Popovych Yana Maksymivna
Marakin Vitalii Igorovych

Factors for increasing the efficiency of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space (expert survey results)

Popovych Yana Maksymivna
Candidate of Philosophical Sciences,
Associate Professor,
Associate Professor at the Department
of Political Science and General Legal
Disciplines
National University "Zaporizhzhia
Polytechnic"
Universytetska str., 64, Zaporizhzhia,
Ukraine
ORCID: 0000-0001-7509-0459

Marakin Vitalii Igorovych
Postgraduate Student at the Department
of Political Science and General Legal
Disciplines
National University "Zaporizhzhia
Polytechnic"
Universytetska str., 64, Zaporizhzhia,
Ukraine
ORCID: 0009-0002-3496-5364

The article highlights the leading factors for increasing the efficiency of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space.

The methodological basis of the dissertation is general scientific methods of cognition of social phenomena and processes and sociological methods of obtaining empirical data.

The purpose of the study is to identify the leading factors in increasing the effectiveness of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space.

Political communication is defined as a communicative process of exchanging political information and broadcasting political discourse among political entities, government bodies, and civil society aimed at achieving consensus in making political and managerial decisions, legitimizing power and maintaining the stability of the democratic political system through the media and social media. Based on the expert survey results, the leading factors for forming an effective model of political communication are: 1) forming a new political space with the involvement of civil society; 2) forming well-functioning communication in the interaction between the state and society in the political sphere; 3) regulatory and legislative support for the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space; 4) factors related to the modernization and reform of the public administration and management system. It has been revealed that among different professional groups of experts there are differences in their views on the factors that contribute to increasing the effectiveness of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space: for scientists, the formation of a model of deliberative democracy and good governance; for representatives of the public sector, the factors that normalize and create conditions for well-established interaction between the state and civil society; for representatives of political parties, reforms in the sphere of public administration and the political system of Ukraine; for representatives of the mass media, the improvement, standardization and regulation of the national information space.

Key words: *political communication, socio-political space, deliberative democracy, good governance, civil society, electronic democracy, information space.*

Introduction. Political communication is an integral part of political governance, regardless of the type of political system, but differs in the level of feedback and the smoothness of the consensus dialogue between government agencies and society, as well as the openness of the exchange of information between the political and social subsystems. Thus, in totalitarian and authoritarian societies, political communication occurs predominantly vertically – from the authorities to citizens and is one-sided in nature through the power monopoly on political discourse on the development of the country, the adoption of political and managerial decisions and channels for transmitting information. It should be added that the higher the information monopoly of the authorities, the more political communication turns into a propaganda tool (according to G. Lasswell, propaganda is presented as manipulation – the expression of thought or action, consciously directed by an individual or group with the aim of influencing the thought or action of another individual or group with a certain ultimate goal). L. Pai, studying the processes of political communication in traditional societies, notes that it is the information monopoly that determines the direction and nature of communication as strictly hierarchical, and the amount and content of information recipients receive depending on their status position in society [10, p. 59; 12]. In democratic societies, as I. Pronoza notes, political communication is two-way and has a high level of openness and transparency [8, p. 76], which allows society to exercise social control over the activities of government structures and political institutions, and the authorities to take into account the socio-political interests of citizens and coordinate state-in-accordance with state. In scientific circles, it is noted that it is the openness and two-way nature of political communication that characterize the concept of "government of public opinion", reflecting democracy as a reverse information exchange between government and citizens, the state and society [3, p. 55].

Consequently, political communication is an integral part of the political sphere of society and reflects the peculiarities of political relations in society, therefore, for Ukraine as a democratic state, it is necessary to create conditions for the formation of an effective model for the implementation and functioning of political communications.

Analysis of the latest research and publications. Among the publications on the problems of political communication of such authors as: M. Azhazha, A. Akayomova, Yu. Bokoch, A. Budanova, A. Vayer,

T. Voronova A. Dorofeyev, A. Vinnichuk, V. Dabizha, A. Danko-Sliptsova, A. Maiboroda, I. Pronoza, Fanishin, T. Shlemkevich, I. Tsikul, D. Yakovlev and many others.

Purpose and Objectives. The purpose of the study is to identify the leading factors in increasing the effectiveness of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space.

Research Methods. The methodological basis of the dissertation is general scientific methods of cognition of social phenomena and processes and sociological methods of obtaining empirical data. The following methods were used in the research: logical-historical, structural-functional and comparative analysis; analysis and synthesis.

