

До питання про політичні технології у політиці: теоретико-методологічний аспект їх аналізу

У статті зроблено спробу всестороннього аналізу понять «технологія» «техніка», «політична технологія». Висвітлено змістове наповнення цих категорій. Розглянуто політологічні підходи до поняття «політична технологія», а також чинники та методи якими можна визначити «політичну технологію».

Ключові слова: технологія, техніка, політичні технології, політичний PR

Kwestia polityki technologii politycznej: Teoretyczne i metodologiczne aspekty analizy

Niniejszy artykuł stanowi próbę kompleksowej analizy pojęć «technologii» «technologia», «technologii politycznej». Dotyczy znaczącej napowlennya tych kategorii. Uważany politologia zbliża się do pojęcia «technologii politycznej» i czynników i metod, które mogą określić «technologii politycznej».

Słowa kluczowe: technologii, technologia, polityka w zakresie technologii, PR polityczny

To the issue about political technologies in politics: Theoretical and methodological aspects of their analysis

The article deals with comprehensive analysis of such concepts as “technology” “technics”, “political technology”. The article contains information about meaningful content of these categories. Analyzed political science approaches to the concept of “political technology”, as well as factors and methods that can define “political technology”.

Keywords: technology, technics, political technologies, political PR

The transition from post-industrial society to the informative one allows us to investigate the political processes out of technological positions. At present, people use technologies in all spheres of human activity. Politics, being one of the components of human activity, is an industry in which the process of technologizing is widely used. Reasons for technologizing of political process are in human needs, rational use of informational and time resources.

In principle, technologies are used to optimize any kind of human activity, as well as for the study of socio-political processes and their management. Unlike the production, in the social sphere technologies have their specific feature – dependence on human factors. Political technologies as a special type of social technologies determine the content and the form of political processes, their structure, the functioning of political system, and affect the participants' behavior of political relations.

The term “technology” originated from the Greek words “techno” – the art, mastery and “logos” – science, knowledge, law. In dictionaries technology is defined as follows:

1. as a complex of knowledge, information about the sequence of certain manufacturing operations in the production of something;
2. as a set of methods of handling or processing materials, manufacturing products, leading of manufacturing operations, etc.;
3. as «the science about recycling and processing materials, ways of goods production and the set of methods used in different activities»;
4. as «any means of converting raw materials, whether they are people, information or physical materials in order to obtain the desired product or services». ¹

In a broad sense, „technology” means a series of techniques, methods, ways and means of organizing and managing the practical activity according to the purpose, specifics and even the logics of transformational process and the transformation of this or that object. Most soviet and foreign scholars believe that the widespread use of technology is an axiom of society. Among these social technologies there elective ones.

Technology embedded in a variety of processes, ensuring the formation and the use of political power on different levels of the state and society, thus contributing to the formation of not only universal, but also typical properties of political technologies.

Some experts differ the concept of „technology” and „technics”, as technology is a set of defined techniques which are united around a common purpose and strategy in the light of the situation. Technics is – a particular method or technique, the sequence of steps that always lead to a certain result. Thus, under the concept of political technologies fall not all known methods. For example, organizing of the social event or political upheaval – this is technology and the conducted demonstration or rally – is a technique. Technicians can work in any

¹ Кочубей Л. Виборчі технології: Навч. посібн. / Л. Кочубей. – К.: Український центр політичного менеджменту, 2008. – С. 10

country without significant changes, while the technologies are more specific and require adaptation.²

Thus, the solution of a particular problem means not the understanding of human goals and means of their achievement, but the producing specific versions of their implementation in practice, that is the use of certain technology for solving the problem. In general, technological solution of the problem means not the understanding of what form it is, but rather how „to defuse” the specific situation. Therefore, by using the technology appears a new meaning and essence of power. Technology in a new dimension raises a concern of political events, put the base for specialized activities to resolve or control political phenomena. Creating a special perspective of understanding the political processes, political technologies show that used methods of problem solution can dramatically affect the essence of this phenomenon.

The term „political technology” is relatively young. Under a technological solution is generally understood how the planned result is achieved in the context of a particular situation. In its turn, under the political technologies mean a system of consistent actions and tools, techniques, methods, procedures that are used by politicians (individuals, political and social groups, political parties, associations, pressure groups, etc) in order to achieve the desired political result, and the implementation of political values and interests.³

Nowadays there is no clear definition of political technologies. Using this expression, political consultants often mean very different categories – starting with the specific techniques and methods of forming public opinion till strategic approaches and principles. As for ordinary voters, this expression is often associated with „black PR” used by political technologists in order to achieve victory by any means.

