

Motivation Factors for Political Consciousness Formation in the Modern World

Vitaly V. Balakhonsky¹, Olga D. Shipunova^{2,*}, Vasiliy I. Strelchenko³,
Liudmila V. Balakhonskaya⁴ and Luliia V. Beresneva⁵

¹St. Petersburg University of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, St. Petersburg, the Russian Federation

²Peter the Great St. Petersburg Polytechnic University, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

³Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

⁴St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

⁵Autonomous Nonprofit Organization of Higher Education «International Banking Institute»
St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Abstract: The article deals with the problem of political consciousness formation in the global conditions of heterogeneous political structures, which generate a wide range of needs and interests of groups and individuals. The purpose of our study is to identify the motivational structure of the subject's consciousness formation in political structures of different types. Conceptual description of the motivational structure in socio-political systems requires complex application of various research methods. The authors utilize such methods as structural and functional analysis of the informational and social environment, the phenomenological analysis of the role of communicative practices in the public sphere driving the attitudes of mass consciousness in the process of political power legitimation. Empirical methods include public opinion polls. Following the typology of forms of political consciousness, it is possible to single out and to systematize objective system factors of the living environment and subject-oriented factors of consciousness manipulation in public policy. Remarkably, real social systems are characterized by the complex synthesis of elements from different types of political consciousness. The process of recognizing the legitimacy of power by an individual is defined by opposite motivational vectors of freedom and necessity and runs on the base of rational and emotional perception of the political situation. The unity of the diverse forms of political consciousness organization in the global society is based on the axiological consensus between cultures, between society and human, between state and person. These relations conceptually manifest in symbols that motivate individual and group consciousness to trust in power.

Keywords: Global society, political consciousness, motivational structure, communication practice, public sphere.

INTRODUCTION

The process of formation and development of the global world is inevitably associated with the evolution of political consciousness, which is a synthesis of beliefs, ideas and axiological attitudes concerning the system of power relations of society in the past, present and possible future (Ors, 2015; Ives & Kendal, 2014). The structure of each particular society reveals different forms of awareness of political reality, which express socio-cultural identity of specific ethnic, religious and socio-class communities with their own values, the specifics of their psychological representation and ideas about the norms of political action (Dian, 2017; Fourcade *et al.*, 2016). Nevertheless, in the socio-historical process are presented universal types of organization of political consciousness, which in certain modifications are characteristic of any society.

The method of studying the forms of political consciousness organization, was based on sociological research of the value orientations of political process subjects in different countries and was widely spread in applied science (Smelser & Baltes, 2001). The generalizations of a large amount of empirical material allowed distinguishing different concepts of political consciousness formation. Each of them was formed in a certain intellectual atmosphere and specific social conditions. Nevertheless, the problem of correlating between political institutions and motivational structure, which further determines individual's and mass cognitive and emotional background for the perception of the political situation, is the main reason to search for and investigate the universal concept of political consciousness formation.

The main goal of this article is to analyze the specifics of the formation and functioning of political consciousness in the modern global world. The relevance of this study is due to the problems of social forecasting in the face of uncertainty of globalization vectors. In this regard, the authors turn to the problems of the political consciousness typology in social theory

*Address correspondence to this author at the Peter the Great St. Petersburg Polytechnic University, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation; Tel: 88125347521; Fax: 88125347521; E-mail: o_shipunova@mail.ru, shipunova_od@spbstu.ru

concerning the motivational factors that guide the formation of political consciousness of the individual and mass subject.

The specific tasks of this conceptual study are:

- Analysis of general conceptual approaches to the typology of political consciousness in a modern global society;
- Identification of the motivational structure in various organizational forms of political consciousness;
- Investigation of the role of communicative practice in the public sphere, related to the influence on the people's perception and their behavior in the process of the political system legitimizing.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The scientific literature presents different approaches to the study of political consciousness. The supporters of the psychological approach define political consciousness as a socially organized system of psychological orientations aimed at ensuring the functioning and development of political objects and processes (Pile, 2019).

Proponents of complex approach relate political consciousness with all variety of phenomena which have any touch to perception and understanding of politics (Smith, 2017). In the historical development of this view we can find three basic features in the interpretation of political consciousness, namely:

- Denial of its own specific content, which differs from other social phenomena;
- Reduction of political consciousness to the political relations
- Identification of political consciousness with the political system of society.

