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CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE DELIBERATIVE MECHANISM OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS IN THE UKRAINIAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SPACE

Statement of the problem in general. Modern models of democracy imply an increase in the role of citizens and civil society, in particular, in making public and political decisions and political participation in solving urgent socio-political problems. Deliberative discourse and the mechanism of deliberation (discussion) now act as political and communicative practice of modernizing democracy as a political system and public development. This process was facilitated by several factors: 1) the acquisition of self-organization of civil society of a global dimension; 2) digital transformation and the development of information and communication technologies allowed citizens to directly participate in political processes and influence the authorities by revealing their attitude to the management and political decisions of the authorities; 3) the formation of a network society, where the dimension of communicative interaction between political subjects, citizens, the state and institutionalized civil society is horizontal communication and network political space. However, the main factor in the formation of the deliberative paradigm was the crisis of modern democracies, and the practice of rational discussion of socio-political problems in society has become widespread and implemented in the political system. In democratic societies, as I. Pronoza notes, political communication is two-way and has a high level of openness and transparency [8, p. 57], 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 the state-in accordance with the state. In scientific circles, it is noted that it is precisely the openness and two-sidedness of political communication that characterizes the concept of "government of public opinion," reflecting democracy as a reverse information exchange

between the government and citizens, the state and society [2, p. 55].

Thus, political communication in the context of the deliberative paradigm of the democratic process assumes deliberation as a mechanism for implementing political communications, therefore, the development of a conceptual model of such a mechanism is a pressing scientific problem.

Analysis of the latest research and publications. Among the publications on the problems of political communication, it is necessary to highlight the scientific developments and works of such foreign and domestic authors as: M. Azhazha, A. Akayomova, B. Berelson, D. Berlo, Yu. Bokoch, D. Bryant, A. Budanova, A. Vayer, N. Vinner, T. Voron, Yu. G. A. Vinnichuk, V. Dabizha, A. Danko-Sliptsova, D. Easton, P. Lazarsfeld, G. Lasswell, A. Maiboroda, A. Maksimovich, M. Ostapenko, L. Pai, I. Pronoza, O. Rafalsky, L. Tesfaye, S. Shish, J. Fish, I. Tsikul, D. Yakovlev and many others. The problem of deliberative democracy and the specifics of political communication in deliberative discourse are considered by foreign scientists: J. Beset, J. Habermas, D.A. della Porta, J. Dryzek, J. Cohen, J. Rawls, D. Thompson, J. Fishkin and others, and domestic researchers: T. Andreychuk, I. Bartagarieva, E. Batrakina, T. Kadlubovich, D. Kiryukhin, D. Levchenko, Sonik, N. Onishchenko, N. S.

Formulation of the objectives of the article. The purpose of the study is to develop a conceptual model of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space.

Presentation of the main research material. Political communication is considered through the active involvement of citizens in making public administration decisions as a kind of instrument for assessing the quantity and quality of democracy

in society, and as a means of legitimizing the power and political decisions of the ruling elite, and as a mechanism for maintaining socio-political stability and sustainability of the political system of society and the constitutional community, as a technology of political consolidation. 2, p. 59], is based on institutional communication between citizens and the state apparatus. And as V. Stepanov notes, "political communication, like any other communication acts, can pursue three goals: transfer of information, change of opinion, change of behaviour of those informed. The key to this process is change of behaviour, since it is the core of power and governance relations in society" [10, p. 74]. R. Schwarzenberg believes that political communication is "a constant process of transferring political information, a continuous exchange of political meanings between individuals and political forces of society in order to achieve agreement, a process of transferring political information, through which political information circulates between various elements of the political system8]. Thus, political communication acts as a mechanism of interaction between government structures, political subjects and citizens and institutionalized civil society, which is based on information exchange, and in the context of the deliberative model of democracy, the process of deliberation (discussion) of current socio-political problems.

