



Eximia Journal
(ISSN 2784-0735)

Vol. 5

2022

Political codes analysis: fundamentals and perspectives

Vladyslav Andrushko

PhD Student of the Department of Political Science, Taras Shevchenko national university of Kyiv

viallua@gmail.com

Abstract. This essay asks how we might enrich modern political discourse analysis. To do so, I propose a political codes analysis as a complementary approach, as a way of investigating a social world using the special concepts of codes and programs. The essay is divided into two sections. The first section aims to integrate the concepts of codes and programs into modern political analysis. Here, I examine the possibility of using such terms in the humanities and define them and describe their main features. The second section pays attention to the practical value of political codes analysis, focusing on the symbolic formalizing, technical features, and perspectives of further research. In this section, I consider Big Data and Blockchain technologies and how they might be integrated into political discourse analysis. The main purposes of political codes analysis are to find identities (ideologies), to disclose potential political conflicts and to investigate a subject and an object of political power. The essay may be of interest both to discourse analysts and other scholars who study social processes.

Keywords. political code, political program, political codes analysis, political discourse analysis, political methodology

Introduction

Discourse may be defined in a variety of ways. However, there are two basic approaches to understanding this phenomenon: classical and postmodern. The classical approach defines discourse as any language engagement or discussion. Unlike the classical method, the postmodern approach regards "discourse" as a form of thought, a "world vision," or an ideology. Postmodernism regards discourse first and foremost as a means of comprehending the world, the boundaries of what is possible in thinking, and hence the limits of what individuals can accomplish in their social lives. In turn, the political spheres of the state and the globe are characterized by a huge number of such "discourses," each with its own specific nature (Andrushko, 2021).

Political discourse analysis as a theory and practice lacks a single foundation since the phenomenon of discourse lacks a single cohesive meaning. However, I describe political discourse analysis as a kind of broad political analysis based on postmodern discourse theory. As a result, the study's core is postmodern discourse theory, which feeds into political discourse analysis (PDA). Let me remind you of its main features:

- 1) Lack of interest in the linguistic study of discourse

2) A wide understanding of the term of discourse and the consideration of all social activities as discursive without exception.

3) Discourses are seen as open, mobile, and changing forms that are continually interacting with other discourses and striving for "meaning"; social antagonisms are interpreted as discourse collisions.

4) The study of politics as a way of meaning articulation; a means of shaping and regulating the social.

5) The belief that all pictures of reality are masked by the idea of "objectivity" and are generated by prevailing discourses that have triumphed over alternative sign forms.

6) The notion of ideological conceptions as a collection of variable signals with various articulations, indicated by the concept of myth.

7) The attempt to include the idea of power into discourse analysis.

The theory was carefully developed and upgraded by Laclau and Mouffe, who invented a theoretical base for the further understanding of the postmodernist concept of discourse. Within the framework of their sociological theory of discourse, the authors used four analytical concepts: discourse, articulation, moment, and element. They arranged these concepts in their scientific system as follows: "We will call articulation any practice of establishing relations between elements, in which, as a result of articulatory practice, the identity of the elements changes. All structural unity that arises as a result of articulatory practice, we will call discourse. The various positions in which the sign is articulated we will call moments. And we will call an element any difference that is not articulated in the discourse". Thus, through these concepts, Laclau and Mouffe demonstrated the conventionality of any discourse. At the same time, the formation and internal temporary fixation of discourse occur because of its nodal points. A nodal point is a privileged sign around which other signs are ordered and take on their meaning (Dabirimehr, A. & Fatmi, M. T., 2014).

Thus, their concept of discourse encompasses not only language but everything social. In their theory, the linguistic structure of meaning is identical to social practices and social activities. Social actions acquire their meaning through relationships with other actions. At the same time, all our knowledge and practices are mediated by systems of meanings. Our ideas about reality, society, and our own identity are constructed by a system of meanings in the structures of discourse.

The five key arguments of Laclau and Mouffe are:

1) All forms of social practice take place against a background of historically specific discourses, which can be broadly defined as relational systems of signification.

2) Discourse is constructed in and through hegemonic struggles that aim to establish a political and moral-intellectual leadership through the articulation of meaning and identity.