The essence of a heuristic approach to understanding political consciousness can be understood in general from the definition, which we can see down below. Political consciousness is a hypothetical-inductive model, which was established in a society, reflecting the standards of perception of political phenomena that are normative and desirable for power structures (Huntington, 2003).

In terms of socio-psychological approach, political consciousness is the ideal behavioral model, which defines the frames of a political system functioning (Drob, 2016; Drury, 2015).

The objectivist approach investigates political consciousness as a set of the fixed behavior in a society behavioral norm of political subjects (Felipe-Redondo, 2015).

In the axiological approach, political consciousness appears as a system of certain social values. But, the nature of the values presented in the content of political culture is a controversial question among specialists (Beresneva, 2017; Matveevskaya & Pogodin, 2017). These researchers have developed two main positions in a topic of political consciousness. 1) Proponents of progressivism position are claiming that the content of political consciousness is only positive political values. 2) From the other hand, proponents of "binary position" believe that political consciousness includes both positive and negative values (Pikalov, 2004).

METHODS

In this article, the authors used methods of philosophical and system analytics. The structural-functional method, in particular, was used for studying factors of the global, information and social environment, including political consciousness as a system, the elements of which have different functional certainty.

The comparative-historical method was used in order to reveal the most significant research approaches to understand essence, structure, social functions and forms of political consciousness of society.

The logical-deductive method was applied for reconstructing forms of organization of political consciousness and the formation of a system of theoretical ideas about the functioning of the political consciousness of society.

In order to investigate and model motivational structure in communicative practices and to reveal orientations of mass consciousness in the political process the authors also used the phenomenological method of analysis and generalization of statistics of sociological surveys to illustrate the dynamics of social moods.

RESULTS

The Comparative Analysis Results for the Classifications of Political Consciousness Organization Forms

It seems appropriate to supplement the traditional political consciousness classification by G. Almond and S. Verba adding the new forms described in the works of F. Heunks and F. Hikspoors, such as civil-participatory, client, protest, autonomous, supervisory (Almond & Verba, 1963; Heunks & Hikspoors, 1995).

The highest value in the presented by F. Heunks and F. Hikspoors forms of political consciousness is a methodological basis of differentiation of such forms. As such, the authors identify: 1) the degree of interest of individuals and social communities to politics; 2) the trust level of political relations subjects to the actions of institutionalized forms of government; 3) assessment of the possibility and effectiveness of personal participation in political action. This assessment depends on the socio-demographic and status characteristics of political actors. The authors' conclusion about political consciousness as phenomena widespread predominantly in high-status categories of the population is significant in a methodological way.

Hence, the description of the forms of organization of political consciousness are based on three additional empirically measured characteristics of political orientations:

- 1) On the subjective political interest, which is defined as an indicator of the attitude towards the system as a whole (pro-system or anti-system orientation);
- 2) Trust in the authorities, which can be considered as an indicator of the mass acceptance of the political system or as an indicator of protest against the system;
- 3) On the assessment of opportunities for personal participation in political life.

Autonomous and participative forms of political consciousness are widely represented in higher social groups, as well as among people with higher education, mostly men. While cliental, parochial and citizen forms of political consciousness are most common among representatives of low-status groups.

Results of Structural and Functional Analysis of the Typology of Political Consciousness Forms

In terms of structural-functional analysis subsystems of political consciousness may be directed on total (integral) social units of the political environment (on social communities, groups, collectives), or on its individual units (on human individuals). In the first case, we have a social-oriented political culture (for example oriented on one or another political party). In the second one, we have individual-oriented political culture (for example oriented on some politician figure).

The Marxist approach to the classification of organizational forms of political consciousness emphasizes the objectivity of the system's conditions of the living environment of a social group (Vyatr, 1979; Vickers, 2015). There are four types of political consciousness in this classification.

1. *Traditional political consciousness*. The main feature of this type of political consciousness is evaluating political power as sacral, granted by religious authority. The necessary attributes of this political consciousness form are 1) recognition of the immutability and inviolability of the current political system; 2) the inviolable power of political traditions of the exercise of power.
2. A characteristic feature of the *estate-democratic political consciousness* is the exclusion of the absolute majority of the population from participation in the political process and the granting of the right to such participation only to a privileged minority.
3. *Democratic political consciousness* is peculiar only to societies at the capitalist stage of social and historical development. The attribute of this culture is the involvement of all social strata of the population in the political process. It should be noted that the author's declared binding of democratic political culture only to capitalism is incorrect. The real history of political institutions shows that democratic states can exist without capitalism and originate from Antic history period.
4. Socialist political consciousness is realized on the democratic basis in the socialist states.