Results. The methodological basis for the study of political communications are various scientific approaches and concepts. Thus, J. Habermas in the context of the theory of communicative action considers the interaction of society and politics as a public space, where a politically active public is constituted, forming public opinion and transmitting it to the political sphere through a system of communicative actions and interactions [4]. The concept of social constructivism by T. Luckmann and P. Berger has significant methodological potential in understanding communication in politics. Communicative interaction in the political sphere acts as a certain reality, which is constructed by an individual both through the interpretation of sign-symbolic communication and the awareness of the objectively existing structures of social reality as a whole. The authors note that political reality is constructed through the interpretation of personal experience and the assimilation of the experience of others and has an institutional structure, mechanisms of legitimation based on ritual, material and sign symbols. Consequently, the basis for the construction of political reality and the political system as its institutional manifestation is precisely communicative interaction and communication [6]. Later, N. Luhmann pointed out that it is the information and communication processes in a post-industrial society that are becoming the main form of exercising power, where information and its transmission channels are the means of obtaining and retaining power [2, p. 49].

In turn, K. Deutsch believes that the political space and the political system are formed as a network of communication and informational relationships and exchanges, and therefore the regulation of such communication interaction in the political system is a tool for achieving and maintaining power through communication mechanisms between political institutions and citizens based on consensual interaction taking into account interests and social needs [9, p. 28].

In modern scientific discourse, there are many definitions of the concept of "political communica-

tion". Yes, the most famous and widespread definition of R.-J. Schwarzenberg is "the process of transmitting political information, through which information circulates between elements of the political system, as well as between the political and social systems. The continuous process of information exchange is carried out both between individuals and between those who govern and those who are governed, with the aim of reaching agreement" [1, p. 89].

In domestic political opinion, there are many interpretations of the concept of "political communication". According to V. Dabizha, "political communications are a complex set of processes, methods, acts, circulation, transfer, exchange and interaction between various elements of the political system: the state, political forces, civil society, population groups and individuals, etc. Yu. Tishchenko defines systemic political communication as a process that covers the political sphere of human life, through which communication occurs between government bodies, political parties, public organizations and movements, officials, voters, and the population. The establishment and reproduction of communication processes between political parties and voters, and voters' awareness of the activities of political parties contribute to the legitimization of political entities in society, which is an integral part of the institutionalization of democracy and its consolidation" [11, p. 10].

Pronoza, analysing the existing definitions of the concept of "political communication", identified the following characteristic features and groups of interpretations [8, p. 76–77]: 1) political communication is a public discussion primarily about the distribution of the budget and powers; 2) political communication acts as a targeted action through the use of various forms of communication by political competitors; 3) political communication as a dynamic element of the political system, completely forming socio-political attitudes in the mass consciousness; 4) political communication is considered as a communication process consisting of such elements as political subjects and institutions, mass media, audience, media messages, and such a level of their interaction; 5) political communication as a plane of influence on the recipient of the message. Consequently, the functioning and constancy of the political system depend on the well-established system of political communications. K. Deutsch, defining the political system as a network system of informational mutual influences and communications, pointed out that it is this system and the totality of information flows that influences the adoption of political and public administration decisions [1, p. 88]. In this aspect, political institutions depend on the ability to create conditions for establishing dialogic communication between political subjects and civil society (and citizens in a broader sense) to ensure their functioning through effective and transparent feedback between polit-

ical communicators and addressees. On the other hand, political communication should be based on the socio-cultural values of society and the political and ideological orientations of public consciousness, that is, take into account the social environment in which it circulates. This requires compliance with certain principles of the mechanism for implementing political communication, to which scientists include the following: "1) priority of the qualities and values of culture (hierarchy); 2) equal rights of all citizens to receive information (democracy); 3) proximity to the culture of the nation, ethnic group, confession, class, etc. (identity); 4) taking into account moral and ethical standards (morality)" [7, p.269]. Of course, such a division does not fully reflect the principles of implementing political communications in modern society, since social changes, the development of information and communication technologies, the processes of political globalization and localization also affect the structural and functional properties of political communication as communicative interaction in the political system. influence the formation of the political culture of society and determine the main functions of political communication. To identify the most significant and relevant factors for increasing the effectiveness of the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian political space, an expert survey was conducted (August 2024 – December 2024, n = 158). Given the martial law and the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war, the expert survey was conducted via the Internet (e-mail correspondence, Facebook social network, Telegram channels). The sample was random, randomized by the professional status of the expert (scientist, university teacher; public figure, representative of a public organization; deputy of a regional or city council, representative of a political party; journalist, media representative, blogger).