3) The hegemonic articulation of meaning and identity is intrinsically linked to the construction of social antagonism, which involves the exclusion of a threatening Otherness that stabilizes the discursive system while, at the same time, preventing its ultimate closure.

4) A stable hegemonic discourse becomes dislocated when it is confronted by new events that it cannot explain, represent, or in other ways domesticate.

5) The dislocation of the discursive structure means that the subject always emerges as a split subject that might attempt to reconstruct a full identity through acts of identification (Torfing, 2005, p. 28).

So, in line with the postmodernist tradition, I characterize discourse as a technique of constructing the reality, the limitations of possible thoughts. In turn, the political domain is defined by a huge number of such "discourses," each with its own essence and battle for life

and dominance. People's mentalities are seen as a system that can be measured and thoroughly explored since they manifest in the form of discourse (text) and generate unique patterns of thought in social interaction.

The approach's fundamental ideas are the political code and the political program. Similar to cybernetics, the political code can be seen as a sign or a set of signs that has its own special meaning in terms of any interpretation, something that explains the nature of social life. The code is the smallest component of the program, which is regarded as a separate mental structure comprising several meanings that combine to generate a coherent representation of the world (discourse). In other words, the program is a kind of codified rationality based on interpretations. Let's dive more into the essence of political codes and programs.

On the concepts of codes and programs in political science

Before I discuss the nature of codes and programs in social life in general and discourse analysis in particular, let's establish the concept of code in the humanities. Below is a table detailing the most prominent humanities applications of the concept of codes.

The codes in the humanities (Shipunova, 2017, p. 694)

	Author	Short description	Interpretation
	F. de Saussure	Codes in texts (language)	Through Ferdinand de Saussure's work, we can see how codes are used in a wide range of cultural texts. In this case, the researcher talks about the cultural code, which is the "fabric" of the text of culture. It is a set of sign-symbol systems whose meanings a person constantly reads or figures out.

	Foucault	Code in relation	The basis of the codes are relations to the world of things, which are described in figurative and metaphorical form as the relationship of place, fit, collision, sympathy, similarity, etc.
	Bart	Code in memory and language, cultural code	The author has mentioned that codes are certain types of what has already been seen, already read, already done: a code is a concrete form of this 'already' constituting any writing.
	Eco	Code in perception and interpretation	According to Umberto Eco, a code has two functionally different plans: it both promotes machine-stereotyped perceptions of cultural texts and opens new possibilities for their interpretation.
	Fiske	Wide and limited codes	The author proposed to allocate a wide code intended for a mass audience, and a limited one for a narrow audience. Thus, pop music belongs to the wide code, while ballet belongs to the limited code. While the limited codes are intended to fix the boundary between 'us' and 'them', the wide ones are aimed at removing boundaries and simplifying communication.

	Jacobson	Code in language regulation	By code, the author means universal principles that allow language to exist as a communicative system that regulates itself.
	Luhmann	Mass media code	Depersonalization, the uncertainty of the social subject as a characteristic feature of the modern world is explained by Luhmann by the seizure of the economy, politics, law, science by the mass media information network (Luhmann, 2005). Mind control is based on the mass media code being the result of the social system reproducing itself in new technological conditions.
	Lévi-Strauss	Cultural code in mass communication	The idea of Lévi-Strauss, projected onto the modern media environment of mass communication, is that the cultural code, which claims the inclusivity of people, their mutual understanding, and societal integrity control, is structured through basic binary oppositions acting on the principle of inversion.

So, according to the table, the typology of codes can be represented as a generalized classification based on a cognitive orientation vector in the semantic space of society. In general, codes are an ordered set of interrelated prescriptions, standards, restrictions, and attitudes in relation to different activities (communicative, technological, semantic, axiological, cognitive, aesthetic, etc.). A code, accordingly, is a structure with specific characteristics: it has a special capacity for guiding selections. It is able to locate a counterpart for each relevant item

that falls within its domain. Any language becomes a code in the proposed sense, and can thereafter be employed in an extraordinarily flexible manner (Luhmann, 1982)

Although the concept of codes is used not only in technical studies but also in the humanities, there are no specific codes in the political sphere. Some authors use the concept of the cultural code when they speak about mass consciousness and communication, which is clearly related to politics, but this term is still more cultural than political. Niklas Luhman was the one who mentioned “political code” as a concept, but his definition is still not independent and not developed enough.

