

Valentyn Sandul

Odesa I.I.Mechnikov National University, Ukraine

STRUCTURING THE FIELD OF POLITICS: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, ETHICS, COMMUNICATION

The article explores the process of structuring the field of politics and identifies its basic theoretical visions. Based on studies of P. Bourdieu and Y. Kachanov structuring of field of politics is defined as the process of practical implementation of political intentions. Attention was focused on such components of this process as political activity, political ethics and political communication. It is stressed that political activity, as a part of policy field ensures reproduction of traditional political relations and creation of new interactions with usage of available resources. It aims to achieve a certain political goal, which is associated with reception and retention of political power. Political activity reveals the fundamental principles of democratic process, exactly the interaction between professional political agents and the citizens. The citizens political activity is also an important process in the structuring of the field of politics, which promotes expression of the interests of social groups and individuals, public presentation of the relevant requirements, ensure their participation in the political decision-making.

Key words: field of politics, structuring the field of politics, political activities, political process, political ethics, political communication.

The research of structuring of political field allows to select and justify specific features of the political activity, creates conditions for realization of ambiguity, complexity of the policy field, which is impossible to imagine without ethical principles and effective communication. In the process of the policy field structuring, the coordinates of political agents (the political topology) are determinate, i.e. the directions of their activity, its purpose, the meaning and features. At the same time, it is aware that the process of structuring the field of politics includes both legitimate and illegitimate actions of the professional political agents, systemic and non-systemic forms of political activity of politicians, officials and citizens.

The actuality of the article dues to the high theoretical and practical significance in studying of political activity, ethic and communication, as the important components of the policy field structuring process. This point of view contributes to a better understanding of the dynamic measurement of the political reality, its transformations and changes.

The purpose of the article is to explore the process of structuring the field of politics and its components such as political activism, political ethics and political communication.

The modern interpretations of the policy field structuring, presented in the works of P. Bourdieu, Y. Kachanov, P. Champagne, M. Afanasyeva, S. Naumkina, V. Kovalevsky, D. Yakovlev, etc. They are largely based on the fact that this process is not always characterized by linearity, consistency and instrumental activities of the agents.

The concept of “political field” refers to the concept of P. Bourdieu and discloses through the process of political activity of agents (“practice”). In the theory of P. Bourdieu the conceptualization of politics as a “political topology” is proposed. Y. Kachanov believes that the policy field is structured by the political agents’ activity, and its reality is determined by the influence of which field has influence on the agents’ practice. “The policy field is not a set of agents (acting individuals), engaged in politics, and even not the system interactions itself (or formal, only “comparable”), but a mode of the social reality. The policy field exists substantively as an autonomous ensemble of political relations, ruled by its own laws...”¹

In the process of structuring of the policy field the distribution and redistribution of force between agents, the search of new means of implementing them in their political activities, the political mobilization of citizens and the development of civil society institutions are constantly going on. It combines the professional activities of political agents and the functioning of the public authorities, the activity of individuals and groups and the position of social and political structures aimed at the achieving of the

¹ Качанов, Ю.Л. (1995). *Политическая топология: структурирование политической действительности*. Москва: Ad Marginem, 9.

certain political objectives and implementation of relevant political interests. One of the main characteristics of the process of the policy field structuring appears that it reflects the performance of the respective roles of political agents.

According to Y. Kachanov, “the political field is a relatively closed sphere of political relations and events, which is inherent in the ensemble of political relations between specific (individual and collective) agents and institutions currently in certain places”¹

At the same time, the process of the structuring of the policy field can be interpreted as “re-structuring” and “structuration” (A. Giddens and other) of the political relations and “construction” (A. Schyuts, P. Berger and T. Lukman, and other) of the political reality.

According to this interpretation, the activities of individuals (including those in the field of politics) favor the interpretation result of actions of other individuals and a source of further structuring of the field of politics in the process of their interaction. That means, “...the purpose of the study of the political interaction becomes not a search of the cause-effect relationships, but the interpretation of the human action, which takes into account the point of view of the current position and multiplicity of the political space.”².

That means, the process of the policy field structuring is a dynamic model of the political interaction where the political activities of agents, the political ethics and the political communication are one of the basic elements.

The structuring involves the implementation by the agent of the political field of the sequential operations to streamline the operational procedures (the determination of objectives, formulation of alternatives, the choice of one of the alternatives, its implementation, the response of other agents and public opinion and modification of the follow actions in accordance with this reaction). However, unlike the other social fields, the activity of the policy field agents should be designed to serve the public good rather than private interest. There is a direct link between the policy and ethic.

The democratic political process requires from the political agents the effective solutions aimed at the public good. Such decisions cannot be imagined without the tolerance, ethics and pluralism.

«The political ethics defines the place of morality in the system of political relations, analyzes its nature and the internal structure. As for the political morality, it reflects a kind of a specific type of regulation of the political relations, aimed at their humanization. The concept of political morality fixes the norms of behavior, communication and relationships which coordinate the interaction of subject of political life, weaken the contradictions of alternative goals of political parties, groups and social movements...”³.

