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ARCHETYPIC BASES OF MASS POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: PUBLIC AND MANAGEMENT ASPECTS

Abstract. The article reveals the archetypal principles of the mass political consciousness. The mass political consciousness is defined as the subjective reflection of the mass subject of political-administrative relations, public-administrative activity and all related phenomena. It has been established that this is a type of mass consciousness that is formed under the influence of both the events of

the political and the administrative environment. Public administration through the tools of government and local government influences the formation of the political consciousness of the population in terms of political memory, culture, thought and sentiments. The paper identifies the shaping elements of the mass political consciousness and analyzes the factors influencing its development. In particular, the following main components of the mass political consciousness at the formative level are analyzed: political knowledge of the society; political perception; political evaluation; political readiness. The formative processes of the archetypal foundations of the mass political consciousness occur in the spheres of information, administrative and psychological support of the public administration. The characteristics of the archetypal foundations of the mass political consciousness are characterized. The archetypal principles of the mass political consciousness are formed by its main elements: political conscious, which takes the form of political programs, theories of the political system, concepts of the political parties, directions of development of the society, etc.; the political unconscious, manifested in the needs, intuitions, desires of the masses; political subconscious. The paper describes the public-administrative aspect in terms of the possible influences on the formation of the mass political consciousness from the standpoint of the division of the formative processes into two phases: passive, that involves the formation of the political memory, political culture, and attuned to the internal mass needs and ideas; active, that involves the development of the evaluative ideas in the mass consciousness, their perception and the political readiness of the mass subject.

Keywords: archetype, mass political consciousness, public administration.

АРХЕТИПНІ ЗАСАДИ МАСОВОЇ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ СВІДОМОСТІ: ПУБЛІЧНО-УПРАВЛІНСЬКИЙ АСПЕКТ

Анотація. Розкрито архетипні засади масової політичної свідомості. Масову політичну свідомість визначено як суб'єктивне відображення масовим суб'єктом політико-управлінських відносин, публічно-управлінської діяльності та всіх пов'язаних із ними явищ. З'ясовано, що це один з видів масової свідомості, що формується під впливом як подій політичного, так і управлінського середовищ. Публічне управління через інструменти державного управління та місцевого самоврядування здійснює вплив на формування політичної свідомості населення у частині формування політичної пам'яті, культури, думки та настроїв. Виявлено формотворчі елементи масової політичної свідомості та проаналізовано фактори впливу на її розвиток. Зокрема проаналізовані основні складові масової політичної свідомості на формотворчому рівні: політичні знання суспільства; політичне сприйняття; політична оцінка; політична готовність. Формотворчі процеси архетипних засад масової політичної свідомості відбуваються у сферах інформаційного, адміністративного та психологічного забезпечення здійснення публічного управління. Схарактеризовано особливості архетипних засад масової політичної свідомості. Архетипні засади масової

політичної свідомості сформовані основними її елементами: політичне свідоме, що набуває форми політичних програм, теорій політичної системи, концепцій політичних партій, напрямів розвитку суспільства та ін.; політичне несвідоме, що виявляється у потребах, інтуїції, бажаннях мас; політичне підсвідоме. Розкрито публічно-управлінський аспект у частині здійснення можливих впливів на формування масової політичної свідомості з позиції поділу формотворчих процесів на дві фази: пасивну, яка передбачає формування політичної пам'яті, політичної культури та налаштована на внутрішньо масові потреби й уявлення; активну, яка передбачає розвиток оціночних уявлень у масовій свідомості, їх сприйняття та формування політичної готовності масового суб'єкта.

Ключові слова: архетип, масова політична свідомість, публічне управління.

