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ТЕОРЕТИЧНІ АСПЕКТИ КОМУНІКАЦІЙНОЇ ВЗАЄМОДІЇ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ІНСТИТУТІВ ТА МАС-МЕДІА
(на прикладі Республіки Болгарія)

У статті визначено, що політичні інститути виступають невід'ємними елементами політичної системи суспільства, важливими суб'єктами політики та носіями політичного процесу, що впорядковують політичну організацію суспільства, забезпечуючи її стабільне та тривале функціонування.

Зазначено, що основними науковими підходами до розуміння феномену політичної комунікації є позитивізм, біхевіоризм, структурний функціоналізм, інституціоналізм та звернено увагу на те, що у сучасному суспільстві мас-медіа виконують ряд функцій – комунікативну, інформаційну, ретрансляційну, завдяки реалізації яких впливають на всі сфери життєдіяльності суспільства та відіграють важливу роль у процесі взаємодії між владою та громадськістю.

Наголошено, що влада Республіки Болгарія скористалася історичним моментом, коли у співробітництві з нею були зацікавлені країни Європейського Союзу та змогла переконати болгарське суспільство в тому, що членство в ЄС є шляхом вирішення економічних проблем, що в подальшому сприятиме економічному добробуту держави. Відзначено, що важливу роль в євроінтеграційному процесі взаємодії владних інститутів та громадськості відіграли болгарські журналісти, які провели надзвичайно інтенсивну й важливу інформаційну кампанію, наслідком якої було 76 відсотків підтримки болгарським суспільством членства Республіки Болгарія в цій міжнародній організації. Досвід Республіки Болгарія свідчить, що ефективна робота мас-медіа є надзвичайно важливою для налагодження комунікативної

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взаємодії між інститутами влади та громадянського суспільства у відповідальний для країни момент. Однак, сучасне болгарське медіа-середовище є об'єктом інтенсивної критики через низьку якість медіа-продукту, залежність мас-медіа від олігархів та корупцію.

Ключові слова: *політичний інститут, комунікативна взаємодія, політична комунікація, мас-медіа, Республіка Болгарія.*

Theoretical Aspects of the Communication Interaction of Political Institutions and Media (Illustrated by the Republic of Bulgaria)

The article defines that political institutions are integral elements of the political system of society, important subjects of politics and carriers of the political process, that regulate the political organization of society, ensuring its stable and long-term functioning. It is stated that the main scientific approaches to understanding the phenomenon of political communication is positivism, behaviorism, structural functionalism, institutionalism and the attention is drawn to the fact that the mass media perform several functions in modern society – communicative, informational, relay, through the implementation of which, media affects all spheres of society and play an important role in the process of interaction between the government and the public.

It was noted that the authorities of the Republic of Bulgaria took advantage of the historical moment when the European Union member states were interested in cooperation and were able to convince the Bulgarian society that membership in the EU is a way to solve economic problems, which will further contribute to the economic well-being of the country. The article mentions that an important role in the European integration process of interaction between the authorities and the public was played by Bulgarian journalists, who conducted an extremely intensive and important information campaign, which resulted in 76% of support for the Republic's membership in this international organization by the Bulgarian society

The experience of the Republic of Bulgaria shows that effective work of the mass media is extremely important for establishing communication interaction between government and civil society at a crucial moment for the country. However, the modern Bulgarian media environment is subject to intense criticism for the poor quality of the media product, the media's dependence on oligarchs, and corruption.

Keywords: *political institute, communicative interaction, political communication, mass media, Republic of Bulgaria.*

Scientific problem and its significance. In modern society, the level of consolidation of society and its trust in the state authorities depends on ensuring their transparency, openness and the coverage of their activities. At this stage, the communicative interaction of political institutions and the mass media is extremely important.

Analysis of recent research on this issue. Scientific approaches to understanding the essence of the concept of "Political Institute" were studied by O. Stoiko, B. Kukhta, and V. Picha. Theoretical aspects of the communicative interaction of political institutions and mass media are the subject of research of such scientists as T. van Dijk, T. Parsons, G. Lasswell, J. Habermas, J. Grunig, T. Hunt, N. Luhmann. Among the Ukrainian scientists, works V. Burdiak and A. Zhukovskaya are devoted to the study of mass media activity in modern Bulgaria.

Purpose and objectives of the article. The purpose of the article is to define and analyze certain aspects of the communicative interaction between political institutions and mass media. To achieve this goal, the author sets tasks to determine the essence of the concept of "political institution" and "mass media", to study the theoretical foundations of their communicative interaction and to find out the features of mass media activity in modern Bulgarian society.

Presentation of the main material. Representatives of modern Ukrainian political thought give their own definitions of the essence of the political institution. According to O. Stoiko, in general, there are two main approaches to understanding political institutions: 1) institutions are a set of norms, rules, conventions and traditions that are ingrained in society, which determine, coordinate and regulate relationships between people and their behavior, a collection of regulations and rules that ensure correct and predictable behavior; 2) institutions – a complex of social associations, organizations, establishments that formulates and implements the collective goals of the society or existing groups in it (Stoiko, 2016, 17).

