Iryna ZHADAN

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN A TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY: PROBLEM, MECHANISMS, RESOURCES

The article presents main paradigm approaches to research of political socialization and relevant to them views on the concept of political socialization, its goals and mechanisms, as well as outlines the subject field of the socio-psychological research in the framework of the different paradigms. The author also describes the logic and some findings of the regular surveys of the research fellows of the laboratory of psychology of youth political behavior carried out in the framework of nonclassical and postnonclassical approaches. In particular, there is a psychological model of structuring the content of political education of the young generation, which is oriented at providing for the citizenship education function of the political education; some findings of the research of youth social representations, peculiarities of social learning impact on school and university students political attitudes development, research of socializing discourse as a factor of structuring the value component of youth political world outlook in different regions. Socializing discourse propositions with regards to political values have been analyzed. It has been proved that university students' value discourse is not identical to the discourse of any political socialization subject. Basic meanings of students' discourse have been identified.

Key words: political socialization, social representations, political attitudes, socializing discourse, political world outlook.

Information society development caused systematic changes in socialized space: goals, objectives, essences and meanings are changing, competences structure of socialization subjects are transforming, influence of some other opportunities is reducing and its agents' possibilities are growing. Transitional societies are characterized except for this list of issues by an increasing pump up of the uncertainty level, changing values, norms and ideas about deviation, rapid aging of the interpretation schemes etc.

The need of solving the problems outlined led to the creation in the Institute of Social and Political Psychology of the Laboratory of political behavior of young people psychology (before – the one of the psychological problems of political education, and in 1997 – 2013. of Psychological problems of young people political socialization). It is focused on researching socialization process social and psychological conditions, factors and mechanisms.

Nowadays the study of political socialization factors are performed under different paradigmatic approaches and understanding of the nature and influence possibilities on this process vary depending on the vision of

determinants, essential features and expectations about political socialization outcomes.

Political socialization in the frames of classical paradigm is defined as the process of acquiring values, norms, traditions, standards of political behavior, providing individual's adaptation to the political system. According to this approach socialization is tool of political culture reproducing; an individual is a subject of socialization impacts; objective criteria for evaluating socialization process success exist or at least can be defined. Political socialization process is viewed rather as monologic, outward determined. Its development is restricted by individual potential and culture deployment. And individual's activity is aimed at acquiring norms and values, identification and adaptation to political realities. This subject is an object approach leading to the focus on the conditions and means of social influences and can be rather productive in a sustainable society where there is a consensus of fundamental interactions and basic political values and goals.

Political socialization specialists researching it in the non-classical paradigm focus mostly on the political culture development but not reproduction. Herewith socialization is regarded as dialogical, self-determined, subject-subject process of shaping individual's political worldview. Interaction *category* is the basic one for understanding the impact (or more precisely – mutual influence) socialization environment and identity, sources and mechanisms of change or changes exchange, because reality is generated by the interaction. Attention is concentrated on the individual's selectivity in standards and values of the political culture mastering, creative character of socialization, shifting the emphasis in understanding the opportunities of control over the course of socialization processes on behalf of individual and society. According to this approach socialization process sphere of influences is extending as well as its nature: political behavior samples and patterns selection and providing conditions for their internalization is not sufficient. There arise tasks for creating motivation for political participation, developing political thought, updating reflexive consciousness mechanisms, motivation to own interpretations and self-shaping of political reality, and thus the development of political culture.

Political socialization in Post-non-classical paradigm can be defined as meaning interpretation and construction process based on stable and deep social and cultural patterns and designs represented in the political discourse. V.V.Abramenkova considers them to be represented by visual archetypes *on the unconscious level;* by schematically standardized, emotive, stable and non-sensible images to images criticism, generated by mainstream culture and ideology stereotypes *on the semi-unconscious level*; by social stereotypes shaped in a particular society and reflect norms, standards, criteria, arising on the basis of culture on the *conscious level* [1]. So,

on the one hand, a person during socialization process becomes a result of interaction with the outside world. On the other hand it is shaping their world-view of politics in interaction with others, with culture and with itself, influences the world, produces new values, essences and meanings. Political socialization effectiveness is estimated by the dimensions of complexity, details and structured political identity world-view and its readiness to system impact on political interaction field.