АРХЕТИПНЫЕ ОСНОВЫ МАССОВОГО ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО СОЗНАНИЯ: ПУБЛИЧНО-УПРАВЛЕНЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ

Аннотация. Раскрыты архетипные основы массового политического сознания. Массовое политическое сознание определено как субъективное отражение массовым субъектом политико-управленческих отношений, публично-управленческой деятельности и всех связанных с ними явлений. Определено, что это один из видов массового сознания, который формируется под влиянием как событий политического, так и управленческого характера. Публичное управление с помощью инструментов государственного управления и местного самоуправления оказывает влияние на формирование политического сознания в сфере формирования политической памяти, культуры, мысли и намерений. Выявлены формирующие элементы массового политического сознания и осуществлен анализ факторов влияния на их развитие. В частности, проанализированы следующие основные составляющие массового политического сознания на формирующем уровне: политические знания общества; политическое восприятие; политическая оценка; политическая готовность. Формирующие процессы архетипных основ массового политического сознания происходят в сферах информационного, административного и психологического обеспечения осуществления публичного управления. Охарактеризованы особенности архетипных принципов массового политического сознания. Архетипные основы массового политического сознания сформированы основными его элементами: политическое сознательное, которое принимает форму политических программ, теорий политической системы, концепций политических партий, направлений развития общества и др.; политическое бессознательное, которое проявляется в потребностях, интуиции, желаниях масс; политическое подсознательное. Раскрыт публично-управленческий аспект в части возможных воздействий на формирование массового политического сознания с позиции разделения формирующих процессов на две фазы: пассивную, которая предусматривает формирование политической памяти, политиче-

ской культуры и настроена на внутренне массовые потребности и представления; активную, которая предусматривает развитие оценочных представлений в массовом сознании, их восприятие и формирование политической готовности массового субъекта.

Ключевые слова: архетип, массовое политическое сознание, публичное управления.

Formulation of the problem. The general scientific problem remains the theoretical and methodological bases for studying the influences on the mass political consciousness, their systematization, the definition of the public-administrative relations as formative in the systems of influence. They need to study the practice of the formative influences on the mass political consciousness in the public administration, in particular through the tools of the public administration and local self-government. The archetypal foundations of the mass political consciousness are formed in a dynamic relationship with the administrative influences, including state, public, political, public-administrative. Therefore, the identification of such influences, the study of their nature, peculiarities will allow to form such a paradigm of the public administration, which would basically be optimized to take into account the public demand for administrative influence, in particular in matters of forming the public opinion, position, and political sentiments.

Analysis of the recent publications on the issue and identification of the previously unresolved parts of the common problem. The main public-administrative aspects in the interaction between the government

and the society in most administration concepts are related to such factors as: the effectiveness of government-administrative structures in managing the social development (D. Easton, R. Merton, concepts of behaviorist direction and schools of conflictology in the political science), availability of the support for certain political processes by the citizens, their perceptions and evaluation of the activities of the political institutions and their political decisions (G. Almond, K. Levenstein, K. Deutsch). In the scientific community it is believed that those layers of the psyche — the mass, the group, the individual, involved in the implementation of the political processes can be described as political psychic, or political consciousness or political psyche, or socio-political psyche. Identifying and studying the features of certain components of the political psyche enhances the interaction of elements of the public administration and society. The psyche layers of the mass political consciousness that emerge in the development of the political processes in the society are perceived and evaluated by the society, are the subject of research of the political psychology for the most part. The authorities and other institutions are capable of changing the human psyche, forming politi-

cal values, influencing interaction with other people, etc. The people who exercise power and subordinate to the authorities display the psyche qualities, properties only of the politics area [1, p. 28]. The relations between the public administration and the society require a systematic approach, taking into account many factors of the development of the administration paradigm, which is partially revealed by the modern scholars [2; 3; 4]. For the most part, the researchers identify specific objects in the sphere of the public administration and public relations in terms of shaping the public opinion, political sentiment, political culture, which are included as components in the concept of the mass political consciousness [5; 6].

Thus, questions of identification and study of the archetypal foundations and shaping the processes of the mass political consciousness, administrative influences on its properties, development, substantive load remain relevant questions for the scientists and practitioners in the political-power, public-administrative, social-psyche spheres of the coexistence of the power and the society.

