

# Political Consciousness Formation in the Modern Global World

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**Abstract:** The article examines an actual problem of international integration, associated with the peculiarities of political consciousness in modern global society. The research methodology is determined by the synthesis of analytical and comparative historical approaches. The authors consider such conditions of global society existence in which the objective social polarity of a society and the heterogeneity of political structures give rise to a wide range of needs and interests of groups and individuals. This feature forms the difference in the elements of their political consciousness. As a result, several forms of political consciousness can exist simultaneously in every society. Conceptual description motivational structure in sociopolitical systems requires the complex application of various bases for their classification. In conclusion, it is emphasized that real social systems are characterized by a complex synthesis of elements of various political consciousness types. The unity of diverse forms of political consciousness organization in a global society is based on an axiological meaningful consensus of socio-cultural relationships between people, between society and man, between state and man, conceptual represented in the symbols that motivate individual and group consciousness on trust in the authorities.

**Keywords:** Global society, political consciousness, motivational structure, international integration.

## INTRODUCTION

The process of formation and development of the global world is inevitably associated with the evolution of political consciousness, which is a synthesis of beliefs, ideas and axiological attitudes concerning the system of power relations of society in the past, present and possible future (Ors, 2015; Ives & Kendal, 2014). The structure of each particular society reveals different forms of awareness of political reality, which express socio-cultural identity of specific ethnic, religious and socio-class communities with their own values, the specifics of their psychological representation and ideas about the norms of political action (Dian, 2017; Fourcade *et al.*, 2016). Nevertheless, in the socio-historical process are presented universal types of organization of political consciousness, which in certain modifications are characteristic of any society (Aronoff, 2001).

The method of studying the forms of political consciousness organization, which based on sociological research of the value orientations of political process subjects in different countries, was widely spread in applied science (Smelser & Baltes,

2001). The generalizations of a large amount of empirical material allowed distinguishing different concepts of political consciousness formation. Each of them was formed in a certain intellectual atmosphere and specific social conditions. Nevertheless, the problem of correlating between political institutions and motivational structure, which determines individual's and mass cognitive and emotional background for perception of the political situation, is the main reason to search for and investigate the universal concept of political consciousness formation.

The main goal of this article is to analyze the specifics of the formation and functioning of political consciousness in the modern global world. The relevance of this study is due to the problems of social forecasting in the face of uncertainty of globalization vectors. In this regard, the authors turn to the problem of the political consciousness typology in social theory.

The specific tasks of this conceptual study are:

- Analysis of general conceptual approaches to the typology of political consciousness in modern global society;
- Identification of the motivational structure in various organization forms of political consciousness;

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- Investigation of the role of communicative practice in the public sphere, related to the influence on the people's perception and their behavior in the process of the political system legitimizing.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The scientific literature presents different approaches to the study of political consciousness. The supporters of psychological approach defines political consciousness as a socially organized system of psychological orientations aimed at ensuring the functioning and development of political objects and processes (Pile, 2019).

Proponents of complex approach relate political consciousness with all variety of phenomena which have any touch to perception and understanding of political (Smith, 2017). In the historical development of this view we can find three basic features in interpretation of political consciousness, namely:

- Denial of its own specific content, which differs from other social phenomena;
- Reduction of political consciousness to the political relations
- Identification of political consciousness with the political system of society.

The essence of a heuristic approach to understanding political consciousness can be understood in general from the definition, which we can see in results. Political consciousness is a hypothetical-inductive model, which was established in a society, reflecting the standards of perception of political phenomena that are normative and desirable for power structures (Huntington, 2003).

In terms of socio-psychological approach, political consciousness is the ideal behavioral model, which defines the frames of a political system functioning (Drob, 2016; Drury, 2015).

The objectivist approach investigates political consciousness as a set of the fixed in a society behavioral norm of political subjects (Felipe-Redondo, 2015).

In the axiological approach, political consciousness appears as a system of certain social values. But, the nature of the values presented in the content of political

culture is a controversial question among specialists (Beresneva, 2017; Matveevskaya & Pogodin, 2017). These researchers have developed two main positions in a topic of political consciousness. 1) Proponents of progressivism position are claiming that the content of political consciousness is only positive political values. 2) From the other hand, proponents of "binary position" believe that political consciousness includes both positive and negative values (Pikalov, 2004).

