ФІЛОСОФСЬКІ НАУКИ

УДК 159.923:316.61

MEDIA IDENTITY AS FACTOR OF A POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN INFORMATION SOCIETY

O. O. Demchenko

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv, Ukraine alexandredemchenko@gmail.com

This article is devoted to actual problem of identity creation under mass-media influence in Information Society. Special attention is paid to a political socialization of individuals in connection with the proposed concept of «media identity». It is postulated that expansion of mass-media influence deepened a serious personality crisis which came in XX century - crisis of a socio-cultural identity of personality formation. One of the important aspects of an identity crisis today is a crisis of a political identity. This head stone of functioning of the modern political systems is now goes through serious transformation under cardinal changes of socio-cultural reality. The mass-media is one of the major components of such reality in the contemporary society and, accordingly, is one of the most ponderable factors of political identity formation. Moreover, the examples of existence in contemporary society show that this factor can prevail other factors; that allows us to do supposition about possibility of formation of "media identity". So, the purpose of this paper is to investigate the creation of a new social-cultural identity on the basis of mass-media, reflection of a media identity as a priority factor in social and political processes. The mass-media are set by the models of culture, conduct, modules of perception of the phenomena of social life, which often have little touch to reality. Mass-media, as an explorer of a mass culture, influence determining appearance on formation of the values, style and the way of life of a population, especially among youths. It is a very important factor of formation of an individual and group socio-cultural identity. Expansion of facilities of collective influence within the framework of political participation, which is provided due to possibilities of mass-media and new gadgets, accompanied by re-comprehension of hierarchy of political identity components.

Key words: media identity; political identity; creation of identity; political socialization; mass media.

МЕДІЙНА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ ЯК ФАКТОР ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ СОЦІАЛІЗАЦІЇ В ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОМУ СУСПІЛЬСТВІ

О. О. Демченко

Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка, Київ, Україна alexandredemchenko@gmail.com

Стаття присвячена актуальній проблемі формування ідентичності під впливом масс-медіа в інформаційному суспільстві. Особливу увагу приділено політичній соціалізації особистості в зв'язку із запропонованим концептом "медіа ідентичності". Постульовано, що розширення впливу масс-медіа поглибило серйозну кризу особистості в ХХ сторіччі, кризу соціо-культурної ідентичності у формуванні особистості. Одним із важливих компонентів кризи ідентичності наразі є криза політичної ідентичності. Цей наріжний камінь функціонування сучасної політичної системи проходить через серйозну трансформацію під кардинальним впливом нової соціокультурної реальності. Мас-медіа є одним із провідних компонентів цієї реальності в сучасному суспільстві і, відповідно, одним із визначальних факторів формування політичної ідентичності. Більше того, існуючі практики в сучасному суспільстві показують, що цей фактор є превалюючим, і це дозволяє запропонувати поняття ідентичності". Отже, метою статті є дослідження створення нової соціокультурної ідентичності на основі впливу мас-медіа, рефлексія медійної ідентичності як пріорітетного фактору в соціальнополітичних процесах. ЗМІ формують моделі культури, поведінки, модулі сприйняття явищ суспільного життя, які часто мають мало спільного з реальністю. Вплив ЗМІ як дослідника масової культури є визначальним для формування цінностей, стилю і способу життя населення, особливо серед молоді. Це дуже важливий фактор формування особистісної та групової соціокультурної ідентичності, політичної соціалізації особистості. Розширення засобів масового впливу в рамках участі в політичному житті, яке забезпечується за рахунок можливостей ЗМІ і нових гаджетів, призводить до переосмислення ієрархії політичних компонентів ідентичності.

Ключові слова: медійна ідентичність; політична ідентичність; формування ідентичності; політична соціалізація; ЗМІ.