In the structural-functional approach, the classification of the organization forms of political

consciousness is based on the principle of social regulation, which is fixed in the administrative authority system.

Liberal-democratic form of political consciousness is related to such attributes as law-based state and civil society; recognition of free individual like an independent unit of political action; dominating role of political pluralism, natural rights and protection of private property.

In the *authoritarian form of political consciousness*, mechanism of legitimating and exercising political decisions depends on the subjective preference of people which embodied some power relations.

The distinctive feature of the *totalitarian form of political consciousness organization* is striving for an extremely wide understanding and realization of political regulation in society (Gadzhiev, 2016).

A characteristic feature of the liberal-democratic model of political consciousness organization is the dominance of society over the state and its institutions. It is a model of a weak state and a strong civil society. In totalitarian and authoritarian systems, the state, on the contrary, dominates society. The opposite of these models of political consciousness organization is not absolute. In real life, the boundaries between them are quite conventional. Moreover, the strength of the state is largely determined by the strength of society and vice versa. It's impossible to have a strong state in a weak civil society and a strong civil society in a weak state.

A developed civil society requires the following political attributes:

- 1) A developed system of political democracy;
- 2) The legal nature of the state power, assuming the supremacy of the law over the activities of all branches of power;
- 3) A plurality of political representation of different social strata in the system of power, such plurality is possible predominantly through activities of political parties, which are designed to represent the interests of different social groups in the system of power.

The legal nature of state power requires mutual compliance by the government and the opposition with the legislative framework governing the political process. It is a "rules of the game" which defines the

peaceful transition of power during the electoral process.

The special significance of such principles is to make irreversible the process of formulating and development of political consciousness and also these principles have a great influence on the political behavior of the masses.

The main basis of the democratic tradition is not the fact that the political decision-making involved the entire population of the country (many people may not be ready to the responsible and qualified range of policy options at diverse social issues), but that the society controls the activity of state power and can carry out the replacement of constituent entities of power relations.

The Phenomenological Analysis Results for the Motivational Structure of Political Consciousness

In the liberal-democratic model of power, the motivational structure of political consciousness is determined by the principle of freedom of expression, "agreement about the possibility to disagree" with the opinion and position of another member of society. This principle has a positive political potential to prevent the imposition of the positions of one part of society. Without free choice, there can be no democracy, no matter how it is called – "people", "liberal", "bourgeois", "socialist". However, any excess of measures in the implementation of this principle can harm the current political situation. This can make a destructive influence on established political culture and prevent to find a political unity in society, provoking a division in the political positions of a significant part of society (Arnold, 2017).

Political influence on the motives of people's actions is often indirect. The formation of the political consciousness of the social group is complicated by the fact that the personal tastes, preferences, likes, and dislikes of people in their relationships with each other may not coincide with their ideological and party-political positions.

The totalitarian political system is characterized by complete subordination of all spheres of society to state regulation and control. In contrast with the totalitarian system, control in the authoritarian political system is exercised only over the political sphere, without affecting other social spheres. As an important feature of totalitarianism, many authors mention the desire to implement a complete "alteration" and the

transformation of man following the prevailing social, philosophical and ideological attitudes. Such an artificial transformation of human subjectivity is possible only through strict control over the human consciousness, over his inner world, thoughts, and aspirations (Ginges, 2019).

In the totalitarian political system, the scope of state violence with the support of the majority of the population is sharply actualized. Conformist political positions in the public consciousness are widespread in such type of political organizations. Political activity is framed in strict accordance with a government position. Moreover, responsibility is ascribed on actors not only for the implemented political actions but also for the value-ideological component of the unrealized actions.

These identified characteristics are ideal-typological, they cannot be considered as an accurate reflection of socio-political reality. So, even in fascist Germany, there was people capable to defend their own identity, and in modern Western "democracies" we can find features of political totalitarian regimes.

DISCUSSION

In term of the synthesis of phenomenological analysis of the motivational structure and environmental factors in the formation of political consciousness, we think that classification proposed by A. S. Panarin is quite perspective. He identified the economic-centrist, ethno-centrist and socio-centrist model in the formation of political consciousness (Panarin, 2000).