The experts were offered a list of some factors for increasing the effectiveness of the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space and to select 10 (ten) most significant, in their opinion, in the context of modern changes in social development (Fig. 1).

In general, the following groups of factors can be distinguished by percentage values:

1) the formation of a new political space with the involvement of civil society (the formation of a new political space during the post-war reconstruction period (69%), the involvement of civil society in the process of making state and political decisions (63%);

2) the formation of well-established communication in the interaction of the state and society in the political sphere (protection of freedom of speech and the press (59%), ensuring transparency and accessibility of political information (59%), the introduction and application of deliberative democracy tools in political communication as a process of dialogue and discussion (59%), support for the course;

3) regulatory and legislative support for the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space (compliance with the principles of legality and the rule of law in socio-political interaction (58%), legislative and state support for national independent media (57%), the introduction of state management of communications as a way of protection against hostile propaganda and disinformation (56%), improvement of the regulatory framework for socio-political interaction (55%);

4) factors related to the modernization and reform of the public administration and management system (development of e-government and democracy (51%), incorporation of best practices of political communications into the national political space (50%), development of information infrastructure (44%), continuation of the decentralization process (44%).

The differences in identifying the leading factors for increasing the effectiveness of political communications among various professional groups of experts were analysed (Table 1).

Conclusions. The results of the comparative analysis revealed the following features and differences:

– for scientists, the determining factors are the formation of a new political space (74%), the introduction of mechanisms for implementing political communications based on the deliberative model of democracy (70%), the incorporation of good governance principles into the public administration system (67%), ensuring the political participation of civil society in making public and political decisions (63%), and support. It should be noted that for scientists, the formation of a deliberative democracy model and good governance are the key to the effectiveness of the mechanism for implementing political communications in the national political space;

– for representatives of the public sector, the main factors in the formation of an effective system of political communications in the Ukrainian political space are the factors that normalize and create conditions for well-established interaction between the state, public administration bodies and civil society – ensuring the political participation of civil society in making public and political decisions (75%) and legislative regulation of this process%). This creates conditions for the formation of a new political space based on increasing the political participation of civil society institutions (67%);

