

DOI: 10.52363/passa-2024.1-1

УДК 351/354:37

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**CORRELATION AND RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS,
POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**

Deepening the understanding of the phenomenon of political culture poses two important questions: 1) what is the content and essence of political culture and 2) how to define the boundaries of this phenomenon? The questions asked require analyzing the relationship between the concepts of "political culture", "political consciousness" and "political behavior". Do political consciousness and political behavior contain what is not in political culture (and vice versa). This very question is discussed in the article and becomes relevant at the moment of destabilization of the political situation in our country.

Keywords: *political culture, political consciousness, political behavior, society, state.*

Formulation of the problem. Political culture is a subjective dimension of the political life of society, or a set of politically relevant positions and opinions, views and values of subjects and members of a certain political organism, manifested in political behavior. The content of political culture includes 1) cognitive orientations (information about political institutions, roles and statuses, which may be true or false); 2) emotional orientations (feelings that political actors feel towards the political structure and political subjects); 3) evaluative orientations (judgments and opinions about political objects based

on knowledge, values and emotions); 4) political behavior of actors guided by the named orientations. The paradox is that political culture is realized at the personal level, but is a social phenomenon that can affect political processes at the societal level.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Scientists such as M. Panov, S. Maksimov, L. Diamond, and V. Yasynska were engaged in the study of certain issues of the terminology of political culture, political consciousness, and political behavior.

Presenting main material. Political culture emerges and develops simultaneously with political relations and, along with them, is influenced by the socio-historical experience acquired by the people. Therefore, the originality of the political development of countries is revealed in the political culture, then the distinguishing features of the political cultures of different peoples are indicated. Totally permeating the plane of political space, political culture encompasses institutional and extra-institutional political relations, establishing stable and repeated connections between elements of political processes, turning these connections into typical ones that characterize the relations and interactions of members of the political community and institutions of the political system.[4] Hence, the relationship between political consciousness, political behavior and political culture, which is realized through political consciousness in the political behavior of actors and the activities of political institutions, is obvious.

Political behavior characterizes the state of the subject during political activity; therefore, the behavior is correlated with any political actions.

In our opinion, political behavior plays a decisive role in the conceptual pair "political behavior - political consciousness". At the same time, political consciousness exerts an active negative influence on political behavior. Political behavior shows the attitude of social agents to the political world and their awareness of their place and participation in society. The structure of political behavior includes the subject and the object of the action, conditions for the implementation of the action, goal settings, means and results of the action, which allows establishing relationships between the elements of the structure. Depending on the criterion, political behavior is differentiated into different types and forms. On the basis of the subject's interaction with the political world, types

of political behavior are distinguished: open, or political action, and closed, or political immobility, for example, political apathy or boycott.

Based on the structure - direct (directed directly to the object) and indirect (achieved by delegation of powers during elections) political behavior. The criterion of the number of participants classifies political behavior into individual, group (collective) and mass. On the basis of the motivation of the subject - socially meaningful, value-oriented, affective and traditionally determined political behavior. According to the subject's level of activity, political behavior takes the following forms: a reaction (positive or negative) that requires activity; participation in periodic political actions; activity in political and public organizations; performance of political functions in formal and informal political institutions; direct action; active activity in extra-institutional political movements that are opposition to the existing political regime. Taking the direction of political actions as a criterion, political behavior can be divided into vertical (actions directed along the vertical of a hierarchically constructed political system from top to bottom or from bottom to top) and horizontal (actions carried out within one level of the political system). In general, political behavior today is a system of actions of members of society, which expresses the relationship between our society and the state, and the central link of the relationship is the issue of power. [2]

Political behavior is determined by subjective-psychological (needs and interests of the subject, life experience) and external factors, which are determined by the socio-economic, political and cultural conditions of the society of which the subject is a member. Therefore, political behavior subject to external influence should in no case be considered as a direct result of consciousness. In addition, there are forms of political behavior that are carried out with minimal participation of consciousness or at an unconscious level, namely: unconscious reactions of an indicative order and impulsive behavioral acts in a situation of stress, affect and panic. Among the factors that determine political behavior, political culture is also present, because it is manifested in political behavior, which can be explained by taking into account the type of political culture that prevails in society; types and forms of political behavior characterize the content and

structure of political culture.