The purpose of the article. To analyze the notion of the mass political consciousness in order to identify the main shaping components of it and possible influences of the public administration on the archetypal principles of the mass political consciousness. To do this, the article sets the following tasks:

- to identify the shaping elements of the mass political consciousness and factors influencing its development;
- to characterize the peculiarities of the archetypal foundations of the mass political consciousness;

- to reveal the public-administrative aspect in terms of the possible influences on the formation of the mass political consciousness.

Outline of the main research material. The problem of the administration of the mass political consciousness is aimed at creating favourable conditions for avoiding confrontational sentiments in the society, political conflicts, for reconciling the political interests of the participants of the political activity in the society, for ensuring the stability of the political system.

The main elements that influence the formation of the mass political consciousness and are subject to influences, including administrative, are the following:

- political conscious, which takes the form of political programs, theories of the political system, concepts of the political parties, directions of development of the society, etc. ;
- political unconscious, manifested in the needs, intuitions, desires of the masses;
- political subconscious.

Political consciousness — in science it is accepted to treat the “political consciousness” as its main component. This is actually a set of conscious forms of reflection of the political life of the society within the mass consciousness. *Political unconscious* — treating the unconscious as a component of the consciousness provokes debate among the researchers. It is believed that including the conscious and the unconscious in one concept, one should use a different name for it — the mass psyche, for example. Alongside this notion there are similar concepts in psychology, such as “social psyche”, “mass psychic”. In the context

of this study, the concept of “mass political consciousness” is considered to be a collection of all the conscious, unconscious and subconscious elements. The role of the unconscious in the mass consciousness was drawn by C.G. Jung [7, p. 22]. The political experience of the mass subject, he interpreted his political ideas as a set of archetypes – an unconscious reflection of the reality in the form of codes, images, symbols. In his research the scientist focused primarily on the collective unconscious, ancient images, symbols that retain collective ideas, desires. He considers the archetypal symbols basic in the formation of mythology, religion, dreams, art and literature. In order to create a popular idea, a theory, a program one should pay attention to its archetypal basis, the use of which immediately increases the level of perception of the mass subject. *The political subconscious* is often considered an integral part of the unconscious. The mass subconscious, according to Jung, possesses the psychic energy often used by the charismatic individuals. The mass subject is not able to influence his subconscious, because only strong individuals can consciously perceive their subconscious and subjugate it. The political mass subconscious is shaped by the subject’s political memory, political experience, and political stereotypes. Considering this influence, allows to trace the dynamics of the subconscious activity.

An important issue for research today is the problem of the correlation of the conscious, unconscious and subconscious components in the public-administrative aspect. Having formed a certain relationship, you can study the administrative influences on these elements. In order to understand the public-administrative aspect of the formation of the mass political consciousness as a psychological and political phenomenon, it is necessary to distinguish a specific subject. In the administration system such a mass subject is the object of influence and administration processes of the administration subsystem (public-administrative, party, public). The mass political consciousness is an integral part of the public consciousness and is connected with other types of consciousness. To delineate the place of the mass consciousness, it is necessary to form the division of the subjects (carriers) of consciousness at the following levels (Fig. 1):

The main characteristics of the mass subject as a carrier of the mass political consciousness in the context of this study (in terms of influencing the mass political consciousness) can be considered:

- constant participation of the mass subject in the political life of the society; “the mass exists until the goal is reached” [8, p. 331];
- perception of the political reality through certain “filters”: political

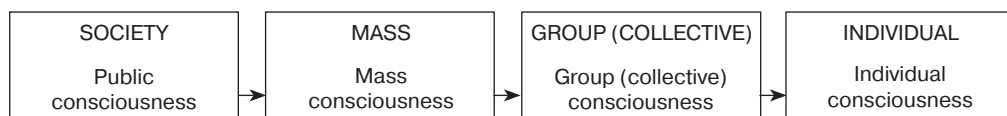


Figure 1. Schematic representation of the subjects of consciousness in the social structure

culture, stereotypes (traditions, political values, norms of the political behaviour, norms of perception, etc.);

- existence of a common mass political opinion;
- tendency to form mass movements;
- conservatism about changing the elements of the political culture, political stereotypes;
- tendency to transform the contemporary political values and ideas;
- equality of the participants.