The concept of „political technologies” are used to describe methods of achieving the required results in policy. Ukrainian scholar M. Holovaty suggests that „political technologies” – are set of methods and systems of consistent actions directed on achieving the desired political result. In political practice, they appear as a set of methods of using the objective laws of politics, materialization of political science abstractions into concrete decisions, documents, regulations, orders. The features of political technologies conditioned by the nature of the political process, which includes a variety of political activity within a specific political system.⁴

Soviet analysts M. Obushnyy, A. Kovalenko, A. Tkach distinguish the concept of „the technology of power”. Under this category scientists understand a combination, a system of various techniques of power activity, designed to achieve (given, conceived) result. Different

² Шелестов О. Теоретичні засади дослідження виборчих технологій в секторальному процесі України та проблеми їх ефективності [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу: http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/portal/soc_gum/dip/2010_50/10_24.pdf

³ Кочубей Л. *Виборчі технології: Навч. посібн.* / Л. Кочубей. – К.: Український центр політичного менеджменту, 2008. – С. 11

⁴ Головатий М. *Мистецтво політичної діяльності: навч. посіб. для студ вищ. навч. закл.* / М. Головатий. – К.: Міжрегіон. акад. упр. персоналом, 2002. – С. 20

power technologies include power techniques such as achieving local, short-term effect (here usually talk about tactics of power), as well as obtaining a decisive, large-scaled, fundamental, strategic, long-term result.⁵

Russian expert Mikhail Koshelyuk isolates the concept – „political PR”, which defines the sphere of political activity related to the organization and management of political campaigns. This scholar also notes that „the most striking their prototypes are pre-elective campaigns, so today between political PR and the so-called elective technologies usually put an equal sign”.⁶

Some types of political technologies are closely related to this notion, among them there are: „technologies of political management” (running the political process), „informational technologies” (the formation and direction of informative flows of government-affiliated media corporations), „technology of lobbyist activity” (functioning of political individuals of business groups to protect their economic interests in the current policy), „parliamentarism technology” (creation of proper agenda and direction of the representative body of state power in the programmed direction), „technology of political power legitimation” (formation of political perceptions into power).

If we start with an understanding of political technologies as an instrument of political control, the list of types of political technologies formed in accordance with the directions of political governance should include the following technologies: political analysis; political consultation; decision-making; conflict management; management of the negotiations; lobbying; elective; „public relations” political advertising; informative; informative network.

In this context it can be affirmed that political technologies are a combination of consistently used procedures, techniques and methods of activities directed on the most optimal and effective implementation of the goals and tasks of a particular individual at a particular time and in a particular place. In general, as a set of specific knowledge and skills that provide a solution of specific tasks by the individual in the sphere of governing, political technologies sometimes are also called political marketing that we believe to be somehow irrelevant.

Political activity as any other activity, has not only its own features, tools and techniques, but also patterns. It is nothing like the corresponding technologies of political activity.

The literature sometimes served the formulation such as polling «techniques» or «methods of election campaign.» When applied to the electoral process, in our opinion, it is still advisable to use the term «technologies», not «methods». The technology – is a system ... The main element that distinguishes the «technology» from the «methods» – is a description of the final result. Political technology provides the result in the election (the success of

⁵ Обушний М. Політологія: довід./ М.Обушний, А.Коваленко, О.Ткач. – К.: Довіра, 2004. – С. 123

⁶ Кошеляк М. Технологии политических выборов / М. Кошеляк.– СПб.: Питер, 2004. – С.11

a particular politician or a party), and methods which are used can be in other sciences (psychology, sociology, etc.).⁷

Thus, to talk about political technologies, analyze and classify them, at first you must define the terminology and try to bring the entire range of views to a common denominator.

There are several complementary approaches to the definition of political technologies that were stated by a number of experts.

Approach 1. Conditionally call it «instrumental» (M. Holovaty, M. Koshelyuk), defines the concept of «political technology» in the most general terms – a set of technics (techniques, steps) with the result of transforming the source material into a certain product. The material can be public (elite) opinion, and the product – voting for a candidate (support).

Approach 2. In the focus of «communicative» approach (V. Bebyk, T. Greenberg) there is a communication, and technology is defined as a sequence of actions for building channels of communication between the candidate for elective office and the electorate.