## METHODS

In this research, the authors used methods of philosophical and system analytics. The structural-functional method, in particular, was used for studying factors of the global, information and social environment, including political consciousness as a system, the elements of which have different functional certainty.

The comparative-historical method was used in order to reveal the most significant research approaches to an understanding of essence, structure, social functions and forms of political consciousness of society.

The logical-deductive method was applied for reconstructing forms of organization of political consciousness and the formation of a system of theoretical ideas about the functioning of the political consciousness of society.

In purpose to investigate and model motivational structure in communicative practices and to reveal orientations of mass consciousness in the political process the authors also used the phenomenological method of analysis.

## RESULTS

### The Comparative Analysis Results for the Classifications of Political Consciousness Organization Forms

It seems appropriate to supplement the traditional political consciousness classification by G. Almond and S. Verba adding the new forms described in the works of F. Heunks and F. Hikspoor, such as civil-participatory, client, protest, autonomous, supervisory (Almond & Verba, 1963; Heunks & Hikspoor, 1995).

The highest value in the presented by F. Heunks and F. Hikspoor forms of political consciousness is a methodological basis of differentiation of such forms.

As such, the authors identify: 1) the degree of interest of individuals and social communities to politics; 2) the trust level of political relations subjects to the actions of institutionalized forms of government; 3) assessment of the possibility and effectiveness of personal participation in political action. This assessment depends on the socio-demographic and status characteristics of political actors. The authors' conclusion about political consciousness as phenomena widespread predominantly in high-status categories of the population is significant in a methodological way.

Hence, the description of the forms of organization of political consciousness based on three additional empirically measured characteristics of political orientations:

- 1) On the subjective political interest, which is defined as an indicator of the attitude towards the system as a whole (pro-system or anti-system orientation);
- 2) Trust in the authorities, which can be considered as an indicator of the mass acceptance of the political system or as an indicator of protest against the system;
- 3) On the assessment of opportunities for personal participation in political life.

Autonomous and participative forms of political consciousness are widely represented in higher social groups, as well as among people with higher education, mostly men. While cliental, parochial and citizen forms of political consciousness are most common among representatives of low status groups.

### **Results of Structural and Functional Analysis of the Typology of Political Consciousness Forms**

In terms of structural-functional analysis subsystems of political consciousness may be directed on total (integral) social units of the political environment (on social communities, groups, collectives), or on its individual units (on human individuals). In the first case, we have a social-oriented political culture (for example oriented on one or another political party). In the second one, we have individual-oriented political culture (for example oriented on some politician figure).

The Marxist approach to the classification of organizational forms of political consciousness

emphasizes the objectivity of the system conditions of the living environment of a social group (Vyatr, 1979; Vickers, 2015). There are four types of political consciousness in this classification.

1. *Traditional political consciousness*. The main feature of this type of political consciousness is evaluating political power as sacral, granted by religious authority. The necessary attributes of this political consciousness form are 1) recognition of the immutability and inviolability of the current political system; 2) the inviolable power of political traditions of the exercise of power.
2. A characteristic feature of the *estate-democratic political consciousness* is the exclusion of the absolute majority of the population from participation in the political process and the granting of the right to such participation only to a privileged minority.
3. *Democratic political consciousness* is peculiar only to societies at the capitalist stage of social and historical development. The attribute of this culture is the involvement of all social strata of the population in the political process. It should be noted that the author's declared binding of democratic political culture only to capitalism is incorrect. The real history of political institutions shows that democratic states can exist without capitalism and originate from Antic history period.
4. Socialist political consciousness is realized on the democratic basis in the socialist states.

In the structural-functional approach, the classification of the organization forms of political consciousness is based on the principle of social regulation, which is fixed in the administrative authority system.

*Liberal-democratic form of political consciousness* is related to such attributes as law-based state and civil society; recognition of free individual like an independent unit of political action; dominating role of political pluralism, natural rights and protection of private property.

In the *authoritarian form of political consciousness*, mechanism of legitimating and exercising political decisions depends on the subjective preference of people which embodied some power relations.

The distinctive feature of the *totalitarian form of political consciousness organization* is striving for an extremely wide understanding and realization of political regulation in society (Gadzhiev, 2016).

A characteristic feature of the liberal-democratic model of political consciousness organization is the dominance of society over the state and its institutions. It is a model of a weak state and a strong civil society. In totalitarian and authoritarian systems, the state, on the contrary, dominates society. The opposite of these models of political consciousness organization is not absolute. In real life, the boundaries between them are quite conventional. Moreover, the strength of the state is largely determined by the strength of society and vice versa. It's impossible to have a strong state in a weak civil society and a strong civil society in a weak state.