Motivational Structure of Political Consciousness in the Economic-Centrist Model

The economic-centrist model of political consciousness formation is based on the principles of liberalism and the right of free choice. But this form of organization also allows ignoring evidence of other types of social experience. This form is conceptual contradictory, as it constantly fluctuates between the humanistic version of the market "natural state" of society and its social-Darwinian version, which extends the ideas of the struggle for existence to social reality and proclaims the triumph of the most adapted members of the society.

The "morality of success" is the basis of motivational structure in the economic-centrist model. Common interpretations of success can be grouped into two positions:

1. Mobilization concept of success is accompanied by intense activity, often associated with manifestations of dedication, to achieve socially significant goals. Despite obvious benefits which this conception has, we should also remember about possible problems, manifested in some social-historical circumstances. The moral of rentier in western culture and the lack of correlation between labor effort and proper social reward in Russia can be described as such problems.
2. A hedonistic concept of success defines success as the possibility of enjoying social benefits without any socially useful, creative activity. Seems that a practical realization of this concept leads to the abandonment of all efforts and diligence, which generates a consumer spirit and a parasitic "culture of benefits".

Motivational Structure of Political Consciousness in the Ethno-Centrist Model

According to A.S. Panarin, the ethno-centrist model of political consciousness formation is characterized by the priority of ideology and practice of humanitarianism over scientism. The main point in this position is the reanimation of a small community and revival of traditional, rooted in their socio-cultural specificity of social structures.

The motivational structure of such a political consciousness is based on ethnic identity and cultural memory, which serve a certain ethnic group as a tool for self-identification.

Today we can note that economic-centrist and ethno-centric models of the political consciousness formation are quite common in the global world and fraught with conflicts at the motivational structure level. This trend is increasing in the digital culture of modern global society (Byl'eva, 2016; Bykov *et al.*, 2018).

Motivational Structure of Political Consciousness in the Socio-Centrist Model

The socio-centrist model of the organization of political consciousness is characterized by the principle of the close interrelation of economy, culture, and morality, which determine and complement each other within a single social whole.

The cognitive basis of the socio-centrist model of the organization of political consciousness is the

consideration of society in its living organic unity. That unity can't be dissected on single independent objects because of their temporal functional roles. The motivational structure of political consciousness in this model is defined by semantic orientations on solidarity, participation, readiness for cooperation, compassion for socially unprotected persons, trust, and responsibility (Shipunova et al., 2014).

In normative terms, the socio-centrist political culture is based on the revival and strengthening of the moral universals of humanity, the civic idea associated with the social initiative, with the grassroots political creativity. In the projective dimension, this means ennobling and humanizing the social environment. The results of structurally functional and phenomenological analysis are presented in the generalized characteristic of types of political consciousness (Table 1).

The Problem of the Criterion in the Typology of Political Consciousness Forms

Any form of political consciousness contains both rational (conscious) and irrational (unconscious) levels.

In this regard, as a criterion for the classification of forms of political consciousness the degree of their rationality, can be used, which is an important indicator in a methodological and general culture-logical way.

In modern scientific literature, the method of classification of forms of political consciousness according to the civilization criterion has become widespread. The cognitive potential of this research approach is determined by the possibility to correlate the axiological component of political consciousness with its ethno-national and socio-cultural authenticity. This approach gives us an opportunity to distinguish ethno-social forms of political consciousness: Indo-Buddhist, Confucian-Buddhist, Islamic, Western and Orthodox-Slavic types (Vasilenko, 2016; Andrews & Inglehart, 2005).

It should be noted that in the real socio-political process there is a process of inter-determination and interpenetration of various forms of political consciousness that do not exist in an isolated form.

An example of this is Japan, which, as an industrial power, has incorporated into its political consciousness

Table 1: Motivational Factors Characteristics in Relation to the Types of Political Consciousness