B. Kuhta interprets the political institution as "...a specific form of organization of government activities and a stable means of political relations order that ensure stable, long-term functioning of the political organization of society as the most important structural element of the political system" (Political science, 2003, 172). V. Picha believes that political institutions "are a set of organizations and associations that regulate political and other relations in society using material and ideological means" (political Science, 2014, 317).

Having analyzed the above definitions, it should be noted that political institutions are integral elements of the political system of society, important subjects of politics and carriers of the political process that regulate the political organization of society, ensuring its stable and long-term functioning.

An important place in the process of democratic development of society is occupied by the problem of communicative interaction between the political institutions and mass media. According to A. Zhukovska, the word "media", which is borrowed from the English language, is understood as a set of technological means and methods of communication that surround us and serve to convey an information message to a specific consumer in one form or another: text, music, image (Zhukovska, 2017, 54). The term "media" is rarely used on its own, but rather as part of such phrases as mass media, media space, media environment, media product, media tool, etc.

The main scientific approaches to understanding the phenomenon of political communication are positivism, behaviorism, structural functionalism, and institutionalism. The understanding of communication between the government and society, and its instrumental branch in the form of interaction between political institutions and the mass media, is different in these approaches, which determines the diversity of relevant scientific methodologies.

Positivism and behaviorism are inherent in most studies until almost the end of the XX century. Representatives of the concepts of social communication showed direct attention to the processes of interaction between the government and society. The basis for the emergence of such concepts was the recognition and justification of several aspects related to social structures. The first aspect concerns discursive-semiotic issues. The study of linguistic communication begins here, the concept of "language games" is born that act as the foundation of organization discourse, including political. It was discourse that became the link that connected the categories of communication, interaction, language, a person and intersubjectivity into a comprehensive whole, acting as a new mental formation.

T. van Dijk argues that discourse is communication, interaction, which is characterized by "a complex unity of language form, meaning, and action" and "is not limited by a framework of a specific language utterance, that is, of a text or a dialogue" (T. A. van Dijk, 1989, 121-122), thus freeing itself from pure linguistically, semantically, or socially conditioned parameters. Today, within the framework of discursive research, situational ap-

proaches are carefully developed taking into account the contextual characteristics of communication processes. Along with the development of discourse studies, the rules of interaction based on linguistic transformational grammar are being actively studied. It is through the development of such approaches that communication, which includes interaction and syntax (rules), has become the basis of the information theory of psychology.

Within the framework of the structural and functional direction, the communicative sphere was considered as a separate subsystem of society, where social actions are carried out. A well-known representative of this direction, T. Parsons, noted that, in the end, in a socially-significant communication, social action becomes an interaction, which, in turn, "also becomes differentiated and integrated and of the type that forms a social system" (Parsons, 2000, 422). As part of this process, a complete information cycle of the functioning of the political system is formalized, with a feedback loop that is classic for interactions and corresponding structures of legitimization (cognitive models) of political actions.

Among the main methodological achievements of structural functionalism, we should note a scheme, suggested by T. Parsons, of four main functions necessary for preserving the structure of the social system – AGIL (an abbreviation of the first letters of the categories: adaptation, goal attainment, integration, latent pattern maintenance), which is still used quite effectively in the communicative analysis of socio-political systems. This approach allowed the researchers to formalize and clearly separate the communicative sphere of the political system from the institutional, normative, and cultural-ideological spheres for observation. At the same time, the multidimensional nature of political phenomena, which are permeated with communication channels, where the phenomena themselves are often communication, was not taken into account.

Starting from the second half of the last century, communication, which is a symmetrical model of interaction, is gradually included in the object of study of the complex of social and political sciences, where it is formalized in the categories of purely political communication. It is believed that the associated research originated in the outstanding "Lasswell Formula", where he proposed to analyze the communication act answering the questions: "Who reports? What? Which channel? To? With what effect?" (Lasswell, 1958, 6).

J. Habermas, referring to the intermediate links, in his theory of "communicative action" focused on mass communication, the means of which

"create technical amplifiers of language communication" (Habermas, 1993, 45), expanding and strengthening its capabilities and forming a dense communication infrastructure. At the same time, it was widely believed that the modern development of such communication systems causes the phenomenon of one-dimensional thinking in mass society, which is "systematically supported by politicians and mass media providers" (Marcuse, 1996, 136). In the end, this turns politics from an activity that meets public needs into an activity that shapes these needs (sometimes at its own discretion), which creates many threats to the institutional system of democracy.

It is worth noting that these approaches develop various theoretical models of communication and interaction, especially in the field of public relations. For example, J. Grunig and T. Hunt (1984, 129) proposed four models of such relationships that are differentiated by their purpose, methods, and nature of communication: publicity, a public information model, a two-way asymmetric model, and a two-way symmetric model. Through the understanding of communication as a self-reference system, dialogue (symmetric) model appears to be the most constructive and strategically adequate – it combines the system's self-observation with external description; while the publicity is, mainly, external legitimation; public information is a self-description within the system to correlate the behavior of this community; and in terms of the asymmetrical connection, the description of the public's concerns eliminates or hides events in the state power system.

