be used in the opposite direction. Then fakes (disinformation) are launched through them. In addition, unlike the structures of traditional media, in the space of social media, each participant can produce his own information, which he believes or passes off as truth. In this way, a post-truth world is formed in the space of social media. Analysis of empirical research data shows that the perception of post-truth is a natural process due to the fact that in a situation of stress caused by information overload, people rely more on experiences associated with internal beliefs rather than on rational arguments. Under these conditions, personal moral values have become an influential force in the selection of sources, as well as in the interactive processes of reaction and production of information. By gaining a greater degree of freedom in the information space and becoming a subject of the communication process, the individual assumes a greater degree of responsibility for making political decisions. Moral values become the basis of political communication and structuring in social media space.

The universal transparency of communication links in social multi-networks, the complexity, multi-layeredness and volume of areas of intersection of the value frameworks of the correlation of a large number of communicators product the establishment of the communication field in society. A communication field is a set of intersection zones of the framework of correlation of social actors (communicators), which form the edges of a social network and ensure interaction between its nodes in

the social environment. The communication field's influence on the formation of the network contacts' space is determined by its following properties: strength and density, heterogeneity and nonlinearity, openness and ability to self-organisation, sensitivity and dynamism, cross-temporality.

At the same time, the configuration of the communication field and the functional characteristics of social network depend on the level of trust and the strength of communication ties between participants. The derivative of the number and strength of communication connections, which the author calls '*valuency*', determines the level of value attraction of a social network node. Actors with the highest *valuency* receive a resource of influence, which turns out as communication power.

Power is the goal and main tool of politics. Power is the treasured sword of King Arthur, which can be used both to achieve and protect the public good, and in the personal interests of its owner. Political communication is a means of obtaining and implementing political power, including control over it. Communication power is shared between governments and the public by the media. Accordingly, the nature of political communication is differentiated in the range from authoritarian manipulation to deliberative democracy. In the broadest sense, political communication is an interrelation between social actors, which is based on common values and is aimed at the public good achieving.

For the first time, we used the seven questions of the communication formula to define political communication. So, now we can already answer these questions:

(1) Informs What and How? – The political communication content consists of political information. And this content is necessarily emotionally charged.

(2, 3) Who informs? and To Whom? – Two subjects/objects have been involved in political communication – the government (rulers) and the public (citizens).

(4) In What Channel? – Channel of political communication are divided into three categories: (1) personalized (opinion leaders, political experts and think tanks, and pressure groups); (2) traditional means of mass communication (press, film, radio, television) and (3) modern online platforms – social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Threads), and messengers (Telegram, Tik-Tok, Viber, WhatsApp), which form a global Internet multimedia network. The media has become not only one of the channels but a third autonomous actor of political communication

(5) With What Effect? – Depending on the method of achievement, political communication effect can be defined as information power, discursive power, and communication power.

(6) For What Purpose? – The purpose of political communication are divided into short-term and long-term goals. The political communication short-term goal is to win the election or lead the crowd. The long-term goal of political communication is presented as a public good. This purpose can be achieved by the gradual fulfillment of tasks (a) political socialization and involvement in political life, (b) articulation of interests, (c) aggregation of different interests, (d) bringing articulated and aggregated demands from the people to the authorities and providing feedback, (e) interaction.

(7) What Values is it Based on? – A human, his/her life, dignity, rights and freedoms are valuable criteria for differentiating types of political communication. So, there are three main types of political communication: totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic. Under the conditions of totalitarianism, political communication is replaced by ideological propaganda. Under authoritarianism, political communication turns into manipulation and distraction from politics with the help of the entertainment industry. Under the conditions of democracy, political communication is an active public discourse. So, we can conclude that the purposefulness of political communication processes, their focus on dialogue and the achievement of mutual understanding, and the dominant humanistic values transmitted by communication channels determine the nature of political communication.

Emotions are the force that permeates all elements of political communication. They direct the perception of information, determine the strength of communication ties and the degree of trust between communicators, influence the formation of the structure of social networks, shape and color the content of political communication, dominating rationality.

The theoretical foundation of political communication is built from these cornerstones.



European Humanities
University