So, I'll now talk about the idea of a political code, keeping in mind all of the possible ways to do it. In fact, I think of it as a sign or group of signs that have some social meaning and can be used to gain, keep, or increase political power. I will also say that a code is the smallest semantic part of a political program while thinking of a political program as a set of conclusions, a model of some kind of knowledge, or a new kind of ideology. A political program is composed of codes that are expressed in language and are used to build a certain logic.

Thus, codes and programs are proposed as fresh categories that open up new avenues for discourse analysis. Code appears as a connecting factor between various texts and common social discourse. In terms of the program, it serves as the focal point of any discussion. A program may likewise be defined as an organized rationality based on a discourse (language) as a set of identities and interpretations, ideas, and frames. In other words, I consider the program in its technical meaning; as a result, I suggest a definition similar to that used in cybernetics. If they describe a program as the projected sequence of events in time and the rules that must be followed to carry out the planned event, it may be concluded that the program is a specific system of interrelated meanings that finally leads to action. Thus, the political program is a kind of program in which the meanings are specified by subjects produced by political consciousness. In other words, I understand the program as a way of understanding the social world, the limits of the possible ways of thinking, and, consequently, the limits of social practices.

Let's imagine political programs as parts of political discourse (a political sphere that is based on words, frames, and concepts). Accordingly, let's depict political codes as some points that political programs consist of. Hence, everything that we can say or think about in the political domain is a political discourse. Moreover, there is nothing we cannot say or think about; thus, any political institution or any political process existing in the world or our minds comes to us via political discourse. Obviously, everything called political exists in political discourse, but we are not sure it exists in the physical world outside of discourse. As a result, any political statement is a political code as a part of some program. And there is nothing in political discourse except programs and codes.

So, the main features of a political program are a certain pattern by which we are able to understand political processes, and a possibility to focus on a particular social class or groups of interests, which means a more relevant type of socio-political stratification.

It is worth explaining here the dualistic nature of a program, that is, the main feature of a program. Any political program can be considered to have two dimensions: objective and subjective. If the objective dimension follows the postmodern tradition and considers the program to be an invisible transcendent structure that determines consciousness and the behavior of individuals as participants in structural relationships, the subjective level uses a psychological and, even, neurophysiological background, and it considers the functioning of codes within the mind of a person. In the political sphere, the objective dimension of a program is related to the ideologies and other cognitive models of the world which perform as the sum

of different rational political interpretations, whereas the subjective is a key to understanding people's identities as well as their perceptions. In both cases, the program is the same. A certain sum of codes describes both mass and private rationality.