The first researches made by the laboratory staff were carried out in the development paradigm. *Psychological pattern of creating political education content of the younger generation* was worked out as a result of researching psychological background of the political education content. Its main result is a person as the subject of political attitudes. Three units of *political socialization psychological effects* in the suggested pattern were outlined. So, political education content must be geared on: *cognitive* (political representation), *conative* (political activity experience) and *affective* (political attitudes system and socio-psychological mechanisms of political activity). The pattern offered is of cyclic character. Available generalization degree of political ideas, political activity experiences at each stage of political education actualize some social and psychological mechanisms. Owing to the latter conditions for appearing new political attitudes, appropriate personal meanings, motivations, ways of action, behavior patterns are provided. In its turn, the level of political activity subject at each stage is a proof of political socialization depth and extent, and thus, of the adequacy of political education content to its tasks. The interest as individual's attitude to life, revealed in an effort of understanding these conditions and influencing them (create or change) is the main category in the suggested pattern.

The pattern is focused mainly on providing *political education civil functions*. The *need of combining two approaches – traditional current assessment and long-term real life assessment in the process of evaluating political education effectiveness* is grounded. Current evaluation should be aimed at assessing student's political competence, rather than his reproduction abilities. A set of assessment techniques of 1) senior pupils' political identification features; 2) their political awareness level; 3) tolerance; 4) communication vector [2] is worked out.

Scientific researches carried out within the frames of the topic *"Social Science Education as a Factor of Youth's Social Ideas in Transforming Society"* prove the urgency of restructuring political education content and forms considering suggested pattern. A collective scientific monograph was published as a result of researches performed [3]. In particular, a range of features of youth's social ideas due to the lack of educational influences efficiency was found:

● meaningful social ideas of students do not include nearly half of the available scientific knowledge resource;

● youth's social ideas of are very abstract – ideas that can be considered prototypes arise more often than those related to certain representations;

● a share of moral expectations in social ideas is very significant. We can state oversaturation of social ideas stereotypes and emotional components. The core of moral values semantic field is an expectation of equality, honesty, responsibility.

● the understanding of the latter is characterized by numerous schemes and lack of political responsibility idea;

● understanding of social responsibility (moral views) are rarely represented as scenarios compared to political or legal ideas;

● cognitive principles prevailing over attitude one in different groups of social representations is unequal – the share of emotional representations was the lowest in the group of civic ideas (20%), the largest in the group of moral ideas (42.9%).

One third of political and legal ideas representations can be regarded *attitude ones*, herewith most of them (60.4% and 77.5% respectively) as *negative,* suggesting the lack of youth adaptability [3].

Low awareness level of the social institutions and phenomena mechanisms and functions is correlating with dominant protest guidelines, negative and aggressive attitude to social life were defined. Students' prototypes ideas who were unable to define concept suggested, more often had negative emotional connotation; and typically negative patterns were in specific representations.

Comparative analysis of students', teachers' and educators' semantic ideas about the good citizen revealed significant differences in their interpretations.

Students considered a good citizen to be a person of political trust, political efficiency and interest and participate in interactions system like *"citizen – state"*. Teachers focused in the interaction of *"citizen – other people"*. Teachers' prevailing characteristic was: "... a good, decent person keeping to moral standards and values and respecting others". Teachers unlike students pay more attention to active citizenship as a good citizen feature, and loyalty is little. *Educators*' idea of the good citizen is focused in the aspect ""citizen – social processes". Activity is one of the main components of educators' semantic representations, but only in the sixth, the least important factor (the one of social adaptation). It is supported by positive integral relation to social reality. Such semantics can indicate that the educators don't understand and thus can't suggest adequate ways of students' civic education. Educators are likely to be hostages of controversial

state rhetoric. On the one hand, it calls citizens to be active, critical and responsible. On the other hand, it restrains them because of lack of attraction mechanisms and expectations loyalty and self-respect from its citizens' due to supporting relevant civil attitude by means of educational process in particular [3].