The word "deliberation" (Latin "deliberatio") is used in dictionaries on Roman law and means "to consult", "to discuss", "to reflect", "to conduct consultations", "to weigh the pros and cons" [7, p. 88]. And as T. Sivak notes: "Only in combination do these synonyms fully reflect its content, because the word is very capacious and its inherent nuances do not lend themselves to an unambiguous translation into Ukrainian. Therefore, preference should be given to its foreign-language version, although the Ukrainian translation is also used in scientific literature: "deliberative process". "deliberative democracy" [9, p. 25]. Philosophical justification for deliberation and deliberativity is given by J. Habermas: "Deliberativity ... indicates the adoption of a certain attitude aimed at social cooperation, namely, the establishment of openness, a willingness to listen to reasonable arguments accompanied by statements from others as well as one's own" [4, p. 218].

Thus, deliberation implies communicative interaction with the aim of achieving consensus and making joint decisions in the process of dialogic communication, and as a mechanism of political communication based on openness, discussion, transparency and feedback between communicants. The very concept of deliberation as a dialogue, cooperation and interactive political communication underlies the emergence and development of the

deliberative model of democracy and determines the specifics of political communication in the context of factors of modern social development and renewal of systems of state and political governance in democratic societies. Based on the author's definition of political communication as a communication process of mutual exchange of political information, it can be noted that the mechanism of political communication ensures and regulates the interaction of the authorities and citizens aimed at achieving consensus in making political and administrative decisions between the state and society, maintaining the stability of the political system. And its implementation implies the use of certain forms, methods and technologies. As S. Denisyuk notes, the mechanisms for implementing political communication are "a set of specific forms and methods for implementing political and communicative processes in order to optimize the transmission and assimilation of politically important information, influence on public opinion, etc." [5, p. 21]. Moreover, the author notes that it is political technologies that act as a practical expression of the mechanisms for implementing political communication, the purpose of which is for political subjects to obtain and retain political power, to create conditions for well-established communication between political institutions and citizens on the basis of a symbol that is understandable and acceptable in a particular society.

Thus, it is possible to define the concept of "mechanism for implementing political communications" as a complex of information and communication methods, technologies and forms of communicative interaction between political subjects, government bodies, citizens and civil society, the purpose of which is to optimize information exchange, consensus acceptance of political and managerial potentials in political participations of various political participations in political participations of various political participations of various political citizens.

Considering that in the conditions of modern social development and fundamental changes in the format of democratic processes in society, a spreading deliberative model of democracy and political communication is being introduced, acquiring a format of discussion, debate and dialogue in order to develop rational consensus decisions. communicative dialogue interaction of political subjects, government bodies, citizens and civil society in the format of discussion and debate (deliberation), the main goal of which is to attract citizens to political participation in the development of a rational and consensus solution to current sociopolitical problems with its subsequent legitimization

by the authorities and consolidation in the normative-political. Thus, it is possible to develop a model of a deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications, which we based on: linear communication models. G. Lasswell, J. Gerbner, Shannon-Weaver, nonlinear models of S. Schram, T. Newcomb, a model of political communication in the theory of communicative action of J. Habermas, models of political communication in deliberative democracy. As the main structural elements of the conceptual model of the deliberative mechanism for implementing political communications presented below, we have defined:

- dimensions of ensuring the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for implementing political communications, creating the conditions for its effective and efficient application: 1) normative and legal dimension; 2) institutional and organizational dimension; 3) information dimension; 4) scientific and methodological dimension;
- deliberation (discussion) as the leading technology of the deliberative mechanism for implementing political communications;
- current socio-political problems and situations that require solutions; legislative initiatives; proposals and draft decisions of the executive authorities at different levels of government and local self-government; strategic directions for the development of the state and society; programs of political parties;
- channels of political communication through which existing socio-political problems are updated and disseminated in society, and to some extent public opinion is formed on their solution: traditional media (television, press, radio), social Internet media, social networks, blogs, chats, forums, etc.;
- subjects of political communication: in the presented model, political communication, according to the deliberative paradigm, occurs at the subject-subject level dialogic communication relations between government bodies, political institutions, citizens, civil society institutions, the scientific and expert environment, the Internet community, influence;
- feedback between the communicator and the addressee, acquiring the features of dialogic communication;
- levels of political communication in the deliberative model of democracy (according to J. Habermas): 1) between political subjects (political parties, political factions in parliament, executive authorities); 2) between political subjects and citizens and civil society institutions through the media; 3) between citizens and civil society organizations;
- deliberative instruments of political communication and forms of political participation of citizens (e-governance, e-democracy, e-petitions,