ARTICULATION OF THE PROBLEM

By the last decades one of the major problems of personality formation is the problem of its identity formation. This problem has its reflection in numerous researches not only in the field of psychological sciences, but also in sociology, culture research and philosophy. The reaction of a society on the processes of globalization and transformation draws appearance of the special interest to the concept of individual "identity" as it is and a society "identity" on the whole. As one of main descriptions of the contemporary society there is substantial expansion of technical capabilities and sphere of influence of mass communication facilities, deep integration of information technologies, there is a wide interest to the place and role of a mass-media in formation of public opinion on the level of society and on the individual level. The mass-media «interpreting» the sense of events, which occurs in the world, to the person, the sense of ideas and acts of figures from the specialized spheres of public life and has the possibility to interpret this information in any perspective and direction. Actually, they are not just forming a public opinion, but also construct social reality. [25]. In Information Society mass-media has quickly grown into the real power in political, social and spiritual spheres. In William A. Gamson with coauthors opinion an ideal system of mass-media, which is acceptable for democracy, should give subscribers some objective look to widespread socio-political forces which have influence on the conditions of their everyday life [13]. However, in actual fact, the mass-media, with their specific possibilities and influence, has influence on public opinion and personal world view, and due to the universality and omnitude to form every new generation. Such expansion of mass-media influence has deepened serious personality crisis which came in XX century – crisis of socio-cultural identity of personality formation. One of the important aspects of an identity crisis today is a crisis of a political identity. This head stone of functioning of the modern political systems is now goes through serious transformation under cardinal changes of socio-cultural reality. The mass-media is one of the major components of such reality in the contemporary society and, accordingly, is one of the most ponderable factors of political identity formation. Moreover, the examples of existence in contemporary society show that this factor can prevail other factors; that allows us to do supposition about possibility of formation of "media identity". For such transitional society as Ukrainian, which is in a nonequilibrium state, researching of this phenomenon is extremely actual.

Analysis of publications. «All that we know about our society and even about the world in which we live, we know from mass-media», - these words of known German sociologist N. Luman opens his book «Reality of mass-media» [25]. Media reality as special type of reality is created by mass-media in the process of mass communication. Now the mass-media and mass communication are the objects of study for many researchers, and, although, the volume of existent theories engulfs the opposite points of view sometimes, there is a unique theoretical foundation. Engaged in research of mass communication and mass-media: Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld, Walter Lippmann, Denis McQuail, Robert K. Merton, Charles Mills, Gabriel Tarde [17-24;28-30;39]. Considerable attention researchers spare to the such ponderable factors of constructing of media reality as a TV news creation. Foreign works of D. Elteyda and E. Epshteyna are devoted to the creation of news. Modern works of K.A. Antonova, E.G. D'yakovoy and A.D. Trachtenberg examine receptions of TV news creation which represent essence of media reality [2,9]. A. Zasurskiy, A. Fomicheva, L. Fedotova, B. Firsov, I. Yakovlev are also engaged in the problems of mass-media and study special abilities of these media in social processes [5;11;12;40].

The existence and problems of symbolic reality, which is created by a television, is mentioned as philosophical-cultural research in the works of Jean Baudrillard, Pierre Bourdieu, Marshall McLuhan, A. Kroker, D. Kuk and others [6;7;16;27]. The French philosopher Jean Baudrillard mainly analyses «simulative hyperreality» of television space and world of its «simulacra» – «appearances without similarity». In his research Pierre Bourdieu examines television as an instrument of creation of artificial reality and as a certain optical prism, owning which, journalists,

on the basis of the selected facts, carry out constructing of reality. For example, Canadian political scientists Arthur Kroker and David Kuk interpret television as a «social vehicle» and symbolic cultural form of a relative power which operates as simulacra of electronic appearances, converting everything into the semiotics world of advertising. The special communication mass-media has with formation of political identity. C.Shmidt, S.Parker, O.Popova and L.Kazimirchik probed the processes of political authentication in the conditions of transformation of a society, communication of concepts political and individual.Among Ukrainian authors we should emphasize O.Kohanevich, N.Pashiny, V.Shilovy and Y.Shugaila [15;32;37;38].

However, new realities of modernity, hybrid wars, which are closely connected to usage of mass-media in information wars, direct formation of political identity by mass-media facilities need deepened research of this phenomenon in the conditions of new social-cultural reality.