Further search of social and psychological resources of socialization influences caused research of social education influence peculiarities on the development of pupils' and students' political attitudes. As a result the scientific research and methodology work: *"Social Education: Mechanisms of Political Attitudes of the Youth"* was published [4]. Political socialization was studied in the approach named "reciprocity pattern". Thereby interaction becomes its determining factor.

This understanding of essence development means that the latter has the same nature with education as a process of acquiring new ways of behaviour and activity, their fixation and/or modification by the subject. Existing conditions of political socialization and the *pattern of need future* describing political socialization *goals* on the both levels (adaptation and development), as well as *values* indicating on the degree of socialization subject *(how should be the final result of political socialization?)* are analyzed. *Description pattern* answering question about origins of the political socialization problems of in the transition society (what is happening?) is suggested. *Explanation pattern* used for identifying the situation to ensure socialization process (why can't we get the result desired?) is developed. Software pattern based on the identification of education social resources as a mechanism of political socialization of the youth is created.

Methodical backgrounds of developing political attitudes of the youth by means of social education, including shaping value patterns of the political world, social and regulatory cooperation, political competences, civic attitudes, etc. are developed. [3; 4].

The laboratory staff worked out the research area of psychological pattern of political education – specific social attitude – mechanisms of political attitudes. Factors of structuring political students' world-view based on the suggestion that space and direction of political socialization are determined mostly by the social discourse in a transitional society.

Considering the fact that interaction of each of socialization subject is and at the same time corrects own interpretation of meanings and values of the common discourse [J. Mid, H. Blumer, V. Vasyutynskiy] and understanding of discourse as a dynamic kind of social practice shaping social world, personality, and identity and sets reality boundaries and helps to structure it (D. Potter, M. Ueterel, L. Phillips, L. Jorgens, R. Shveder, T. Titarenko), we have worked out a research *hypothesis*. According to the hypothesis the range of political socialization suggestions represented in the

hypothesis define continual number of meanings and thus interpretation frames defining political world-view of the students. This is the case when discourse interaction is a kind of social and cultural regulation process of political socialization; and basic meanings of public discourse reflect social expectations as for its vector.

A special program and research tool kit were worked out to confirm the hypothesis, based on non-classical and post-non-classical methodology combination. An empirical study of specific features of students' political world-view was carried out.

The program is created to perform research discourse of the political interaction in the context of values, goals, motivations, cultural and historical aspects, social capital and political practices of its subjects. The program is aiming at defining the basic meanings that determine the process of students' political world-view structure.

For the moment we already have preliminary results. Due to the latter some conclusions can be made, in particular the one regarding students' political world-view value component structuring.

During the first stage of researching special features of students' political world-view value component structuring value offers of online media, political forces programs, education programs were analyzed. The latter include education programs for pupils of 10-11 grades in schools of Ukrainian language of instruction– standard and academic levels the Ukrainian Literature, World Literature, History of Ukraine, World History and Law) and students (method of incomplete sentences is used). Content analysis of socialization discourse resulted that:

● approximately one third of the value proposals socialization discourse are symbolic and have no interpretation prospects;

● semantic range of proposals for individual values is narrowed and sometimes is represented by one pole of values; therefore interpretation constructs are absolutely predictable;

● values-goals and values-means proper to liberal political culture represented in the discourse very poorly;

● values and meanings based on emotional, unconscious constructs prevail in the Internet-media and most political parties;

● evaluation discourse is directed mostly to the past or present and but is not aimed at consolidation;

● discourse space is limited to the space interaction "power – person"; interaction of "citizen and power" or "civil society – government" "is not reflected in the value discourse;

● value discourse of socialization subjects is characterized by protest rather than radical character.