public discussions and hearings, advisory consultations, advisory polls, mini-publics, forums, conferences, etc.);

- the result of the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications through reports, recommendations, requirements regarding a rational consensus solution to a stated socio-political problem, legislative initiative, draft management decisions;
- taking into account the decisions presented in the deliberation process by authorities and their legitimization in the normative-legal field.

The conceptual model of the deliberative mechanism for implementing political communications is presented in Fig 1.

Let us dwell on individual dimensions of ensuring the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian socio-political space (table 1).

The normative and legal dimension of ensuring the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications involves legal regulation ofcommunication interaction between the state and society, government bodies and political institutions with citizens, and is aimed at standardizing the process of political communication in accordance with democratic principles and the foundations of social development.

The main normative and legal acts regulating the processes of communication interaction of political entities and the public in the Ukrainian sociopolitical space are: the Constitution of Ukraine, the Civil Code, the Criminal Code, the Laws of Ukraine "On Electronic Communications", "On Citizens' Appeals", Electronic Document Management", "On Electronic Digital Signature", etc.

Among the main areas of improvement of the legal framework for the functioning of the deliberative mechanism, it is necessary to note the regulation and standardization of the process of legitimization of consensus decisions of deliberation (on current socio-political problems; discussion of legislative initiatives, proposals and draft decisions of the executive authorities of various levels of public administration and local self-government; strategic. The institutional and organizational dimension of ensuring the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications provides for the establishment of communicative and organizational relationships between the subjects of political communication in order to attract them to participate in the deliberation process to develop common rationalconsensus decisions. It should also be noted that in the context of this dimension it is necessary to solve the following tasks (based on the tasks of communication interaction in public administration identified by

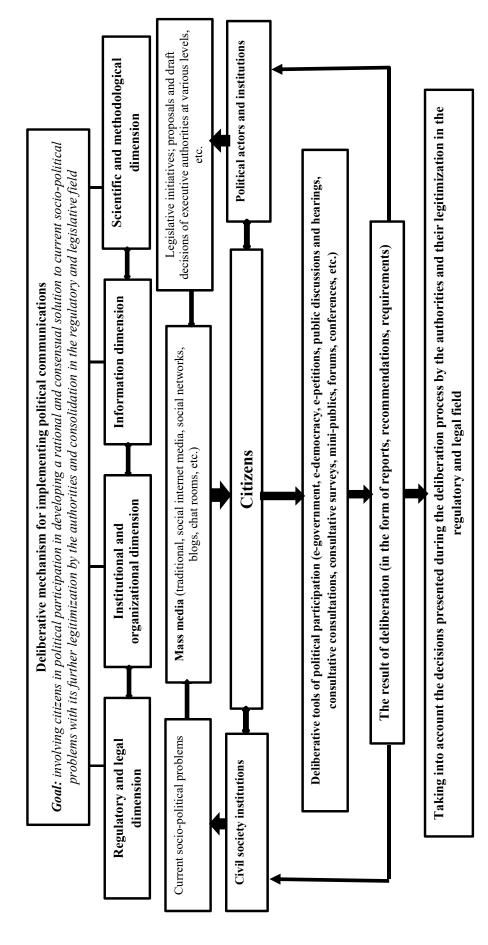


Fig. 1. Conceptual model of the deliberative mechanism of political communications