Determining the relationship between political behavior and political culture, we consider political culture to be a narrower concept than political behavior. On the one hand, political culture is already political behavior in the sense that it describes its private moment, but, on the other hand, it is broader, since political culture extends to the sphere of political consciousness. Political culture does not include all political behavior, but only those patterns and norms that are repeated and relatively stable, which contribute to the reproduction of the model of political life that has historically developed in the country. We must admit that political consciousness is not fully included in the sphere of political culture, namely: outside the sphere is that part of political consciousness that initiates atypical patterns and norms of political behavior. Otherwise, the political consciousness of persons who are guided by new value attitudes and demonstrate new behavior patterns acquires a dichotomous form, one part of which corresponds to the political culture of society, the other is outside the political culture. In fact, such splitting of consciousness paralyzes human actions, since consciousness, unlike the psyche, is always whole.

Political consciousness as a reflection and expression of social existence is a permanent and relatively dynamic part of political culture. Political consciousness is a subject's reflection of interactions and social relations that are refracted through the prism of the state and political institutions, power and subordination. Being an immanent property of a political subject, political consciousness acts as an active beginning that regulates political behavior. The imperative of political consciousness is manifested in the forms and types of political behavior that are acceptable for behavioral schemes embedded in consciousness, as well as in the motivations of political actors, in motivations that are formed taking into account the needs and interests of a person. In consciousness, the peculiarities of the political space of society are expressed, which determines the distinctive features of the perception and understanding of the political world by members of our society and affects the formation of political culture.

The scale, complexity and dynamism of political reality determine the

multidimensionality of political consciousness, which allows structuring the phenomenon from different angles. Epistemological, axiological and functional structures characterize the elements of political consciousness from the standpoint of the amount of knowledge possessed by political actors; compliance or non-compliance of political phenomena and processes with the values accepted by political agents; the role of elements of consciousness in the realization of values shared by members of society. The degree of systematization of elements in the content of political consciousness determines such levels of consciousness as theoretical and mass, which includes the synthesis of individual elements as theoretical and everyday consciousness. Mass consciousness in a sense means the consciousness of large groups, in a narrow sense - a special form of everyday consciousness, which is formed under the influence of propaganda, advertising and PR technologies. Everyday consciousness is the product of a wide range of members of society, therefore it superficially reflects political reality. There are inert (stereotypes) and changeable (rumors, thoughts, judgments) elements in everyday consciousness.

The quantitative criterion classifies political consciousness into forms: individual, group and mass. Worldview differentiation of political consciousness determines the types of political consciousness: conservative, liberal, revolutionary and others. The categories of political perception, political attitude, political guidance, political orientation, and political conviction are embodied in political consciousness, which express the content of the political subject's reflection on the political world. In the tandem "political consciousness - political behavior", the decisive role belongs to political behavior, thanks to which political consciousness reveals its own content and at the same time exerts a negative influence on political behavior, acquiring an activity character.

Some elements of political consciousness are stable (settings, stereotypes of political thinking, ideas, theories, beliefs and traditions), others are unstable, short-term and quickly changing (emotions, feelings, thoughts and moods). The boundary between them is flexible and mobile. The most conservative elements are the stereotypes of political consciousness, which influence the perception of an object or knowledge recorded in the mind mainly as images. In the everyday consciousness, stereotypes are

characterized as negative models that indicate a superficial perception of political phenomena, a lack of independent thinking, and a simplification of the multifaceted and hierarchical nature of political reality. [3] But stereotypes of thinking, which are an integral property of consciousness, acquire special importance as the object under investigation becomes more complicated, because they allow a person, despite incomplete knowledge or opposing external influences, to navigate the situation and make the necessary decisions. Including cognitive and emotional components, a stereotype characterized by increased stability, on the one hand, increases the subject's ability to navigate in a complex and contradictory political reality. On the other hand, the persistence of stereotypes hinders the perception of innovations, because the emotional field of stereotypes suppresses new elements contrary to rationality, which gives political behavior an irrational aspect. And such nuances can lead to assessments and decisions that do not correspond to a person's political attitude.

Considering political consciousness in comparison with political culture as a broader and at the same time as a narrower concept, three levels of political consciousness are distinguished: 1) the level of expectations and assessment of one's opportunities to influence the political system for their implementation; 2) socio-political values underlying the ideological choice; 3) thoughts, that is. assessment of the current situation, government or political leader. Knowledge permeates all these levels. Of the three levels, the level of political values is the most stable. If you divide citizens into those involved in politics, who are passively interested in politics and those who are not interested in politics, then the difference between them will be expressed by a certain ratio of the mentioned levels. All three levels will be present in those involved in politics and will be weakly expressed in those uninterested in politics (up to underdeveloped political consciousness). Passively interested in politics, they have the ability to give an opinion a hypertrophied meaning.