– representatives of political parties and deputies at the regional and local levels consider the main factors for increasing the effectiveness of the implementation of political communications to be the transformations in the sphere of public administration and the political
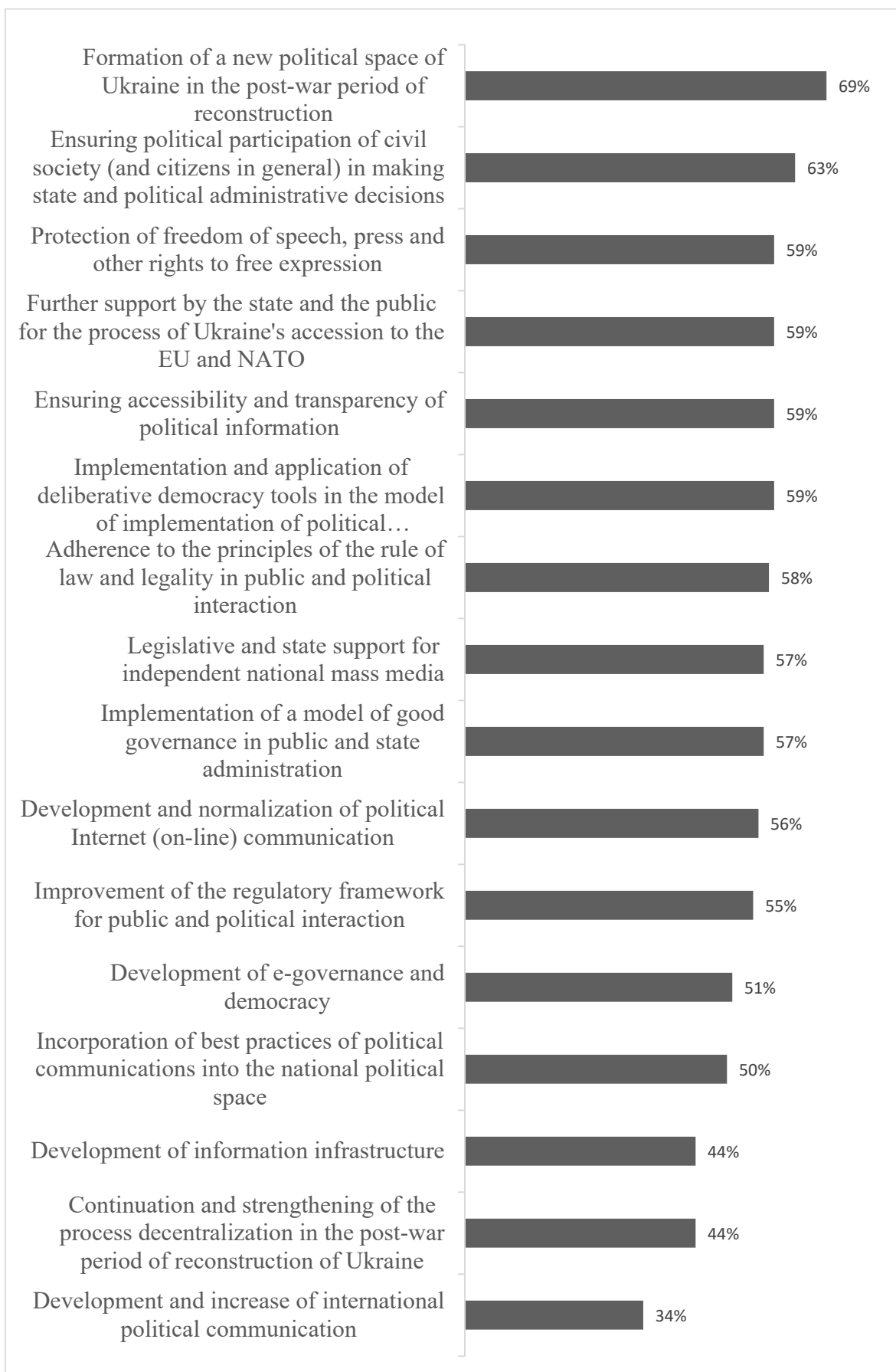
Formation of a new political space of Ukraine in the post-war period of reconstruction	69%
Ensuring political participation of civil society (and citizens in general) in making state and political administrative decisions	63%
Protection of freedom of speech, press and other rights to free expression	59%
Further support by the state and the public for the process of Ukraine's accession to the EU and NATO	59%
Ensuring accessibility and transparency of political information	59%
Implementation and application of deliberative democracy tools in the model of implementation of political…	59%
Adherence to the principles of the rule of law and legality in public and political interaction	58%
Legislative and state support for independent national mass media	57%
Implementation of a model of good governance in public and state administration	57%
Development and normalization of political Internet (on-line) communication	56%
Improvement of the regulatory framework for public and political interaction	55%
Development of e-governance and democracy	51%
Incorporation of best practices of political communications into the national political space	50%
Development of information infrastructure	44%
Continuation and strengthening of the process decentralization in the post-war period of reconstruction of Ukraine	44%
Development and increase of international political communication	34%

Fig. 1. Factors for increasing the effectiveness of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space (10 answers could be selected)

Table 1

Factors for increasing the effectiveness of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space depending on the professional status of experts (10 answers could be selected)

	Scientist, university lecturer	Public figure, representative of a public organization	Deputy of a regional or city council, representative of a political party	Journalist, media representative, blogger
Improving the regulatory framework for public-political interaction	48%	72%	53%	47%
Development of e-governance and democracy	53%	48%	64%	39%
Implementation of a model of good governance in public and state administration	67%	58%	55%	48%
Development and normalization of political Internet (online) communication	56%	38%	62%	65%
Adherence to the principles of the rule of law and legality in public-political interaction	41%	67%	68%	54%
Incorporation of best practices of political communications into the national political space	57%	39%	59%	46%
Implementation and application of deliberative democracy tools into the model of implementation of political communications in Ukraine	70%	52%	54%	59%
Legislative and state support for independent national mass media	62%	41%	47%	76%
Formation of a new political space of Ukraine in the post-war period of reconstruction	74%	67%	76%	59%
Ensuring accessibility and transparency of political information	48%	61%	58%	67%
Further support by the state and the public for the process of Ukraine's accession to the EU and NATO	52%	59%	66%	58%
Development and increase of international political communication	37%	29%	39%	31%
Ensuring political participation of civil society (and citizens in general) in making state-political management decisions.	63%	75%	58%	56%
Continuation and strengthening of the decentralization process in the post-war period of reconstruction of Ukraine	36%	28%	65%	45%
Development of information infrastructure	42%	31%	35%	66%
Protection of freedom of speech, press and other rights of citizens to free expression	50%	54%	57%	73%

system of Ukraine. Among such factors, the most significant for this group of experts are: the formation of a new political space in Ukraine (76%), compliance with the principles of the rule of law and legality in the socio-political sphere (68%), support by the state and citizens for joining the EU and NATO (66%), continuation of the decentralization process in the post-war period (65%), development of electronic; – representatives of the mass media focus their attention on factors related to the development, improvement, standardization and regulation of the national information space (legislative and state support for independent media (76%), protection of freedom of speech (73%), ensuring the availability and transparency of political information (67%) and information (65%).