Researchers mainly consider large groups of people, the major part of the population, certain social groups, and the society at large as subjects of the mass consciousness. According to the author, the set of typical and atypical social entities is the subject of the mass political consciousness, since it is difficult to distinguish a group from the mass. As a rule, grouping of the citizens is carried out by certain criteria (the same political beliefs, similar solutions to certain problems, etc.). Sociological surveys and statistics are the main sources for such research. However, it should be borne in mind that most of the real data on the political beliefs in the society, sentiments, political readiness of the population for certain actions can not be obtained only through the study of questionnaires, polls, etc. Consideration should also be given to the conventions of division into groups and the existence of atypical groups. The social classes are considered to be one of the essential carriers of the political consciousness, and their social characteristics shape and influence the consciousness of the certain groups in the society.

The formation of the mass political consciousness is influenced by many

factors (their presence and weight depend on the type of the structure, purpose of the isolation of such factors, specific situations, state of the political situation, needs of the participants of the political processes, etc.). The main factors that influence the formation of the mass political consciousness are the following:

- state of the political experience and memory of the society;
- public institutions (public, party, state institutions, etc.);
- media activities;
- interpersonal communication that promotes awareness at the group level;
- external environment (national and cultural characteristics, level of the economic, social, political and other development, specific political and social situations, etc.);
- level of politicization of the society (the level of inclusion of the individuals in the political majority of the society, the state of awareness in the society of the political reality);
- state of the political culture as a carrier of the political norms, standards, stereotypes that affect the mass political consciousness, at all levels (conscious, unconscious, subconscious, etc.);
- balance of the political interests of the mass subject and the real possibilities of their satisfaction. Here the following factors interact: objective (real reality) and subjective (political perceptions of the citizens and political evaluations of the reality);
- political orientations and ideology, the line of the political behaviour of the leaders of the region.

Important components of the mass political consciousness are political

settings in a society characterized by a willingness to engage in active political activity (or vice versa – inaction). The process of formation of such attitudes and the factors influencing them go through several stages in the mass political consciousness. Therefore, the main components of the mass political consciousness at the formative level can be considered:

- 1) political knowledge of the society (cognitive element of the mass political consciousness);
- 2) political perception;
- 3) political evaluation (rethinking, juxtaposition with individual, collective, mass political experience, stereotypes, etc.);
- 4) political readiness (tendency to form political thought, perception of the political setting, readiness for certain political behaviour).

The formation of the mass political consciousness occurs in two phases: passive (which implies the formation of the political memory, political culture and is tuned to the internal mass needs and ideas) and active (which involves the formation of the evaluative representations in the mass consciousness,

their perception and political readiness of the mass subject) (Fig. 2).

Let us consider the main stages of the formation of the mass political consciousness. Political knowledge, therefore, is the stage at which the political memory and political experience are the main shaping elements. Based on political experience and memory of historical origin, and taking into account the reflection of the contemporary political phenomena in the mass consciousness, the process of forming elements of the political culture is underway. Political values, political attitudes, perceptions, norms of the political behaviour, traditions and other political institutions should be considered as elements of the political culture. The political values occupy the most important place in this list, since their incorporation allows for effective change of the mass political consciousness in general. A clear definition of the elements will clearly define the boundary of the political culture. After all, there are cases when different socio-cultural, economic and other components of the culture were attributed to political culture. The formation of the subject elements of the political

	Passive phase		Active phase	
Stages of formation of the mass political consciousness:	Political knowledge	Political perception	Political evaluation	Political readiness
Main components of the mass political consciousness:	Political memory Political experience	Political culture Political ideas	Political stereotypes Mass political sentiments	Mass political opinion Mass political movements Political setting
Dominant components	Rational component	Emotional (irrational) component	Rational component	Emotional (irrational) component