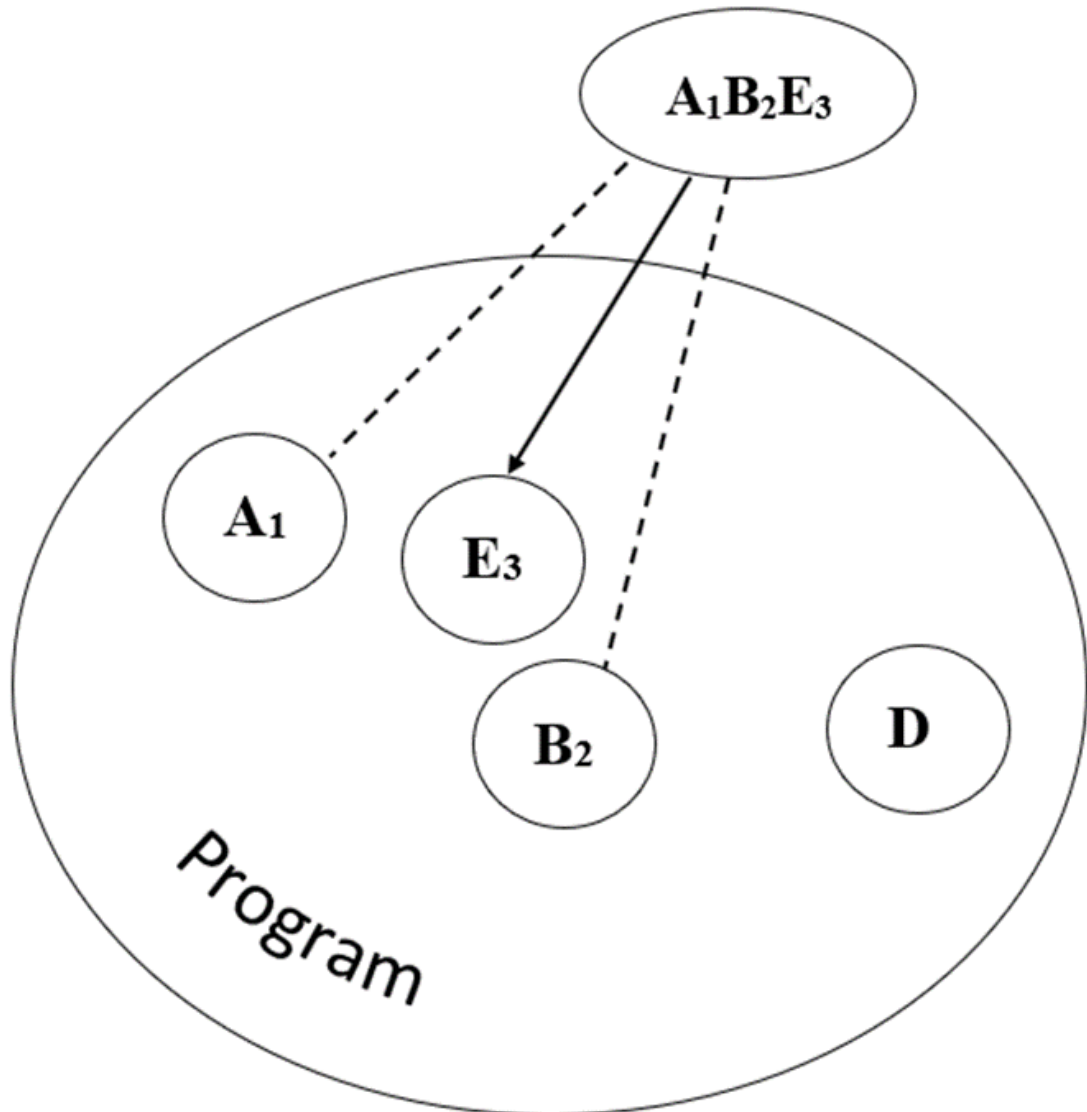
Thus, in the objective dimension, the program can be described as having subject-independent meanings and relationships. In this sense, I support the statement of Pierce, who emphasized: "Just as we say that the body is in motion, not that there is movement in the body, we are forced to say that we are in thought, not thought is in us". That is, a political program takes the form of a transcendent cognitive network, like an Internet server, to which different subjects can be joined. In the same way, a structuralist network determines internal algorithms and the limits of what is acceptable in the thinking, a program creates routes from one conclusion to another. Such routes are becoming steady and being widely used. In other words, those routes go through special meanings and have a significant impact on people's perceptions, determining the ways they are thinking.

Let us compare this to the functioning of YouTube. It is recognized that a person who seems to be viewing movies on his or her own is really functioning inside a system of algorithms that will decide the user's decision in the future. I mean that the viewers' search queries and the content they choose from the suggested spots construct pathways to the new content, and the body instinctively starts to follow the offered roads. A similar model is used in general, non-electronic cognitive fields operating in the political sphere. As a result, just as the YouTube sphere is made up of planned pathways, the political sphere is composed of political programs, which operate as a set of codes covering certain political beliefs, stereotypes, and meanings. Political codes, like apples, grow on trees inside certain political systems, and a person may consume any code, just as they can consume any fruit.

We now move on to the subjective level, which is expressed by the functioning of the human mind (the consciousness) and is considered to be within the inner world of a particular person. Morris wrote: "Human civilization is impossible without signs and sign systems, the human mind is inseparable from sign functioning. And, perhaps, all intelligence should be identified with the functioning of signs".

Speaking of the structure of the "political program" on a subjective level, the most interesting for us is the process of forming new codes in the mind. The main and obligatory condition for transmitting codes from subject to object is the semantic readiness of the object. In other words, for an object to perceive a code, this new code must have a pre-formed place among other old codes present in the object's consciousness. After all, knowledge or feelings can only become clear and become an experience when they find a place in the structure of other meanings: this can be achieved through association with other codes such as by entering into their scope or opposing it.