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Table~1} \\ {\rm Dimensions~of~ensuring~the~functioning~of~the~deliberative~mechanism~for~the~implementation} \\ {\rm of~political~communications} \end{array}$

Measurement	Function	Directions for improvement
Regulatory and legal dimension	Legal regulation of communication interaction between the state and society, state authorities and political institutions with citizens, and aimed at normalizing the process of political communication in accordance with democratic principles and foundations of social development	Regulation and normalization of the process of legitimizing consensus decisions of deliberation by authorities in the regulatory and legal field
Institutional and organizational dimension	Establishing communicative and organizational relationships between subjects of political communication in order to involve them in the process of deliberation on the development of joint rational and consensus decisions	Creation of a separate collegial body at different levels of public administration to solve organizational problems of the deliberation process
Informational dimension	Ensuring the independence of national media and security in cyberspace	Development of a single information platform to achieve transparency and accessibility of citizen participation in deliberative practices
Scientific and methodological dimension	Application, along with traditional ones, of modern information and communication technologies	Incorporation of foreign experience in the use of deliberative tools of political participation (for example, mini-publics)

Source: author's development.

T. Lomakina [6, p. 146]): 1) strategic planning in the subject area of political communications for further deliberation on the planned topic; 2) organizational regulation of the sphere of political communications; 3) establishing coordination between political communication entities with the aim of including them in the deliberative process; 4) increasing the need for personal interaction between political entities and citizens and representatives of civil society organizations.

Among the main areas of improving the institutional and organizational support for the functioning of the deliberative mechanism, it is worth noting the creation of a separate collegial body at different levels of public administration to resolve organizational problems of the deliberative process.

The development of the measurement of information support for the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications consists in: 1) ensuring the independence of national and security in cyberspace; 2) using, along with traditional, modern information and communication technologies for subject-subject relations in the field of political communications; 3) simplifying the process of information exchange between political entities and civil society; 4) using information services for interaction with citizens to discuss (deliberate) current socio-political problems, bills, etc. One of the priority areas of improvement is the development of a unified information platform to achieve transparency and accessibility of citizen participation in deliberative practices. The scientific and methodological dimension involves the development of deliberative practice tools, which is expressed in: 1) methodological support for holding deliberative communication events; 2) development of standards for working with the public when making management decisions in the context of holding public discussion events; 3) development of a methodology for training professionals (facilitators) to hold deliberative events. A necessary condition for improvement is the incorporation of foreign experience in the use of deliberative instruments of political participation (for example, mini-publics). Conclusions and prospects for further research. Thus, summarizing the results of the study, the following conclusions can be made:

- firstly, the peculiarities of political communication in the context of the deliberative paradigm of modern democracy are: deliberative democracy is based on communication that takes the format of discussion, debate and dialogue in order to develop rational consensus decisions; deliberation (as a discussion) acts as an institutionalized social and political practice based on the principles of rationality, inclusiveness, search for consensus, publicity, equality;
- secondly, the conceptual model of the deliberative mechanism for implementing political communications in the context of modern social development is based on the following provisions: 1) the model is based on: linear communication models of G. Lasswell, J. Gerbner, Shannon-Weaver, nonlinear models of S. Schram, T. Newcomb, the model of political communication the theory of communicative action of J. Habermas, models of political communication deliberative democracy; 2) deliberation (discussion) acts as the leading development of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications; 3) the dimensions

of ensuring the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications, creating the conditions for its effective and efficient application are defined normative-legal, institutionalas: scientificorganizational, informational, methodical dimensions; 4) in the presented model, political communication, according to the deliberative paradigm, occurs at the subjectsubject level - dialogical communication relations between government bodies, political institutions, citizens, civil society institutions, the scientific and expert environment, the Internet community, influencers in social networks; 5) the result of the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications is expressed through reports, recommendations, requirements regarding a rational consensus solution to the stated socio-political problem, initiative, legislative draft management decisions; 6) the condition for the effectiveness of the deliberative process is the consideration of the decisions presented in the deliberative process by the authorities and their legitimization in the normative-legal field.