A developed civil society requires the following political attributes:

- 1) A developed system of political democracy;
- 2) The legal nature of the state power, assuming the supremacy of the law over the activities of all branches of power;
- 3) A plurality of political representation of different social strata in the system of power, such plurality is possible predominantly through activities of political parties, which are designed to represent the interests of different social groups in the system of power.

The legal nature of state power requires mutual compliance by the government and the opposition with the legislative framework governing the political process. It is a "rules of the game" which defines the peaceful transition of power during the electoral process.

The special significance of such principles is to make irreversible the process of formulating and development of political consciousness and also these principles have a great influence on the political behavior of the masses.

The main basis the democratic tradition is not the fact that the political decision-making involved the entire population of the country (many people may not be ready to responsible and qualified range of policy options at diverse social issues), but that the society controls the activity of state power and can carry out

the replacement of constituent entities of power relations.

### **The Phenomenological Analysis Results for the Motivational Structure of Political Consciousness**

In the liberal-democratic model of power, the motivational structure of political consciousness is determined by the principle of freedom of expression, "agreement about the possibility to disagree" with the opinion and position of another member of society. This principle has a positive political potential to prevent the imposition of the positions of one part of society. Without free choice, there can be no democracy, no matter how it is called – "people", "liberal", "bourgeois", "socialist". However, any excess of measures in the implementation of this principle can have a negative impact on the current political situation. This can make a destructive influence on established political culture and prevent to find a political unity in society, provoking a division in the political positions of a significant part of society (Arnold, 2017).

Political influence on the motives of people's actions is often indirect. The formation of the political consciousness of the social group is complicated by the fact that the personal tastes, preferences, likes, and dislikes of people in their relationships with each other may not coincide with their ideological and party-political positions.

The totalitarian political system is characterized by complete subordination of all spheres of society to state regulation and control. In contrast with the totalitarian system, control in the authoritarian political system is exercised only over the political sphere, without affecting other social spheres. As an important feature of totalitarianism, many authors mention the desire to implement a complete "alteration" and the transformation of man in accordance with the prevailing social, philosophical and ideological attitudes. Such an artificial transformation of human subjectivity is possible only by through strict control over the human consciousness, over his inner world, thoughts, and aspirations (Ginges, 2019).

In the totalitarian political system, the scope of state violence with the support of the majority of the population is sharply actualized. Conformist political positions in public consciousness are widespread in such type of political organizations. Political activity is framed in strict accordance with a government position. Moreover, responsibility is ascribed on actors not only

for the implemented political actions but also for the value-ideological component of the unrealized actions.

This identified characteristics are ideal-typological, they cannot be considered as an accurate reflection of socio-political reality. So, even in fascist Germany, there were people capable to defend own identity, and in modern Western "democracies" we can find features of political totalitarian regimes.

## DISCUSSION

In term of the synthesis of phenomenological analysis of the motivational structure and environmental factors in the formation of political consciousness, we think that classification proposed by A. S. Panarin is quite perspective. He identified the economic-centrist, ethno-centrist and socio-centrist model in formation of political consciousness (Panarin, 2000).

### Motivational Structure of Political Consciousness in the Economic-Centrist Model

The economic-centrist model of political consciousness formation is based on the principles of liberalism and the right of free choice. But this form of organization also allows ignoring evidence of other types of social experience. This form is conceptual contradictory, as it constantly fluctuates between the humanistic version of the market "natural state" of society and its social-Darwinian version, which extends the ideas of the struggle for existence to social reality and proclaims the triumph of the most adapted members of the society.

The "morality of success" is the basis of motivational structure in economic-centrist model. Common interpretations of success can be grouped into two positions:

1. Mobilization concept of success is accompanied by intense activity, often associated with manifestations of dedication, in order to achieve socially significant goals. Despite obvious benefits which this conception has, we should also remember about possible problems, manifested in some social-historical circumstances. The moral of rentier in western culture and the lack of correlation between labor effort and proper social reward in Russia can be described as such problems.
2. A hedonistic concept of success defines success as the possibility of enjoying social benefits

without any socially useful, creative activity. Seems that a practical realization of this concept leads to the abandonment of all efforts and diligence, generates a consumer spirit and a parasitic "culture of benefits".