The purpose of my work is to investigate the creation of a new social-cultural identity on the base of mass-media, reflection of media identity as a priority factor in social and political processes.

RESULTS OF THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF PROBLEM

Identity and political identity. Identity is the end-point of the authentication process, self-determination and equation of individual. In general, authentications are related to the main social institutes, and destruction of the last results to the loss of sense of life, disorientation, and deidentification. Come forward the basic criteria of identity: a separation of one homogeneous community from other and leads through of scopes between them; feeling of cognation with a certain community, which is based on the past, leans against modern and aspires to the future. This feeling is formed by similarity of a world views, values, traditions and lifestyle. This feeling is formed in comparison «own» and «alien», and this «alien» has a huge impact on a self-awareness.

People identify themselves, using concepts like «origin», «religion», «language», «history», «values», «consuetudes» and «public institutes». They identify themselves with cultural groups: by tribes, ethnic groups, religious associations, nations and civilizations, at widest level of authentication. What is the identity? Technically, we aren't born with an identity. It is a product of the social constructing. Picture of itself is combined with self-awareness, development of a cognitive self-representation, adopted «identity» [4]. In other words, our awareness is controlled by the combination of internal and external factors. Add a new media channels, such as the Internet, and you will get media as «expansions of an ordinariness and the instrument of cultural changes» [35]. Thus, formation of identity, as social concept, was transformed in the global phenomenon.

I should repeat that identity is a social concept. When we engaged in any media in any form, we, in fact, will get the ideas from other authors. It is the format of ideas exchange in our time. Thus, there is no difference, if a creator, author and an advertiser were sitting alongside by you in a room. While advertisers are interested in it they earn on this fact. Why? When we are talking with each other, writing letters or messages or «tweets», we are transferring our thoughts to other person. This is socialization. There is no difference if it is done personally at meeting or media. An effect remains the same.

Now let's appeal to the concept of a political identity. Herein we will be helped by the known work of Charles Schmidt « The Concept of the Political». A concept was seen by Schmidt as follows: the political is there and then, where and when public opposition of large groups, divided between themselves on principle «friend-enemy», takes place. People determine large groups as groups of enemies – there, for other side of this line, are my enemies. However, it is not a personal enemy – on that side there can be even my personal former friends. They are not those, who I dislike. Enemy – it is a political enemy, not my personal enemy, but an enemy of my group, with which I identify myself, where I belong to [34].

Later S. Parker in an attempt to connect concepts marked political and individual, that at personality level a political identity can be combined with, racial, cultural, religious, class, sexual and other national «identities», which, having general psycho-emotional mechanisms, can weaken or strengthen each other. Taking into account the growing understanding of political conduct not only as such, that inherent political parties and not only within the framework of race for power, but as such which gets organized within the limits of civil society through the institutes of the national state, S. Parker marked that a political identity is not determined only by the individual liking or hostility to separate political parties and leaders without regard to that such senses can be the necessary component of political conduct. It is more likely that a «Constitution of the state», that it

social and economic structures, regional and cultural division, key historical processes which were instrumental in formation of political institutes, stimulated appearance of settings in which vertical line of civil society (personality, family, job and place of living, region, nation) co-operate with horizontal structures (class, religion, language, race, culture) [31].

By its nature political identity is rational and reflective, it obtains by correlation of itself with people with the alike codes of conduct and vital trajectory. Choice of certain political position is determined by one's original individual luggage as a «social trajectory, biographic experience, mastered charts of perception and estimation of political situation and terms of political practices, stereotypes» [33]. «Political» often equate with «party-political» in an internal polemic. However, such equation is only possible if the idea of political unity («states»), which engulfs and relativize all of home policy parties and their oppositions, loses force. If party-political identity drains by itself whole political oppositions within the state, then the greatest limit of internal policy is achieved; Internal, not external, distinction on groups «friend-enemies» has a decisive value for the armed opposition that leads not to war between organized entities of people (by the states), but to civil war [34].