The political ethics forms the special (normative) approach to the analysis and evaluation of the professional political activity. It “... is considered as a part of the moral consciousness, its highest rational manifestation, i.e., ethics emerges as a self-consciousnesses of moral, as a moral (“practical”) philosophy. Or morality is considered as the “subject” / “object” of ethical searches and constructions (i.e., ethics is interpreted as “philosophy of morality”, “the theory of morality”, “the science about the morality”).⁴

The political ethics acquires the particular importance in the process of determining of the fundamental values of the individual, group, society as a whole. Exactly the values have the defining influence on the political cooperation between agents, the relationships between the individual and the group, the social and political topology.

I.e., the political ethics must include the ethics of professional political activity, it is considered in the broad context of political culture, rationality, various scientific theories, ideologies and religious doctrines.

Thanks to its characteristic such as “impartiality”, the political ethics refers to the standards those have been emerged historically and are enshrined in the traditions of social interaction between individuals. That is exactly why it serves as the ground, on which the agreement can be reached between the political agents. Especially if they are the supporters of various ideologies, take radically different positions in the social and political spaces, and are the part of political conflict. The political ethics emphasizes on the tantamount attitude to all political agents with taking into consideration their individual interests and social

¹ Качанов, Ю.Л. (1995). *Политическая топология: структурирование политической действительности*. Москва: Ad Marginem, 10.

² Яковлев, Д.В. (2009). *Політична взаємодія як комунікативний процес: медіатизація, демократизація, раціоналізація*. Одеса: Астропринт, 44.

³ Рубан, А. (2010). *Основні підрунтя дослідження сучасних концепцій політичної етики*. Київ: Український центр політичного менеджмент, 57-64.

⁴ *Этическая мысль: Науч.-публицист. чтения* (1991). Москва: Республика, 7.

positions.

In this sense, the political ethic becomes an “impartial” institution of a democratic society, which regulates the professional political activity and helps to solve the political conflicts. “Impartiality can take many different forms... As the personal motives and justice can lead to a conflict, the theories of ethic have got something to say about how to deal with such conflicts. It can resolve it by declaring the full victory of the impartiality, but it is only one of the possible options”¹

The principles of political ethics unite the individuals, and conflicts, on the contrary, interfere to form a public space of dialogue. The political ethics creates a foundation for the forming of ideas about the justice society and its discourse covers many issues related to the professional political activity (from the theory of natural rights to the theory of public choice). Additionally, exactly the exercise of the choice in favor of one of the alternatives and the decision-making become the point of the professional political activity that in most needs the treatment to the political ethics.

The role of ethics in the process of professional activity is in the creation of the conditions for the emergence of the trust-space between the main political agents.

In the conditions of political pluralism, the professional political activity is characterized by competitiveness, which requires an appropriate normative and justice regulation. The concurrence of the political agents, for the implementation of the private and group interests, should take place in particular procedural conditions, by means of the political ethics. They, in their turn, become the basis for the establishment of the common rules of political activity.

In this context it is also necessary to agree with Y. Kachanov, who directly connects the birth of the policy field with the state spirit. He writes: “The state exists, firstly, as the reality of the first order, manifested through the distribution of material resources, as well as the means and mechanisms of their assignment, and, secondly, as the reality of the second order, given with the help of social representations, the complex structures perception, the evaluation, the classification, and thinking (the real state... is in the identity of its citizens; it is not above them, but inside of them)”².

To the components of the political activity as a process, aimed at the structuring of the policy field there should be included the following steps.

Firstly, the stage of formulation and public presentation in the sphere of policy the different interests of social groups, layers, classes and communities.

Secondly, the set and support, in the process of political activities, of the agents of constant and effective communication with the social groups and society as a whole. The political activity, according to the theory and practice of the political representation, involves the necessary presence of the feedback “loop” between the agents of the political activity of state institutions and local authorities and the public. At this stage of the political field structuring, the level of political activity and political participation, both individual citizens and social groups, play as an important factor. The define elements of political cooperation should include the electoral process (the fight for the electoral votes) and the process of public administration.

Thirdly, there is the stage of development, adoption and implementation of the political solution as a key component of the process of political activity. The political solution in the circumstances of democracy serves as the result of an effective cooperation between all the stakeholders (both political and neo-political), it reflects the political will of the whole society or of its part.

Fourthly, in the process of political action, it is necessary to carry out the monitoring of the impacts of a political solution in order to the further modification of the policy and the search of the optimal model for further development.

That means, the political activity as a part of the policy field structuring process provides the communicative interaction of agents both within the field of politics as the representatives of other social fields.

According to D. Yakovlev, “the preconditions of the political action can be understood as an orientation to the alleged meaning of the actions of another person. In such case, the reality, including the political one is the common definition of the situation, which achieves through the communication and

¹ Негел, Т. (1998). *Моральний конфлікт і політична законність – Сучасна політична філософія: Антологія*. Київ: Основи, 368.

² Качанов, Ю.Л. (1995). *Политическая топология: структурирование политической действительности*. Москва: Ad Marginem, 66.

adopts by the majority of participants of the political interaction”¹.