Figure 2. Components of the formation of the mass political consciousness.

culture is the interaction between the mass subject and the political system, or individual elements of it. Thus, political culture is characterized by evolutionary development, although it is a long enough process, because it is associated with the changes in the ancient stereotypes of the political consciousness and behaviour. It can be interpreted as the code political system of the society, because political norms, values, attitudes, norms of the behaviour, symbols, that is, a set of objective and ideal forms accumulate, store and transmit the political experience, form the political memory. These are kind of results of the human activity related to the functioning of public-administrative influences.

In the context of this study, the political culture emerges as one of the important basic components of the mass political consciousness that forms certain stereotypes of the political behaviour based on historical experience and contemporary political change. The political perception is closely linked to the political culture. The study of the theoretical aspects of the administration of the mass consciousness implies a mandatory consideration of the cultural factors. The sciences such as psychology, sociology, social and political psychology, anthropology, which cannot consider the activities of the people outside the cultural context, have a significant influence on the research.

Political stereotypes and mass political sentiment have a major formative influence in the political evaluation. The political stereotypes can be interpreted as integral components of the mass political consciousness. The

political stereotypes are a set of political ideas that are formed in the mass political consciousness on the basis of political experience and memory, political expectations. Their main characteristics are resistance to change, simplification of the political reality, conservatism and others. A feature of the political stereotypes is the simplification of the process of perception and appreciation of the political reality in the consciousness. The political stereotypes are formed at the level of the masses and large groups, influencing the collective and individual mass political consciousness. Often manipulators use them as an effective target for manipulative technologies, evaluating them as filters through which the process of perception passes. The use of repetition of the words and images creates a stereotypical view that lies in the subconscious. Changing the political stereotype is a complex, multi-level process. The formation of the technological developments should be carried out at such levels as: by the object of change – mass, group, collective; by the functional content – economic, political, social; by the technological content – information, psychological, biological, etc.; by the field of activity of the distributors – political, social, military, economic, media, etc.

The administrative influence on the process of the political stereotype formation is exercised on:

- 1) forming intergroup interaction as a prerequisite for the emergence of a political stereotype;
- 2) increasing differences between the elemental formations in mass;
- 3) citizens' desire to reduce the differences in a particular group, mass;

4) producing political installations through a variety of media;

5) formation on the basis of political stereotypes of the political advertising, programs of political parties, strategies of development of the social, political, economic spheres of the state, etc.;

6) limitation of the number of the political stereotypes, the use of which provides high efficiency in shaping the political attitudes in the mass consciousness.

The effectiveness of the stereotypes of thinking is clearly manifested in voting, when most voters are driven not so much by their interests or other rational motives, but by the typical stereotypes of the mass consciousness that dominate at this stage. Each particular group has its own specific set of stereotypes.

For the most part, the public authorities disregard the mass political sentiments, which are treated as special mental states in the society, which is a transition from emotional states to forming a clear position (mass political thought). The authorities, political parties, various public organizations often resort to attempts to change the political sentiment in the society, using information measures, various kinds of manipulation, spreading myths, etc. The purpose of such activity is to manage the mass political sentiment with the subsequent change of the political attitudes, consciousness, and, as a consequence, the management of the mass political behaviour.

Researchers' attention is largely driven by the study of the political readiness, which synthesizes the previous stages (knowledge, perception, evaluation) and is more measured. The

main basic components of the political readiness should be considered — political thought, political movement and political settings that reflect the population's inclination to certain political behaviour. This is the final active stage in the cycle of formation of the mass political consciousness. The limiting factors in the formation of the mass political opinion are: certain social and political conditions in the society, accessibility and reliability of the information. The factors that directly or indirectly influence the process of the mass political opinion formation in the context of the activity of the public authorities are:

- political experience and knowledge of the mass subject;
- availability and completeness of the official information;
- available information and psychological environment;
- state of the political culture in the society;
- level of development of the democratic institutions;
- level of the economic development;
- development of the social infrastructure.