Any opposition – religious, moral, economic or ethnic – grows into opposition political, if it is powerful enough to effectively divide people into the groups of friends and enemies. The political consists not in a fight, which, again, has own technical, psychological and military laws, but, as it has been already marked, in a possible conduct that is determined this reality, in the clear awareness of situation, which is determined such reality, and in a task correctly to distinguish friends and enemies [34].

Similar dynamics of «own» and «alien» and unclearness of their signs in the modern globalizing world brings us over to the idea that a division on «friend-enemy», where Charles Schmidt put a concept of «political» in the basis, presently behaves to the concept «informative» or «media». «Friends» - those, who share the common information field, «enemies» - those, who don't share the common information field. «Media» forms «political».

INFLUENCE OF MASS-MEDIA ON THE IDENTITY

Media reality is such a reality, which is created by media facilities. Mass media construct new reality, but not represent the world as it is. Authors determine «reality» as «quality, incident to phenomena, to have life, independent of our will and desire», «knowledge», as a «confidence in that the phenomena are the real and own specific descriptions [25]. In the context of this theory reality directly depends on knowledge. In other words, our reality consists of that we know, accordingly, if we do not have knowledges about something, then it does not exist in our reality. The word media («mediator») itself prompts us that the mass-media is a middle link between society and certain objective reality which exists somewhere in the world. Do the mass-media represent or create new reality? In a large measure they represent all that takes place around exactly. However, the mass-media is showing events ingenuity and selectivity in relation to that and how we must tell about events in the world (agenda-setting), and we accept these interpretations that become part of our imagination and experience. The mass-media «create» the world which then becomes reality.

How does transformation of media have an influence on new generations in our time? On the average, in obedience to works of Arneta, a child conducts 6.5 hours every day engaged in different types of media [3]. It is an unbelievable amount of time, conducted in engagement with multimedia forms of entertainment. This engagement became not only the mean of entertainment but also research instrument. Why so? Part of formation of personality is a search of ideal of man, which a child wants to become when will grow [3]. Giving young people a resource which provides them with almost boundless stream of information, humanity enables social comparison. Self-determination can become an ordeal under the permanent stream of information. Ideas can corrupt and form the erroneous picture of what the world actually is. And although this information may not be quite reliable, it still provides the models of conduct and identity.

One of the strongest ways how media influences on changing idea is persuasion. Eisend & Moller researched how an instantaneous effect can have media on somebody's perception of social reality. For example, examining a beautiful model in advertising of an underwear, a woman feels less satisfaction of own body [10]. Other interesting fact is that media forms pattern of consumption and lifestyle. Researchers marked the force of influence a television have even on illiterate people. Smith-speck and Roy explained that even those people, who can't read or write,

are strongly influenced by advertising to purchase some product or accept a certain lifestyle. This is how the system of media forms and represents the system of values of society [36]. If shortly, media tells us what to purchase, who to be or whom to become in order to be «happy».

And, although, the mass-media is not the sole source of our knowledge about the world, but they have substantially a greater influence on our pictures of the world than we can even imagine.

It is possible to discuss constructing of the reality by mass-media in the context of hypothesis of «agenda-setting», formulated by M. McLuhan and D. Show. When the mass-media is ligning up any events, these events start to be perceived as important and meaningful by an audience. «By this the proper agenda is formed in consciousness of an audience, the special media reality, world picture, «filtered» through mass media» [9; 26]. This hypothesis was created within the framework of the positivism paradigm. Therefore, the special attention applies on empiric proofs. To check up the presence of «agenda-settings» use the method of comparison of information, texts of massmedia got by a content-analysis. Theorists divided all problems on «obtrusive » and «non obtrusive». Those in relation to which an audience has an experience belongs to the first group, to the second - those in relation to which there is no personal experience. In the context of massmedia manipulation a greater effect was obtained when working with non obtrusive problems. Thus, the effect of «agenda-settings» is limited. The mass-media are set by the models of culture, conduct, modules of perception of the phenomena of social life, which often have little touch to reality. Mass-media, as an explorer of a mass culture, influence determining appearance on formation of the values, style and the way of life of a population, especially among youths. It is a very important factor of formation of an individual and group socio-cultural identity. The large degree of trust to the media persons allow to identify oneself with them.