It is possible to distinguish the difference between political consciousness and political culture: political consciousness is included in political culture with knowledge and ideas about various aspects of political life and is characterized by the predominance

of cognitive elements, although it is completely reduced to them. The presence of political consciousness presupposes a certain level of development of society and according to political culture. Political culture is present in political consciousness as a reason for dividing citizens into the specified groups and as a factor affecting the level of expectations and citizens' assessment of the possibility to influence the political system, the formation of values and opinions. In another sense, political culture is broader than political consciousness, because even the absence of political consciousness can be considered as a passive form of political culture. Political consciousness is only one of the types of implementations of political culture and serves as an effective tool for determining its structural structure and meaningful components.[4]

The first approach to the question of the relationship between the concepts of "political culture" and "political consciousness" gives an idea, firstly, of the inconsistency in the relationship of the concepts, and secondly, that political consciousness, like political behavior, is not fully included in the concept "Political culture".

It is important to understand that consciousness, being a product and function of social existence, i.e. social consciousness is not only a reflection of the material, but also the production of the ideal (values, ideas, knowledge), with the help of which it forms the needs and interests that motivate human activity and has a negative impact on being. The thesis about the secondary nature of social consciousness has two arguments. First, social existence is a broader system in relation to human consciousness, which acts as a condition and a means of a person's entry into a holistic system of existence. The variety of social existence goes beyond the original content of consciousness, the expansion of which horizon is carried out in activities that are guided by consciousness. Consciousness has a social nature, because it arises and develops in the process of joint activity of members of society. Secondly, the structure and content of social consciousness are conditioned by a historically certain way of social existence, therefore consciousness should be considered as a socio-historical formation, the content and form of which are determined by the level of development of human activity. Hence, the attributes of social consciousness are integrity and ideality (reflection of the surrounding world in subjective

images).

Political consciousness, as one of the types of social consciousness, has the generic features of social consciousness to the full extent, and the line of difference between them runs along the object of reflection, the way and features of reflection, and the performed function (the peculiarity of the reverse influence on social reality). The reality of political consciousness, or the essential nature of consciousness, presupposes the presence of two levels in political consciousness, namely: the level of collective (generally accepted) ideas, which are generalized in political knowledge, and the level of individual consciousness of specific members of society who have mastered the collective ideas that have become their sub objective reality in relation to the political world. The first level allows political consciousness to accumulate common meanings, form values and perform the function of social memory, producing schemes for preserving and reproducing the accumulated political experience. The second level covers all the essential human forces (thinking, memory, abilities, will, emotions), which, in the process of internalizing the generally accepted norms of political consciousness, creates a unique image of the political world as a whole personal formation, through the prism of which he perceives and evaluates political objects. objects, relations and interactions of political actors, views and ideology. Generally accepted norms and values are refracted through the individual image of the political world in the process of socially transforming activity.

[1]

The individual level forms the structural foundation of political consciousness as a systematic, organically integrated and ordered education that reflects political existence. The political sphere of society is a part of the political, since the economy, social sphere and culture can be involved in the political space through activities and public institutions. However, the political sphere is the central link of the political, which is formed in the context of socio-historical development, political and socio-cultural experience of the people.

Political consciousness in its integrity combines the multidimensionality, heterogeneity and contradictions of the political, which it covers completely. Due to the

war of human interaction with the political world, ideal images arise that reflect objective reality, which testifies to a person's ability to be a subject of the political process, initiating political actions based on an ideal project. Thus, an opportunity is created to indicate the existence of a subjective reality characteristic of the mentioned subject, which is revealed in political actions. Such an ideal model is political culture, which is manifested in the typical connections and relations of political members outside and inside the institutional political system of society. Political culture demonstrates a certain reality of the reflection of political reality by consciousness. This reality is manifested in subject-object political relations, in the structure and functioning of the political system, in the interaction of the state and society, confirming the properties and qualities of political culture indicated in the ideal model.