The modern political process is characterized by the growing of the influence of information and communication which define the configuration of the political space, the temp and direction of reforms, the progress and results of the political activity.

The process of political activity in the context of the information age requires the establishment and maintenance of a permanent communicative interaction between the institutions of the public authorities, political parties, public organizations, associations, lobby groups, mass media and individual citizens. The communication allows to overcome such negative phenomena in the post-Soviet political cooperation between government and society, as a lack of trust o citizens to the authorities, the lack of consensus on the main directions of domestic and foreign policy, the lack of coordination between the separate branches of government, the failure to create an effective parliamentary coalition, the lack of coordination between the actions of central and local power, etc.

It should also be taken into consideration that in the current conditions there is the informational overload of separate agents and of the political institutions. The so-called “information shock” (i.e., the inability to perceive rationally and process timely the information, the noun of which is growing continuously) prevents the effective functioning of the political agents.

The attention to the communicative dimension of structuring of the policy field provides an appropriate understanding of the political activity. The emphasis is made on the communicative process of the interaction between the government and the citizens in process of political decision-making and the need of the horizontal and vertical communication requires a response of society on the activity of political agents.

Particularly, in the election campaigns there are mainly used the communication technologies and the strategies of image formation. Regarding to the field of public administration, the “closeness” of government institutions and the reluctance of the officials to listen to the public opinion in the political decision-making remained an insurmountable legacy of the Soviet system.

In the article “The Political communication: to the problem of theoretical identification” A. Soloviev says: “...only the concept of political communication is able to “catch” the historical meaning of the post-industrial era and help in the understanding of the transition to a new type of organization of the power and the political community”².

Indeed, the technological development offers the new opportunities to improve the communicative component of the policy field structuring, as a dynamic, continuous coordination between actions and decisions of the government and society.

There we can say not just about an evaluation of the political agents activity by the citizens (on a referendum or during the election), but also about a constant exposure of the institutions of civil society in the political activity process: from the formulation of the social problem being addressed, and identification of alternatives to the political solution and to the modifications of policy in accordance with the given results.

One of the main components of political actors’ activity is the communication with the citizens, the social groups and the civil society institutes, which is reflected in the usage of the communication technologies such as advertising, promotion and public relations.

The willingness of citizens not only to obtain information about the actions of political agents, but their desire and ability to evaluate the actions of politicians on the basis of available information serve an important factors for the democratic political process. In the process of political communication the ongoing feedback of citizens with the government is being built, what promotes the accountability and legitimacy of government. Without the active position of the citizens it is impossible to provide the political communication as a two-way process of informational exchange in the process of structuring of the policy field.

In the modern conditions the political action begins from the process of interpretation of information, and the information messages of mass media significantly influence on the formation of the public opinion, on the structure and on the rules of the political game. The communicative dimension of the structuring of the policy field includes the harmonization the “picture of the world” and “the agenda”.

¹ Яковлев, Д.В. (2009). *Політична взаємодія як комунікативний процес: медіатизація, демократизація, раціоналізація*. Одеса: Астропринт, 22.

² Соловьев, А.И. (2002). *Политическая коммуникация: к проблеме теоретической идентификации. Политические исследования*, 3, 5.

In the modern conditions the aim of the application of communication technologies is a creation of permanent links the information channels between public authority and civil society institutes in order to improve the administrative efficiency.

That means, that the advanced political communications are not only the vertical communication (for example, the relationship between state and society), but also the horizontal relationship between the various power agencies and between social groups.

K. Cross and R. Jacket in their work "The political communications and the newest media in the democratic countries: the competing approaches" offer their own definition of the political communication. It is "... a process of social interaction through messages relating to the public administration and the exercise of power in society"¹.

Thus, the studying of the political activity, the political ethic and the political communication in the process of structuring of the field of policy involves the consideration of movement, development and transformation, when the tradition (routine, repeatability) oppose to the innovations (modernization, reform, change).

During the structuring there is a combination of conscious (rational) modeling of the field of politics and political relations and the natural construction of the political field in the process of communicative interactions between agents.

In the process of the policy field structuring the political activity employs the tasks of ensure the consistency between the political decisions (which suggests their efficacy) and the transformation of the multidimensional social space (in particular the values, informational, cultural and other spheres).

The political activity, as a part of policy field structuring ensures the reproduction of the traditional political relations and the creation of the new interactions with the usage of the available resources. It aimed to achieve a certain political goal, which is associated with the reception and retention of the political power. The field of policies plays a role of the various activities of agents that cover all stages from the formulation of the problem to the monitoring of the consequences of political decisions for the representatives of different social spaces.

The political activity reveals the fundamental principles of the democratic process, exactly the interaction between the professional political agents and the citizens. The citizens political activity also is an important process in the structuring of the policy field, which promotes the expression of the interests of social groups and individuals, the public presentation of the relevant requirements, ensure their participation in the political decision-making.

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¹ Крос, К., Гакет, Р.А. (2013). *Політичні комунікації та новинні мас-медіа у демократичних країнах: конкуруючі підходи*. <http://soc-gw.univ.kiev.ua/DEM_EDU/LIBRARY>.