CREATION OF A NEW SOCIO-CULTURAL IDENTITY ON THE BASIS OF MASS-MEDIA

One of major results of socialization is acquisition of socio-cultural identity. Socio-cultural identity is a dynamic state of search of consent in relation to the estimations of own conduct among the members of group or society, and belonging to certain political position. An identification mechanism – it, foremost, the estimation of actual circumstances of life or concrete situation, which became for a young man problematic, indefinite or unknown. It correlates them with certain ideal presentations which set the model of conduct «as it must be». Acquisition of identity by a young person is complicated by the socio-cultural situation of the contemporary world.

Multiculturalism and multi-vector nature make the search of the personal identity one of the most actual requirements of survival and adaptation in the rapidly changing world by a requirement, which determines the system of values. In a situation, when during life even of one generation outward things can change very quickly, the system of values, which seemed unchanging before, collapse, the picture of sense of life and place of man at society divides not only near on age generations, not to speak about parents and children, the problem of acquisition of identity became one of major issues.

«A stable social identity is principally impossible in the dynamic world. The epoch of normalization of the unstable social identification states of personality comes. We should perceive this process as a social fact» [8].

Together with rapid changes in the world and society, a person feels an expansion of influence and growth of possibilities of mass-media instability of own existence. Permanent attempts to adjust to these rapid changes cause a necessity constantly to line up an own identity, proceed in feeling of own «Me» for a young person. However, rapid changes prevent this process from finally completing, and a person again tries to find his place in the world. And here is the paradox. On one hand, «traditional» identities, such as religious, ethnic or national, no longer capable to satisfy the requirement of person search of himself. They can't give such explanation of oneself and world around which would represent the real state of this world. On the other hand, person searches this «foundation», something reliable and clear, on what it is possible to rely on in the fleeting digital world. And it goes out so that the mass-media becomes the sole unchanging phenomenon in life of person. What does an individual expect from mass-media? He expects confirmation and expansion of own looks to surrounding reality, its opportunities and dangers; to find the example to follow, opportunity to hold certain line of conduct and to operate on the basis of received information, have fun and rest from his own problems.

As mass-media, usually, very slowly and carefully change own position, it can seem that they are so fundamental as well as church. Each mass-media has own political and social position,

judges actions as correct or wrong, forms the group of media persons who become personifications of this world view. And those who share general information about the world, general codes of conduct, cultural features, form a certain new association.

Expansion of facilities of collective influence within the framework of political participation, which is provided due to possibilities of mass-media and new gadgets, accompanied by reinterpretation of a hierarchy of components of political identity, when on the first places a citizen will put values, related not to the that or other political doctrine, because all political doctrines in our time does not carry such semantic loadings already, but with his own lifestyle and experience. As a result, modes of engagement within the framework of public motions changes and the classic forms of political participation and party activity depart on second-rate roles.

Informative maintenance of mass-media can be described as a certain reflection of a relation considerable parts of society to the various social and political problems. It shows that individuals, who have already associated themselves with a certain political ideology and forces, have an opportunity to co-operate with other individuals, who also identify themselves with these forces and ideas. So, media are able to fasten an already existent political identity. And the question here is not only about messages exchange but also about organization of collective actions (for example, organization and lead through of the mass meeting).

For an example it is possible to bring personal pages in social networks. Users usually put their various information which can show with what ideas an individual identifies himself. These can be either own reflections, or references on others opinions. This information can influence those, whoever was yet determined with the political persuasions and ideas. Calling on a friend's page and seeing this information from him, user can accede to this position and begin to identify himself with the supporters of such idea. Or, opposite, to disagree, and begin to identify itself with the opponents of this position. Consequently, users play an important role in processes, related to political authentication, often unrealized, simply sharing certain opinions concerning a political situation. Engagement of people from media plays an extraordinarily important role in the process of political socialization. Breach in facilities of mass communication resulted in a volume that people began to communicate less «face-to-face» with family members and friends, and anymore through technological facilities, such as the internet, smartphones and other personal digital gadgets.