Approach 3. The Followers of «psychological» approach (D. Olshansky, L. Kochubej, G. Potsepchov) put to the fore the study and the impact on public opinion, because technology here is a double combination, which comprises a study of electoral preferences at first (using universal research methods), and then the impact (delivery of the expected information by using different techniques).

Approach 4. The Followers of «strategic» approach (Y. Surmi, D. Narizhnyi) divide the concept of «political technologies» into its component parts. For them, technology – is primarily a set of strategic principles and approaches to the holding of elective campaign. These strategic concepts are universal. First of all, they are the principles of positioning and promoting the political message. Secondly – this is the work of «message». Besides, the experts separate technological approaches (promotion, forecasting), which are universal, from technological methods and channels of communication.

Approach 5. Through the prism of «leadership» approach (V. Fisano, G. Fesun) the technology is a sequence of actions to transform the informal leaders (politicians) into formal ones or maintenance in the leaders' hands the levers of power.

Approach 6. In the concept of «model» (S. Kara-Murza, E. Malkin, E. Suchkov) technology looks like not the activity, but rather like a business model. This is the result of the analysis of already carried activity. Besides, it was carried out repeatedly – just an analytical testing of certain provisions of the general model allows you to be confident in its accuracy and, if it is necessary, universality.⁸

⁷ Кочубей Л. Виборчі технології: Навч. посібн. / Л. Кочубей. – К.: Український центр політичного менеджменту, 2008. – С. 9

⁸ Универсальные политические технологии и страновая специфика: опыт российских политических консультантов / Под рук. Е. Н. Минченко [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу: <http://www.stratagema.org/issledovaniya.php?nws=10853949126458904522>

Approach 7. The authors of «interactive» approach (M. Grishin) interpret the substantive nature of political technologies as practices of their own interaction between public authorities and citizens who are aware of their interdependence from each other and permanently affect the development of joint action in order to control social and political processes, and not only during elections.⁹

It should be noted that all the approaches mentioned above not so contradict as rather complement each other. In a combination all these allow to understand the nature and specific features of the complex phenomenon of political technologies.

Summarizing the different approaches, we can give the following definition of political technologies – these are intellectually managed complex algorithms of political actions (political events, actions, campaigns) that are aimed at systematical improving of the political individuals functioning in order to maintain the state power.

Consultants all agree that universal political technologies exist. Some even say that in general technologies are universal, at the same time there is no specific technologies.

Political technologies are a set of the most appropriate measures, methods, procedures, implementations of the political system functions, aimed at increasing the political process efficiency and achieving the desired results in the field of politics. Political technologies contain the means of achieving rapid local short-term results (tactics) as well as getting deep, global, long-term effect (strategy). Use of any political technologies determines the effectiveness of political control, regulation of political processes, the stability of the political system and the entire political space. Political technologies are largely determined by the type of social development (whether there dominates evolutionary or revolutionary process), the nature of the regime (democratic, totalitarian, etc.).

In practice, they are presented as a transformation of political science theory into concrete decisions, resolutions, orders.

Political technologies are heterogeneous as object-based criteria, and, as a rule, resolving of political problems requires the use of complex technologies. Therefore, in practice, there is a system of different political technologies.

Political technologies can be grouped into the following :

- analytical technologies (political analysis, political consulting);
- practical («field») technologies (decision-making, conflict management, negotiation management);
- communicative technologies (agitation, propaganda), political advertising.
- In addition, there are several types of political technologies distributed on the criterion of the politics nature :

⁹ Кузь О. Вибірчі технології в модерному електоральному процесі США та України: монографія / О. Кузь, І. Полішук, Т. Моторнюк. – Харків: Інжеск, 2012. – С. 45

- «Common» (relating to the maximum number of citizens, many individuals of the political process. Most common among them there is the technology of «conquering» and holding the power. To the Common political technologies include the technologies of elective campaign;
- Individual (peculiar to individual politicians) that are used by some political, civic and state leaders. Public appearances, participating in conversations, discussions, conflict resolution belong to the most common individual political technologies. Each technology has its own characteristics, due to which certain image of politician creates, as well as his influence and popularity, also shapes and enriches the experience of political activity.