Political consciousness and political culture are inextricably linked. They are socio-historical formations, manifest at the individual and societal level, and reveal their content in political activity. Both, totally embracing the political, cannot be found understood outside the sphere of each other, because political consciousness exists and is reproduced in the sphere of political culture, at the same time it is a condition and even a means of preserving and reproducing political culture. The scope of the content of political consciousness and political culture differs, but both are dynamic phenomena that have the ability to develop, enrich (in the sense of increasing the value content) and change, attracting innovative elements to their own subject field.

Turning to the question of the relationship between the concepts of "political culture", "political consciousness" and "political behavior", we must emphasize their systemic nature. They are interconnected and manifest in statics and dynamics. Despite the systematic nature, political consciousness and political behavior in relation to political culture act as subsystems, and, therefore, political culture in relation to them is a supersystem. In other words, if we consider political culture from the standpoint of a system, then political consciousness and political behavior are subsystems or parts of political culture. In the relationship between political behavior and political consciousness, the determining role belongs to the behavior, in the process of which the

content of consciousness is revealed, which has an active negative influence on the behavior. Being systemic phenomena, political consciousness and political behavior as parts of political culture retain relative independence, but in unity they act as subsystems of political culture, which sets limits to the system it forms.

In the structure of political culture, stable elements that form the "core" and unstable elements that constitute the periphery and express the qualitative characteristics of subcultures that occupy a subordinate position in relation to the leading subculture are distinguished, because all political cultures are mixed, combining parts of simple and more complex patterns of political orientations and actions. Innovative elements initially focus on the periphery, experiencing opposition from the "core" of political culture.[2] It is obvious that political consciousness and political culture are not identical to each other in terms of content. However, the difference in content does not prevent one concept from manifesting itself in and through another, as well as from being fully extended to the sphere of this phenomenon. The content and essence of political culture as a system is determined by the unity of political behavior (activity) and political consciousness, which is presented in a coherent flow in political culture, gaining certainty in the set of forms, types and types of political behavior.

Division into parts and violation of the integrity of political consciousness as a subsystem of political culture is unacceptable for a number of reasons:

1. Unlike the psyche, political consciousness manifests itself only as a whole.
2. The integrated flow of political consciousness at the intersection of the fields of politics, political and culture synthesizes the subjective reality of "political culture" (in all its diversity), which is objectified in political activity and political institutions, develops and changes under the influence of political consciousness, transformations of which are impossible when the integrity is violated.

3. Being socio-historical formations, political culture and political consciousness are formed in the course of the development of society and the state, the formation of a political system, the accumulation of political experience, the formation and transformation of the institutional order - a whole series of processes and phenomena that

ultimately determine the peculiarities of political development, traditions and political norms and which are able to reflect in dynamics only a coherent flow of political consciousness.

4. The structures of political consciousness and political culture equally include stable and unstable elements, the interaction between which and the processes of change in the "field" and "core" are capable of supporting only a coherent flow of political consciousness that structures economic, cultural, philosophical, legal, moral and other ideas that acquire political significance and become components of the understanding of political reality and prerequisites for the transition from one model of political culture to another.

5. The content of a political subject's reflection on the political world is determined by the type of political culture acquired in the process of political socialization. But the content of the political consciousness of the subject is not static, it develops, acquires new meanings and changes, despite being included in a certain system of perception and understanding of political reality, which indicates the preservation of a coherent flow of political consciousness, which is able to reflect and express only under the condition of integrity political reality in the context of a certain type of political culture and at the same time revise political attitudes, beliefs and patterns of behavior and, therefore, be in development and support dynamic processes in political culture.

Conclusions. The political culture that formed in Ukraine was a rather complex system, which includes elements that developed at different stages of socio-historical development and have different cultural potential. Just as with the change of eras, a new one is layered on top of the old layer of material culture, so in political culture, new layers are formed over time, covering the old ones, but the layering occurs unevenly in space and time. Some elements of the lower (archaic) strata die off, others retain their functional significance in society and are able to continue moving vertically, entering a new political culture.

Thus, in our opinion, political culture is not something decent or intersects with political consciousness and behavior, but is the unity of political behavior and political

consciousness in the system formed by political culture. There is nothing in political culture that is not present in political behavior or political consciousness. Political culture exists only in the unity of political consciousness and political behavior, which as subsystems acquire a qualitatively different meaning. The determining role of political behavior is interdependent with the active reverse influence of political consciousness on behavior. The content and essence of political culture determines the unity of political behavior (activity) and political consciousness, the unity of practical and spiritual, which gives integrity to the political process and reveals typical features of political interactions.

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