The internet is potentially the influential agent of political socialization, as plenty of political information is accessible on-line, as well as fact of active co-operation of people from on-line by platforms. People not only get information about the actions of government on news sites or blogs but also leave comments in relation to history or enter into a polemic with each other on forums. On-line media activity is used for participating in political processes, such as elections. Young people develop an own political identity on-line during the research of difference between candidates and political parties and receipt of information about actual measures and questions. They use social media to create on-line associations, which get organized for the sake of political actions, lobbies, government and campaigns. All these actions endow in socialization of the attracted citizen.

CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS OF SUBSEQUENT RESEARCH.

Use of mass-media as a prior factor in political processes in contemporary society spreads on processes related to formation of political identity. It is related to that mass-media own the enormous arrays of information about those or other political processes, positions, which is accessible for all engaged in this media. Individuals acquire possibilities of the widest co-operation in formation of political position, not limited by timely or geographical scopes. Moreover, sometimes nebulized geographically community of people, which lives in different socio-economic realities, has a different standard of living and in no way co-operates in the real life, under mass-media influence gives out identical individual reactions and looks in relation to political processes. Sometimes even despite own experience. For them separate aspects of virtual reality, created by mass-media, becomes determining. It is thus possible to talk about appearance of phenomena of media identity, which sure becomes an important factor in political socialization of individual in contemporary society. Therefore, study of "media identity" concept in the aggregate of all interconnections and reflection of social and political processes taking into account this factor as one of priority and the one which deserves additional research.

REFERENCES

- 1. Altheide. D., & Snow, P. (1979). Media logic. L.: Routledge.
- Antonov, K. A. (2008). Vozmozhnosti etnographicheskogo analiza proizvodstva televizionnih novostei. [Abilities of etnografic analysis of TV news]. *J.of sociology and social antropology*. T. XI, №2, 33-39. (In Russian)
- 3. Arnett, J. J. (2010). *Adolescence and emerging adulthood: A cultural approach* (4th edition). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson-Prentice Hall.Arnett.
- 4. Aronson, E., Wilson, T. D., & Akert, R. M. (2010). Social Psychology (7th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall
- 5. Azarova, L.V., Ivanova, K.A., & Yakovlev, I.P. (2000). *Organizatsiia PR kompaniy [PR- companies organization]*. StPb. (In Russian).
- 6. Baudrillard J. (1970, tr.2006) La société de consommation: ses mythes et ses structures. Moscow. (In Russian)
- 7. Bourdieu, P. (2002). *Sur la télévision, suivi de L'Emprise du journalisme*. Moscow: Inst.of exp.sociology. Retrieved from http://gtmarket.ru/laboratory/expertize/3061 (In Russian)
- 8. Danilova, Ye.G., Yadov ,V.A. (2004). Nestabil'naya sotsial'naya identichnost rfr norma sovremennogo obsheschtva [Unstable social identity as a norma of contemporary society]. *Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniia*. № 10, 27-30 (In Russian).
- 9. D'yakova Ye.G., Trahtenberg A.D. (1999). Pozitivistskii podhod k probleme konstuirovaniia realnosti: gipoteza "agenda-setting" [Positivist approuch to construction of reality: "agenda-setting" hypotesis]. Yekaterinburg: UrO RAN. Retrieved from http://humanities.edu.ru/db/msg/46240 (In Russian)
- 10. Eisend, M., & Jana Möller. (2007). The influence of TV viewing on consumers' body images and related consumption behavior. *Marketing Letters*, 18(1-2), 101-116.
- 11. Fedotova, L.N. (1993). Sociologiia massovoi kommunikatsii: teoriia i practika. [Sociology of Mass Communication: theory and Practice]. Moscow (In Russian)
- 12. Firsov, B.M. (1977). Pyti razvitiya sredstv massovoi communicacii (sociologicheskie nabludeniya) [Ways of development of the mass media (sociological observation)]. Moscow.
- 13. Gamson William A., Croteau David , Hoynes William, and Sasson Theodore (1992). Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality. *Annual Review of Sociology*.Vol. 18, 373-393.
- 14. Kazimirchyk L.V.(2014). Fenomen midiatizacii pyblichnoi politiki: teoretiko-metodologicheskii aspect. [The phenomenon of mediatization of public policy: theoretical and methodological aspects]. *Theory and practice of social development*. № 11, 99-103 (In Russian).
- 15. Kohanevych, O. (2014). Simulyativna priroda televiziinogo prostoru. [Simulative nature of TV space]. *Naukovii visnyk Shidnoyevropeyskogo universitetu*, № 16, 28-32. (In Ukrainian)
- 16. Kroker, A., & Cook, D. (1986). Television and the Triumph of Culture. In: *The postmodern Scene: Excremental Culture and Hyper-Aesthetics*, St.Martin's Press.
- 17. Lasswell, G. D. (1948; 3-th edition 2009). Power and Personality. L.
- 18. Lasswell, G. D.(1936). Politics: Whogets what, when, how. N. Y.; L.,
- 19. Lasswell, G. D. (1947). The analysis of political behavior. L.
- 20. Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Merton, R.K. (1960). Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action. Ed. Scramm W. Urbana.
- 21. Lazarsfeld, P., Berelson, B. & Gaudet, H.(1948). The People Choice. N.Y.: Columbia University Press.
- 22. Lazarsfeld, P.F., Reitz J.G. (1975). An Introduction to Applied Sociology. N.Y.
- 23. Lippmann, W.(1967). Stereotypes. Language in Uniform. A reader on Propaganda. Ed. N.A. Ford. New York.
- 24. Lippmann, W. (1966). Public Opinion. N.Y.: Harcourt Brace.
- 25. Luhmann, N. (2005). Die Realitat der Massenmedien. M.: Pracsys (In Russian)
- 26. McCombs, M., Shaw, D. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. —*Public Opinion Quarterly*. 36, 176–187.
- 27. McLuhan M. (1967). *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man.* London. Sphere Books Limited.
- 28. McQuail D. (1997). Mass Communication Theory. London.
- 29. Mills C.W. (2002). White Collar: The American Middle Classes. Oxford: University Press.
- 30. Mills C.W. (2000). The Sociological Imagination. Oxford: University Press.
- 31. Parker, S. (1996). Political Identities. In *Italian Cultural Studies /* David Forgacs and Robert Lumley (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 32. Pashina, N.P. (2010). Rol' zasobiv massovoii komunikatsii v protcesi politychnoi identifikatsii socialnyh subiektyv.[The role of the media in the political identification of social actors]. Retrieved from http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/old_jrn/Soc_Gum/Polzap/2010_2/10pnpicc.pdf (In Ukrainian)