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A distinguished representative of the system direction of the information and power processes study, N. Luman, noted the importance of information and communication processes in the management sphere, in particular in the sphere of power implementation. In a post-industrial society, these processes become the main form of power realization, which "increases as the freedom of both sides increases" (Luman, 2001, 20), which is provided by the growth of information volumes and the further growth of behavior alternatives.

Mass media perform a number of functions in modern society, including communication (monitoring events and forming public opinion about their nature), information (collecting, editing, commenting and distributing information), and relay (reproducing a certain way of life with a corresponding set of political, spiritual, and social values). Thanks to the implementation of these functions, mass media affect all spheres of society's life through modern communication channels (press, television, radio, film,

video, Internet) and play an important role in the process of interaction between the government and the public.

For example, let's look at how the public's attitude to the processes of European integration of the Republic of Bulgaria was formed using media tools. But, first of all, it needs to be noted that Bulgaria's path to the European Union was quite diverse in the historical and political context. In 1995, the Republic of Bulgaria officially declared its accession to the European Union. Preparation for membership in the European Union stimulated and financially ensured the implementation of economic reforms in the country. New political and administrative institutions were created and legal norms were adopted that contributed to the development of business and the competitive environment. At the end of the accession negotiations (2000-2004), the Republic of Bulgaria, according to the European Commission, had mostly fulfilled the Copenhagen criteria: it formed a functioning market economy; democratic state that observes human rights; in the main part harmonized the national legislation with the common law of the European Union (Burdiak, 2016).

Despite the fact that the reforms improved the standard of living of the population, unlike the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the Republic of Bulgaria was not admitted to the European Union on May 1, 2004. The negative position of Bulgarians in regards to the government and their disappointment in the political parties as agents of positive change, the political class still managed to convince society of the need for integration steps due to the following factors. In particular, the authorities of the Republic of Bulgaria took advantage of a historic moment when the European Union countries were interested in cooperating with it and were able to convince the Bulgarian society that membership in the European Union is a way to solve economic problems, which will further contribute to the economic well-being of the state.

It should be noted that an important role in the European integration process of interaction between government institutions and the public was played by Bulgarian journalists, who conducted an extremely intensive and important information campaign, during which they illuminated the people on what the European Union is, why the Republic of Bulgaria needs membership in the European Union, what advantages the Republic of Bulgaria will have as a member of this international organization, etc. The consequence of this communicative interaction between political institutions and the mass media was that at the time of the Republic's accession

to the European Union, the percentage of Bulgarian society's support for membership in this leading organization of our time was 76 percent, and only 10 percent of the population had a negative attitude to this issue.

However, analyzing the current state of the Bulgarian mass media, we can see that they are characterized by two problems – political contradictions and a lack of pluralism. The Republic of Bulgaria has adopted a formally good legislation to protect the basic rights and freedoms of the media. All regulations of the European Union in the field of European integration have direct influence in the Republic of Bulgaria. However, in practice, their implementation is much more complicated, and the media environment is monotonous and aimed at the mass sector. In this context, the journalistic activity is constantly influenced by economic and political factors. According To V. Burdiak and I. Butyrskaya, the growth of commercialization and the decline in the quality of media products are evidenced by the concentration of media in the hands of oligarchs, trends towards sponsored articles, interference of owners in editorial policy and the work of journalists, and the marginalization of those leading and established in the profession, at the expense of their convenient, conformist colleagues (Burdiak, Butyrskaya, 2016, 26).

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In addition, despite the fact that there are four television programs in the Republic of Bulgaria that have analog broadcasting on the national air, 149 have registration for distribution of cable and satellite programs, 33 – for digital terrestrial broadcasting, three national radio programs are licensed, 24 programs of regional scale and 224 – of local, as well as a large amount of information that is supplied from public and private operators from national and international sources, the Bulgarian media environment is an object of criticism, which targets the low efficiency of media self-regulation, the dependence of journalists on media owners, their interference in the work of the media, the lack of investigative journalism, increased censorship and corruption, the forms of which range from gifts to serious monetary payments for journalistic "services". The problems of the media environment often come "from within", from the professional community itself, which is still not ready to defend its own freedom, so it is often used by various politicians, businessmen, etc. to their advantage" (Burdiak, Butyrskaya, 2016, 28-29).

Summary. Thus, the study of theoretical aspects of the communicative interaction of political institutions and mass media in modern political processes has revealed that the communicative interaction of political

institutions and mass media is extremely important. The analysis of the main scientific approaches to understanding the phenomenon of political communication made it possible to interpret modern communication as a continuous exchange of information between individuals and political institutions as carriers of certain norms and values at all levels of relations and helped to conclude that mass media perform a number of important functions that affect all spheres of society's life.

The experience of the Republic shows that effective work of the mass media is very important for establishing communicative interaction between the institutions of power and civil society, especially at a crucial moment for the state, which had been the European integration for Bulgaria. However, the modern Bulgarian media environment is a subject to intense criticism for the poor quality of the media product, the media's dependence on oligarchs, and corruption.

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