The methods of influencing the mass political consciousness depend on the competence and forms of the activity of both the public institutions and the public officials [10]. As the competence of a state body is a normatively fixed set of its powers (rights and duties) and legal responsibility, the basis of forming the boundaries of the system of influence is the power of all the branches of the power [11; 12]. The author's approach to the content of the powers of specific public authorities

and the competent relations with other bodies is disclosed. The division of the powers plays an important role in the formation and development of the theory of competence of the public authorities, which forms the competence boundaries of the activities, including the exercise of the administrative influence.

Necessary element of the operational administration should be the analysis of the state of the mass political thought through known basic methods such as observation, anonymous questioning, sociological research, etc. The main problem that has not yet been resolved in this process is the isolation of the objective referent. Because often the opinion of the certain groups, formations is translated into the opinion of the whole society. Other problems that are often encountered in the context of the popular political opinion are:

- imitation (the individual chooses this type of evaluation, behaviour that is consistent with the behaviour of others);
- absence of a majority of the respondents with a specific opinion on a particular issue;
- formulation of the questions and questionnaires, which often subconsciously implies certain answers (inclines the respondents to a certain choice);
- element of the ordering questions of the mass political thought study by certain political or social institutions (political parties, scientific institutions, think tanks, social centers, etc.);
- lack of reliable information on this issue.

In the field of the public administration it is important to bear in mind that

the process of forming the elements of the mass political consciousness does not always take into account the scientific recommendations or conclusions of the scientific research. As a rule, only superficial theoretical generalizations are used, which excludes the systematic consideration of many depth processes. The division of the process of formation into phases (active and passive), the separation of its four main stages conceptually determines the place and role of each component of the mass political consciousness in only the general administrative process. It is also necessary to take into account the formative influences of certain subjects of the public administration on the mass political consciousness, the level of expediency and needs of the administrative influences, the properties of the individual elements, the effectiveness of implementation.

Conclusions and prospects for further research.

1. The processes of the political perception, political evaluation, ideas and expectations of the society are reflected in the political consciousness of the citizens, individual political groups, and society as a whole. The mass political consciousness is defined as the subjective reflection by the mass subject of the political relations, the sphere of the political system and all related phenomena. It is one of many types of the mass consciousness that is shaped by the events of both the political and the administrative environments. The public administration through the tools of government and local government influences the formation of the political consciousness of the population in terms of political memory,

culture, thought and sentiments. The formative processes take place in the areas of information, administrative and psychological support for the public administration.

2. The archetypal principles of the mass political consciousness are formed by its main elements: political conscious, that takes the form of political programs, theories of the political system, concepts of the political parties, directions of development of the society, etc.; political unconscious, manifested in the needs, intuitions, desires of the masses; political subconscious. The peculiarities of the archetypal foundations are revealed in the main components of the mass political consciousness and they are characterized by: political knowledge of the society; political perception; political evaluation; political readiness.

3. The public-administrative aspect is revealed in the part of realization of the possible influences on the formation of the mass political consciousness from the point of view of division of the forming processes into two phases: passive (which implies the formation of the political memory, political culture and attuned to the internal mass needs and ideas) and active (which provides the formation of valuations in the mass consciousness, their perception and formation of the political readiness of the mass subject). This revealed the factors that directly or indirectly influence the process of the formation of the mass political consciousness. The public-administrative aspect in the formation of the mass political consciousness is disclosed in the part of identifying the problems of determining the subject of the formation; identification of

the influences on the main constituents of the mass political consciousness; regulation of the life processes of the group communities; formation of the political culture, political thought and other components of the mass political consciousness.

The prospects for further research are in the plane of the relationship between the public authority and the society, the implementation of the public administration in the context of influencing the mass political consciousness and its constituents, the formation of competencies of the public authorities and public officials in the context of exercising possible influences on the mass political consciousness.

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