Type of political consciousness	Objective system factors of the living environment motivating political consciousness			Subject-oriented factors motivating political consciousness			
	Market code	Sociocultural norms	Ideology	Freedom of choice	Consistency of goals	Trust in power	Personal engagement
Traditional Authoritarian	Economic matrix	Sacred Power Moral Discourse	Immutable political tradition	Authoritarianism	Unitarianism	Unconditional trust in power	Class and Bureaucratic Regulation
Liberal Democracy	Freedom of private interest	Rule of law, civil society	Communicative rationality	Freedom of civic position	Pluralism	Based on the quality of life	Perspective Assessment
Totalitarian	Government regulation Economic Matrix	Submission and control	Dominant ideological attitudes	Authoritarianism	Unitarianism	Submission or enforcement	Bureaucratic regulation
Economy-oriented	The natural market	The moral of success	Social-Darwinism hedonism consumption	Freedom of choice on income qualification	Pluralism	Based on the quality of life	Income qualification
Ethnic-oriented	Ideological boundaries for economic relations	Ethnic self-identification	Religious tradition and cultural memory	Authoritarianism	Unitarianism of ethnic consciousness	Trust in the leader of the community	By hierarchy in the ethnic group
Sociocentrist	Global Economic Matrix	The relationship of economy, culture, morality Global Network	Union of humanity, responsibility, sustainable development	The principle of real freedom	Consensus in pluralism of positions	On responsibility and quality of life	On responsibility and professionalism

Table 2: Characteristics of the Consciousness Types of Political Communicative Criterion in Relation to the Produced Motivational Structure in a Conflict Situation

Setting for polarization (confrontation, conflict)		Consensus setting (avoiding conflict)	
Type of political consciousness	<i>Motivation vector: radicalization, aggression</i>	<i>Type of political consciousness</i>	<i>Motivation vector: alignment of positions, dialogue</i>
Traditional Authoritarian, Totalitarian	<i>Far-right and far-left orientations</i>	Liberal Democrats	<i>Focusing on the principles of deliberative democracy</i>
Economic and centrist	<i>Competitor suppression</i>	Economic and centrist	<i>Globalisation of the market</i>
Ethnocentric	<i>Religious fundamentalism</i>	Socio-centrist	<i>Consistency of orientations within the target set to preserve the unity of society</i>

many liberal democratic values and patterns of the political behavior of citizens, nevertheless, remains an Eastern country. The political consciousness of Russia is also characterized by a certain combination of traditions of Western and Eastern political cultures, in accordance with the peculiarities of political and social realities of a particular time period.

The communicative criterion in the typology of forms of political consciousness shows the difference of broadcast installations in the modeling of interactions (Table 2).

The Role of Communicative Practice in the Public Sphere of Political Administration

Modern democracy in the public sphere declares freedom of civic position in the process of power legitimation. Herewith, political technology aimed at mental activity control operates via the individual self-determination in the social community and recognition of the established norms of understanding and action. The civic choice motivation is based on the semantics of discourse in controlling the individual behavior and thinking. Mental activity control in human society occurs in any communicative situation which utilizes symbolic means and concepts. Cognitive structures, images, memes, mental models form the semantic horizon of individual and mass consciousness. Conventional formulas of meaning are able to broadcast powerful incentives for mass actions.

The formation of the semantic field of mental experience is perceived by a person as a natural process of social life, which is accompanied by contextual control of cognitive orientation at the subconscious level. Symbolism in communicative practice activates archetypes of the collective unconscious, which set a certain orientation of the subject in the field of meanings and values. Thus, the person makes his free choice only within the semantic

boundaries of the media environment. Giddens (2013) emphasizes the basic role of cultural context in person's practical consciousness formation. N. Luhmann (2004) highlights the motivating role of such contextual codes as truth and power, which cognitive and social practices are premised on.

Broadcasting of certain stereotypes of objective reality perception in the information field is the feature of the matrix principle of motivation in the political consciousness formation. In the process of generating meanings, interpersonal symbolism of the media sphere combines with the cognitive structure of mental experience. This principle is presented in such communicative practices and media technologies as framing, posting and blogging, semantic field in the thematization, setting up an "agenda", fake information production. The technology of Overton Window covers the directed change of public consciousness from an informational occasion to the construction of a new information field and a new agenda, and to changing of the value and cognitive orientation of subjects in the public space.

Political technology of "soft power", which fundamentally denies the obvious manipulation of the citizens' individual consciousness, involves public opinion forecast on the basis of the quality of life assessment. In this case, the vectors of mass consciousness motivation are derived from statistic data of sociological surveys. An integral social sentiment index is revealed, which shows the relation between the factors of social life and mass consciousness. As an illustration, Figure 1 presents a generalized dynamics of social sentiment in Russia during 2018-2019. The data are taken from the statistics of regular Levada Center surveys (<https://www.levada.ru/indikatory/sotsialno-ekonomicheskie-indikatory/> as of 13.04.2019). The level below 100 indicates a negative sentiment dynamics.