The process of consuming new codes is depicted schematically below:



As we can see, some informational content is based on the three codes (A1B2E3), two of which (A1B2) are the same as those somebody has already consumed. As a result, that person feels confident: he has identified the content with his own position and consumed a new type of knowledge (E3). This makes him a servant of some program.

However, people are not always ready to accept new codes. Being in a foreign, incomprehensible communicative space, in a foreign culture and hearing an incomprehensible language, among strange customs and traditions, a person is forced to be closed to semiosis and, as a consequence, to new political codes. It will take a long time for that person to adapt or change the old codes for new ones.

It is worth noting that the first program of human experience is extremely important because, in the process of its development and formation, it uncritically perceives the surrounding discourses and forms its consciousness from the meanings (codes) that it hears

around it: from parents, relatives, friends, TV and fashion, music and cinema. In this context, attention should be paid to the research of the French sociologist Bourdieu, who, like Hegel, Durkheim and Moss, used the concept of habitus in his research as a "system of strong acquired tendencies". He wrote: "Habitus - a product of history, produces individual and collective practices - again history - according to the schemes generated by history. It presupposes the active presence of past experience, which, existing in every organism in the form of patterns of perception, thought and action, guarantees the "correctness" of practices and their constancy over time more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms. Such a system of inclinations, that is, the present, which is directed to the future by reproducing uniformly structured practices ... is a principle of continuity and regularity, which is observed in social practices.

Thus, a political program is formed in the first years of life as a result of a person's unique experience and is a unique set of individual codes and connections. Having many similarities with the habit, this program can be considered a certain anthropological fact (because a person will not be able to think critically in the most productive years when she has learned about reality), characterized by the native language and its values and beliefs and as a result, her subsequent views. After all, such a fact affects the self-identification of a person.

The political sphere of both the state (national level) and the world (international level) is characterized by many such programs, each of which has a unique nature. Analogous to the discourse of the theories of Laclau and Mouffe, those programs can be considered neither complete nor closed because they are constantly changing and fighting with each other for the first place in the consciousness of the object of influence. In other words, people as program representatives struggle to assert their opinions like a real and stable representation of the world, destroying other views as products of individual or group interests. We argue that this is one of the most significant features of a program, the main reason for so many political conflicts. Any political program has a certain pattern that helps us to understand political processes. It is always focused on a particular social class or a group of interests, which is currently a more relevant type of socio-political stratification.

Thus, speaking of the structure of the program, we note that, regardless of the level at which it is considered, objectively or subjectively, it consists of political codes with links between them. The difference in these approaches lies only in whether this program is set inside a person, in her consciousness, or is set on the outside, in the form of an invisible but effectively functioning system. All of this determines the dual view of the political program.

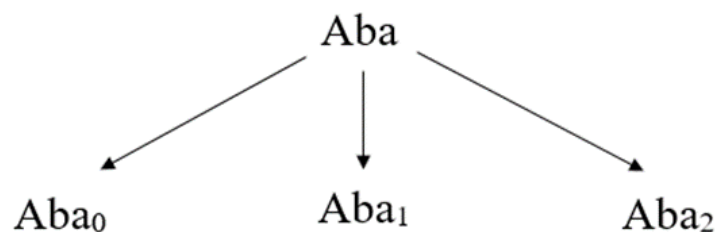
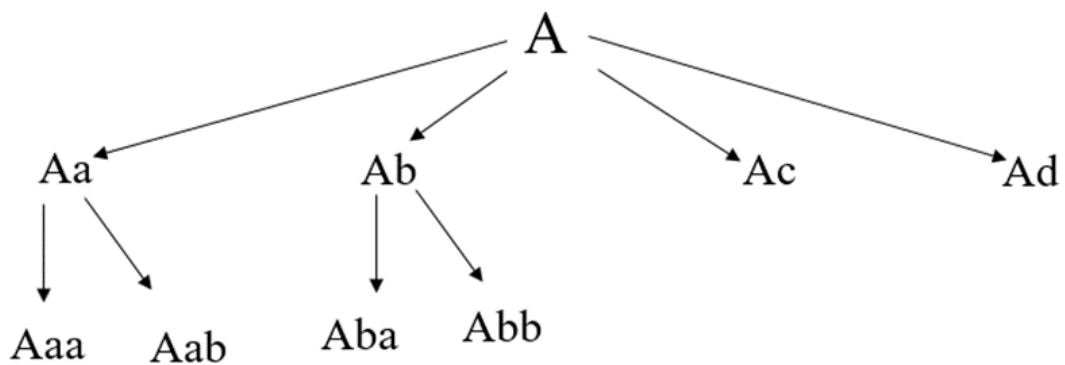
The practical value of PCA