Thus, the factors identified by the experts can act as trends for the formation of a new model of political communication, where the main mechanism for implementation is the process of deliberation, ensuring the availability and transparency of political information and increasing the role of civil society in political and communication processes.

Conclusions and prospects for further research. Thus, summarizing the results of the study, the following conclusions can be made:

– firstly, political communication acts as a communicative process of mutual exchange of political information and transmission of political discourse among political entities, government bodies, civil society, aimed at achieving consensus in making political and managerial decisions, legitimizing power and maintaining the stability of a democratic political system through the media;

– secondly, the leading factors in the formation of an effective model of political communication are defined as: 1) the formation of a new political space with the involvement of civil society; 2) the formation of well-established communication in the interaction of the state and society in the political sphere; 3) regulatory and legislative support for the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space; 4) factors related to the modernization and reform of the system of public administration and management;

– thirdly, among various professional groups of experts there are differences in ideas about the factors that contribute to increasing the effectiveness of the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space: for scientists, the formation of a model of deliberative democracy and good governance are the key to the effectiveness of the mechanism for implementing political communications in the national; for representatives of the public sector, the main factors are the factors that normalize and create conditions for the well-established interaction of the state and civil society; representatives of political parties are considered

the main factors of reform in the sphere of public administration and the political system of Ukraine; representatives of the mass media focus their attention on factors related to the development, improvement, standardization and regulation of the national information space.

A promising direction for further research is to identify areas for increasing the effectiveness of the mechanism for implementing political communications in Ukraine.

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Чинники підвищення ефективності політичних комунікацій в українському суспільно-політичному просторі (результати експертного опитування)

Попович Яна Максимівна

кандидат філософських наук, доцент, доцента кафедри політології та загальноправових дисциплін Національного університету «Запорізька політехніка» вул. Університетська, 64, Запоріжжя, Україна
ORCID: 0000-0001-7509-0459

Маракін Віталій Ігорович

аспірант кафедри політології та загальноправових дисциплін Національного університету «Запорізька політехніка» вул. Університетська, 64, Запоріжжя, Україна
ORCID: 0009-0002-3496-5364

Стаття присвячена факторам підвищення ефективності політичних комунікацій в українському суспільно-політичному просторі. Політичну комунікацію визначають як комунікативний процес обміну політичною інформацією та трансляції політичного дискурсу між політичними суб'єктами, державними органами та громадянським суспільством, спрямований на досягнення консенсусу в прийнятті політичних та адміністративних рішень, легітимацію влади та підтримку стабільності демократичної політичної системи через ЗМІ та соціальні мережі. У науковому доробку представлено, що серед різних професійних груп експертів існують відмінності у поглядах на чинники, що сприяють підвищенню ефективності політичних комунікацій в українському суспільно-політичному просторі: для науковців – формування моделі деліберативної демократії та доброго врядування; для представників громадського сектору – чинники нормалізації та створення умов для налагодженої взаємодії держави та громадянського суспільства; для представників політичних партій – реформи у сфері державного управління та політичної системи України; для представників ЗМІ – удосконалення, стандартизація та регулювання національного інформаційного простору.

Із результатів опитування було виявлено, що серед різних професійних груп експертів існують розбіжності в уявленнях про фактори, що сприяють підвищенню ефективності реалізації політичних комунікацій в українському суспільно-політичному просторі: для науковців формування моделі деліберативної демократії та доброго врядування є запорукою ефективності механізму реалізації політичних комунікацій у національному; для представників громадського сектору головними є чинники, які нормалізують і створюють умови для налагодженої взаємодії держави та громадянського суспільства; представники політичних партій вважаються головними чинниками реформування сфери державного управління та політичної системи України; представники ЗМІ зосереджують свою увагу на факторах, пов'язаних із розвитком, удосконаленням, стандартизацією та регулюванням національного інформаційного простору.

Ключові слова: *політична комунікація, соціально-політичний простір, дорадча демократія, належне врядування, громадянське суспільство, електронна демократія, інформаційний простір.*