A promising direction for further research is the identification of promising areas for the development of Ukrainian society, which will improve and increase the effectiveness of the mechanism of political communication in the postwar period of Ukraine's restoration.

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Summary

Popovych Y. M., Marakin V. I. Conceptual model of the deliberative mechanism of Political communications in the Ukrainian social and political space. – Article.

The article substantiates the conceptual model of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications in the Ukrainian sociopolitical space. The definition of the concept of "deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications" is presented as a complex of information and communication methods, technologies and forms of communicative dialogue interaction of political entities, government bodies, citizens and civil society in the format of discussion and debate (deliberation), the main goal of which is to attract citizens to political participation in the development of policies and procedures by the authorities and their consolidation in the regulatory and legislative field. The conceptual model of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications in the context of modern social development is based on the following provisions: - deliberation (discussion) acts as a leading technology; dimensions of ensuring the functioning of the deliberative mechanism for the implementation of political communications, creating the conditions for its effective and efficient application defined as: normative-legal, institutionalorganizational, informational, scientific-methodical dimensions; political communication according to the deliberative paradigm occurs at the subject-subject level; The condition for the effectiveness of the deliberative process is the consideration of the decisions presented in the deliberation process by government bodies and their legitimization in the normative-legal field. It was determined that the features of political communication in the context of the deliberative paradigm of modern democracy are: deliberative democracy is based on communication, which takes the form of discussion, debate and dialogue in order to develop rational consensus decisions; deliberation (as discussion) acts as an institutionalized social and political practice, which is based on the principles of rationality, inclusiveness, consensus-seeking, publicity, and equality.

Key words: political communication, civil society, communicative interaction, democracy, deliberation, deliberative democracy, mechanism for implementing political communications.

Анотація

Попович Я. М., Маракін В. І. Концептуальна модель деліберативного механізму політичних комунікацій в українському громадсько-політичному просторі. — Стаття.

В статті обґрунтовано концептуальну модель деліберативного механізму реалізації політичних комунікацій в українському громадсько-політичному просторі. Подано визначення поняття «деліберативний механізм реалізації політичних комунікацій» як комплекс інформаційно-комунікаційних методів, технологій і форм комунікативної діалогової взаємодії політичних суб'єктів, органів державного управління, громадян і громадянського суспільства у форматі обговорення і дискусії (деліберації), основною метою якого є залучення громадян до політичної участі у виробленні раціонального і консенсусного рішення з актуальних суспільно-політичних проблем з його подальшою легітимізацією владою і закріплення в нормативно-законодавчому полі. Концептуальна модель деліберативного механізму реалізації політичних комунікацій в умовах сучасного суспільного розвитку ґрунтується на наступних положеннях: деліберація (обговорення) виступає як провідна технологія; вимірами забезпечення функціонування деліберативного механізму реалізації політичних комунікацій, що створюють умови для його ефективного і результативного застосування визначено: нормативно-правовий, інституційно-організаційний, інформаційний, науково-методичний виміри; політична комунікація відповідно деліберативній парадигмі відбувається на суб'єкт-суб'єктному рівні; умовою результативності деліберативного процесу є врахування представлених в процесі деліберації рішень органами влади і їх легітимація в нормативно-правовому полі. Було визначено, що особливостями політичної комунікації в контексті деліберативної парадигми сучасної демократії є: в основі деліберативної демократії лежить комунікація, що набуває формат обговорення, дискусії та діалогу з метою вироблення раціональних консенсусних рішень; деліберація (як обговорення) виступає як інституціоналізована соціальна і політична практика, в основі якої лежать принципи раціональності, інклюзивності, пошуку консенсусу, публічності, рівності.

Ключові слова: політична комунікація, громадянське суспільство, комунікативна взаємодія, демократія, деліберація, деліберативна демократія, механізм реалізації політичних комунікацій.