### Motivational Structure of Political Consciousness in the Ethno-Centrist Model

According to A.S. Panarin, the ethno-centrist model of political consciousness formation is characterized by the priority of ideology and practice of humanitarianism over scientism. The main point in this position is reanimation of a small community and revival of traditional, rooted in their socio-cultural specificity of social structures.

The motivational structure of such a political consciousness is based on ethnic identity and cultural memory, which serve a certain ethnic group as a tool for self-identification.

Today we can note that economic-centrist and ethno-centric models of the political consciousness formation are quite common in the global world and fraught with conflicts at the motivational structure level. This trend is increasing in the digital culture of modern global society (Byl'eva, 2016; Bykov *et al.*, 2018).

### Motivational Structure of Political Consciousness in the Socio-Centrist Model

The socio-centrist model of the organization of political consciousness is characterized by the principle of the close interrelation of economy, culture, and morality, which determine and complement each other within a single social whole.

The cognitive basis of the socio-centrist model of the organization of political consciousness is the consideration of society in its living organic unity. That unity can't be dissected on single independent objects because of their temporal functional roles. The motivational structure of political consciousness in this model is defined by semantic orientations on solidarity, participation, readiness for cooperation, compassion for socially unprotected persons, trust, and responsibility (Shipunova *et al.*, 2014).

In normative terms, the socio-centrist political culture is based on the revival and strengthening of the moral universals of humanity, the civic idea associated with the social initiative, with the grassroots political creativity. In the projective dimension, this means ennobling and humanizing the social environment.

## The Problem of the Criterion in the Typology of Political Consciousness Forms

Any form of political consciousness contains both rational (conscious) and irrational (unconscious) levels. In this regard, as a criterion for the classification of forms of political consciousness can be used the degree of their rationality, which is an important indicator in a methodological and general culture-logical way.

In modern scientific literature, the method of classification of forms of political consciousness according to the civilization criterion has become widespread. The cognitive potential of this research approach is determined by the possibility to correlate the axiological component of political consciousness with its ethno-national and socio-cultural authenticity. This approach gives us an opportunity to distinguish ethno-social forms of political consciousness: Indo-Buddhist, Confucian-Buddhist, Islamic, Western and Orthodox-Slavic types (Vasilenko, 2016; Andrews & Inglehart, 2005).

It should be noted that in the real socio-political process there is a process of inter-determination and interpenetration of various forms of political consciousness that do not exist in an isolated form.

An example of this is Japan, which, as an industrial power, has incorporated into its political consciousness many liberal democratic values and patterns of the political behavior of citizens, nevertheless, remains an Eastern country. The political consciousness of Russia is also characterized by a certain combination of traditions of Western and Eastern political cultures, in accordance with the peculiarities of political and social realities of a particular time period.

## CONCLUSION

We believe that the classification of forms of organization of political consciousness in social theory and practice should be based on the awareness degree of the true values, norms and standards of the population traditional for the countries studied. The use of this criterion in sociological research as a typological feature allows us to distinguish two vectors in political consciousness formation: polarization and consensus. The presence or absence of socio-cultural consensus has the function of differentiating the forms of political consciousness in society. The emergence of new global regions and the globalisation of local social problems make the consolidation of democracy and

human rights, the prevention of conflicts and the promotion of solidarity and peace through global cultural integration some of the main concerns of international social work

For polarized form of political consciousness characterizing aspects are: mismatch between fundamental values and the guiding principles of political action (rupture of horizontal subcultures) and further mismatch between the elites and the electorate (rupture of vertical subcultures). In the motivational structure preeminent orientations are the ultra-rights and the ultra-lefts orientations.

Conversely, consensus as an organizational form of political consciousness is based on reaching agreement on political and socio-cultural values and priorities shared by the majority of society. It is dominated by centrists and moderate political convictions, at the same time shared by most members of society. This allows us to conclude that the level of consistency of mental orientations in the motivational structure of the group is important characteristics of the political consciousness formation in a particular society.

Completed to date study allows us to speak about the complexity of the motivation of individual and mass actions within the framework of one political consciousness model in different countries and regions of the global world. Various forms of political consciousness can coexist in each society as dominant and common forms based on subculture and even counterculture. Motivated by a comparison of the cultural values the conflict is an inevitable condition of the political life in modern globalized world.

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