- 33. Popova, O.V. (2002). Politicheskaya identifikatsiia v usloviiah transformatsii obschestva [Political identification under transformation of society conditions]. St.Pb. :St.Pb University ed. (In Russian)
- 34. Schmitt C. (1992). Concept of the political. Voprosy Sociologii, № 1, 37-67 (In Russian)
- 35. Singh, C. (2010). New Media and Cultural Identity. China Media Research, 6(1), 86-90.
- 36. Smith-Speck, S., & Roy, A. (2008). The interrelationships between television viewing, values and perceived well-being: A global perspective. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 39(7), 1197-1219. doi:10.1057/palgrave.jibs.8400359
- 37. Shilova, V.V. (2014). Vplyv kommunikatsiinyh tehnologii yak zasobiv socialnogo inzhiniryngu v televiziinyh novinah [The impact of communication technologies as a means of social engineering in television news]. Science and Education a New Dimension. Humanities and Social Sciences, II(6), Issue 36, Retrieved from www.seanewdim.com (In Ukrainian).
- 38. Shugailo, Ya. B. (2010). *Theory of influence mass media on personality*. Retrieved from http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/old_jrn/Soc_Gum/Pfto/2010_7/files/PD710_65.pdf (In Ukrainian)
- 39. Tarde, G. (1998). L'opinion et la foule. Moscow: Inst. Psyhologii RAN, KSP+. (In Russian)
- 40. Zassoursky, Ivan (2004). Media and Power in Post-Soviet Russia. NY: M.E. Sharpe.