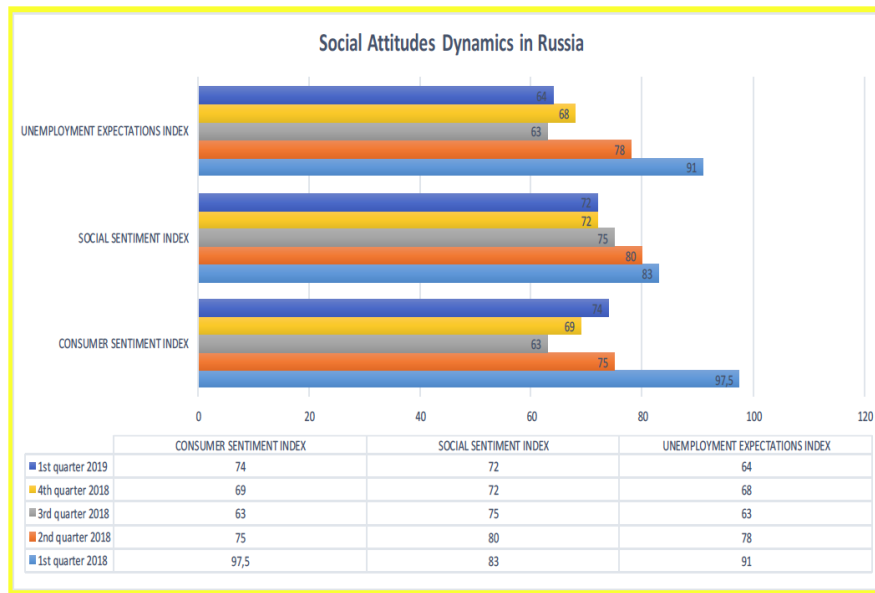


Figure 1: Social sentiment index in Russia during 2018-2019 (2008 - 100%).

The tasks of communication practice in the public sphere center around facilitating political power to meet wide public recognition, using the whole set of mass-media resources of informational influence on the public opinion formation.

Implicit control of mental activity in public administration is guided by unconscious reference to the norm and some freedom of events assessment. The process of recognizing the power legitimacy by an individual is defined by opposite motivational vectors of freedom and necessity and runs on the basis of both rational and emotional perception of the political situation. A person's intellectual reaction is guided by the criteria of truth and value that define semantic boundaries in situations and events interpretation.

As to the media sphere of e-culture, however, the adequacy of the message content interpretation is questioned. The network produces various virtual imaginaries, fakes, memes, creeds and pseudopropositions, which are perceived by mass consciousness as common, but actually destroying the traditional criteria of common sense in the objective reality perception. The emotional mechanism of situation perception operates at the level of subconscious attitudes which represent a set of vague criteria for distinguishing things as real or unreal, true or false, fair, useful, beautiful, etc. At the same time, the informational influence on mental mechanisms in the act of rational recognition and emotional acceptance of power cannot provide the full control of mass consciousness.

CONCLUSION

Completed to date study allows us to speak about the complexity of the motivation of individual and mass actions within the framework of one political consciousness model in different countries and regions of the global world. Various forms of political consciousness can coexist in each society as dominant and common forms based on subculture and even counterculture. Motivated by a comparison of the cultural values the conflict is an inevitable condition of the political life in the modern globalized world.

We believe that the classification of forms of organization of political consciousness in social theory and practice should be based on the awareness degree of the true values, norms and standards of the population traditional for the countries studied. The use of this criterion in sociological research as a typological feature allows us to distinguish two vectors in political consciousness formation: polarization and consensus. The presence or absence of socio-cultural consensus has the function of differentiating the forms of political consciousness in the society.

For the polarized form of political consciousness characterizing aspects are: mismatch between fundamental values and the guiding principles of political action (rupture of horizontal subcultures) and further mismatch between the elites and the electorate (rupture of vertical subcultures). In the motivational structure preminent orientations are the ultra-rights and the ultra-lefts orientations.

Conversely, consensus as an organizational form of political consciousness is based on reaching agreement on political and socio-cultural values and priorities shared by the majority of society. It is dominated by centrists and moderate political convictions, at the same time shared by most members of society. This allows us to conclude that the level of consistency of mental orientations in the motivational structure of the group is important characteristics of the political consciousness formation in a particular society.

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