Each of these technologies has certain specific of use, so that creates a corresponding politician image, his authority and popularity. Individual political technologies must bear the imprint of the person's personality who uses them. General technologies are technologies of making political decisions relating to the maximum number of people (national, state decisions) and technologies of elective campaigns. But without knowledge of the specifics, political technology peculiarities and the ability to use them, it is almost impossible to achieve success in politics.

Also political technologies are divided into:

- democratic and non-democratic;
- basic (reflects opinions or actions of large groups or entire populations in general, such as opinion polls, elections, referenda);
- secondary (technologies of certain political decisions adoption, holding of individual political actions, meetings, rallies, pickets, marches, supporting or protesting demonstrations);
- general (mostly related to the interests of many individuals of political process);
- individual (peculiar to some politicians). Individual technologies are used by individual politicians, civil, government officials (public speaking, participation in conversation, discussion, conflict resolution, performance on radio, television, press, etc.).¹⁰

The use of political technologies has always driven by specific social, political roles that are constantly performed by political individuals, as each individual (personality) always has a corresponding social status associated with specific social problems which affect their solution. That is what caused the peculiarities, uniqueness, originality sometimes seems to be the same political technologies.

Political technologies exist in several forms, namely the development and adoption of certain political projects and solutions; implementation of policy decisions; technologies of political power formation; election technologies; technologies of political parties, organizations

¹⁰ . Головатий М. Мистецтво політичної діяльності: навч. посіб. для студ вищ. навч. закл. / М. Головатий. – К.: Міжрегіон. акад. упр. персоналом, 2002. – С.14

and associations; technologies of public opinion formation; technologies of public interests coordination; technologies of resolving political conflicts and more. The majority of political technologies are used in the struggle for the power and its maintenance, expansion and strengthening.¹¹

Summarizing all the mentioned above as for political technologies, we note that their arsenal is quite large and diverse. You can not talk about the applicability or inapplicability of one hundred percent of certain technologies in specific countries, as within any country there are significant differences between regions and groups of voters. Moreover, the situation is dynamic, and technologies that were effective year ago, may cease to be so today. Each time a particular process chain is built with individual blocks as a designer does. Therefore, it is crucial to create individual strategies for specific client in these unique circumstances and receive constant feedback during its implementation.

¹¹ Кочубей Л. Вибірчі технології: Навч. посібн. / Л. Кочубей. – К.: Український центр політичного менеджменту, 2008. – С.14

List of sources and literature

1. Головатий М. Мистецтво політичної діяльності: навч. посіб. для студ вищ. навч. закл. / М. Головатий. – К.: Міжрегіон. акад. упр. персоналом, 2002. – 176с.
2. Гринберг Т. Политические технологии: ПР и реклама /Т. Гринберг. – М.: Аспект Пресс,2005. – 317 с.
3. Гришин Н. Основы проведения избирательных кампаний / Н. Гришин. – М.: РИП-холдинг,2003. – 184 с.
4. Кочубей Л. Виборчі технології: Навч. посібн. / Л. Кочубей. – К.: Український центр політичного менеджменту, 2008. – 332 с.
5. Кошеляк М. Технологии политических выборов / М. Кошеляк.– СПб.: Питер, 2004. – 240 с.
6. Кузь О. Виборчі технології в модерному електоральному процесі США та України: монографія / О. Кузь, І. Поліщук, Т. Могорнюк. – Харків: Інжек, 2012. – 250 с.
7. Обушний М. Політологія: довід./ М.Обушний, А.Коваленко, О.Ткач. – К.: Довіра, 2004. – 599 с.
8. Ольшанський Д. Политический PR / Д. Ольшанський. – СПб.: Питер, 2003. – 544 с.
9. Универсальные политические технологии и страновая специфика: опыт российских политических консультантов / Под рук. Е. Н. Минченко [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу: <http://www.stratagema.org/issledovaniya.php?nws=10853949126458904522>
10. Шведа Ю., Лесечко І. Деструктивні виборчі технології в українській виборчій практиці // Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету. Серія: Політологія, Соціологія, Філософія. – 2010. – № 15. – с. 117-121.
11. Шведа Ю. Технологія виборчої кампанії. Основи електорального маркетингу та менеджменту: навч–метод. посібник / Ю. Шведа. – Львів: ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, 2013. – 340 с.
12. Шелестов О. Теоретичні засади дослідження виборчих технологій в електоральному процесі України та проблеми їх ефективності [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу: http://www.nbu.gov.ua/portal/soc_gum/dip/2010_50/10_24.pdf