Socialization discourse proposals concerning political values were systematized, specified and became a background for developing tools for psycho-semantic research – a questionnaire consisting of 47 statements regarding seven most important themes of the discourse that was used to carry out investigation in eastern, western, southern and central regions of Ukraine.

Comparative analysis of factor patterns and content value proposals of the students from *central* part of Ukraine (represented by Kyiv and Vinnitsa universities), *southern one* (Kherson university), eastern (University of Kharkov) and western (Ivano-Frankivsk university) resulted to following:

● basic meanings of the value component of the youth political world-view in the central and southern, western and eastern have essential difference. A range of suggestions about the origins of the mentioned differences, can be made; including, first of all, historical memory, cultural specifics of the region, differences in the political discourse of the local elites, territorial features, etc.;

● despite the differences values discourse of all the students in all four regions is aimed at changing the existing order; but revolutionary values are more evident in the central and western parts than in the east;

● value aspect of the youth's political world-view in the central and southern regions is expressed by the value of the individual, that is set on active cooperation with the government, has an idea of interaction mechanisms and goals between agents aiming at providing human rights. Students from the east and west shape political world-view around the value of power, while political responsibility of the power is a condition for achieving aims (well-being and order) in the eastern part of Ukraine. As far as it concerns the western part of Ukraine it refers to individual's political responsibility.

Freedom values are represented in the patterns of basic constructs of eastern and western regions of Ukraine, but the need for freedom is not up-to-date. We can also state the simulacrum of "human rights" construct, represented in the patterns of the east and west by the fifth factor "condition of keeping human rights" (the respondents expressed non-understanding the nature of these rights);

● value discourse of the youth from central and southern regions of Ukraine is more rational and agreed regarding values-goals and values-tools compared to the discourses of east and west. The most controversial by the compliance of objectives and means, as well as ideas about ideas about the nature of individual values and the conditions of their existence is the eastern region students' discourse.

Data comparison of the first phase of research (socialization discourse content analysis) and psycho-semantic survey results indicates that

the students' political discourse is not equal to any subject of political socialization.

Analysis of factor pattern of the value component of the students' political world-view offers that define it, gives grounds to characterize it as modern one. At the same time the features of simulacrum, symbolic, mythological values constructs indicate on the need to confirm hypothesis suggested.

Significant differences in ideas about the nature of respondents' values who receive technical and humanities education (including human rights, freedom, revolution and evolution moods) were found out. Significant difference between political scientists and students of technical professions (by the parameters of freedom, human rights and responsibility for their own political choice and its consequences) was found. No significant difference between political science students and other humanities professions were found. The latter give grounds to make conclusion that modern educational discourse is not aimed at shaping value component of students' political culture. But differences found during research are not caused by targeted educational influences on the process of structuring youth discourse, but due to different intellectual strategies that are used for understanding value offers of social discourse by the youth willing to work in the technical or humanitarian spheres. The task of political education content reorientation becomes update considering the abovementioned (see. Psychological pattern of creating the content of youth political education).

System creation meanings of youth value discourse of in all regions are: *security, human rights and development.* Youth political discourse direction is determined mostly by relevance degree of the values of freedom, awareness level of the necessity of public control of power and readiness for revolutionary change. So a broad dialogue involving all the subjects of political socialization around these values and semantic constructs will do well for society consolidation as well as approving new value practices.

Diverging vectors of structuring value component of students' political world-view from different regions will lead to the further strengthening of differences (naturally), as well as totally opposed ideas of value priorities, acceptability of certain practices of political interaction etc. Hence is the need for inter-regional dialogue able to contribute to improving values and meanings, expanding the range of interpretations of all dialogue participants, and as a result people's mutual understanding. NGOs, mass media, social networks, and of course, political education can play the main role in this process.

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