Thus, it is clear what codes and programs are in social life and it is partly understood how they act in modern society. This section is devoted to the practical value of the concepts of codes and programs. The task is to move forward from the theoretical, abstract level of the categories to the practical usage, to attain certain guidance that is going to help discourse analysts with their investigations. To do so, I suggest using a program table as a dataset of collected codes that can be used as a constant for further research.

Furthermore, we have already confirmed that any program is a sum of codes. Thus, the first question is how can such codes be marked and used instead of regular political discourse analysis (PDA)?

Any code is seen as a single option from a given pattern (the domain of special thoughts; the field where discourses struggle against each other to get a hegemony in society, to capture people's minds). In other words, code = a pattern + a sub pattern + an attitude (a position).

For example, if a program is Ba1Eb2Ra2, we can say that there are three codes: Ba1, Eb2 and Ra2. Every capital letter is a pattern but every small letter is a kind of pattern classification. In other words, patterns represent the most ambiguous themes in politics. Furthermore, each number is an attitude or position. It seems to be enough to have three positions to choose from 0 – neutral, 1 – positive, and 2 – negative. See the scheme below:



As we can see, A is a pattern, Aa, Ab, Aba, and Abb are subpatterns. Aba0 is a completed code that can be used in a program.

Thus, let us take a code Ra2 and provide an analysis:

R – a pattern, which indicates Religion

Ra – Christianity

Rb – Islam

Rc – Buddhism

Rd – Judaism

Re – paganism

Rf – other religious

For example, Christianity (Ra) can be divided into Orthodox (Raa), Catholicism (Rab), and Protestantism (Rac). The Moscow Patriarchate of Orthodox can be marked as Raaa, and the Kyiv Patriarchate of the Orthodox church as Raab. Analogically, the Baptist movement of Protestantism can be marked as Raca, with Jehovah's Witnesses as Racb.

Each pattern should get a special sub pattern that makes a possible for further scientific investigation. For example, if some new religion appears, it will be marked as Rfa, Rfb, etc. To make a code, we should not only find it in the list of patterns and sub patterns but also show the attitude (number). In the case of our code Ra2, the number 2 means it is in a negative position (critical) to all Christianity. But if we take, for example, the code Raa2, this means it is critical of just Orthodox Christianity.

However, sometimes it is very complicated to create a unified classification of thoughts within the framework of a topic. In that case, it seems to be the right choice to avoid extra classifications, and extra branches, and to make the topic as simple as possible. The main rule should be to adhere to the law of logic. For example, if we take the topic of international orientation (I), we could create such codes as:

Ia – global (orientation to Western values)

Ib – anti-global (nationalistic orientation)

Ic – other orientation (if it is possible to separate a position that is associated neither with (Ia) nor with (Ib))

Although we know a lot of branches exist inside both the global and anti-global movement, it is not necessary to mark them. At this stage, it will be enough to use codes with general, common, and clear positions. Such a classification is always open for further investigation, something that will surely enrich the PCA in the near future.

Considering topics (patterns), I admit that it is almost impossible to put a line between those labeled political and others labeled not political because every social topic can be used to impact people's minds to capture, hold or multiply political power. Thus, it can be marked as political and added to the table. That means that the table will never be finished. However, at the beginning, we could outline the main directions, including all the possible ways of thinking (patterns)

For example, we can establish social and economic patterns. A Social (S) pattern seems to be about national (Sa) or international (Sb) orientation, which can be further classified into racism (Saa), Nazism (Sab) or xenophobia (Sac) in the first direction, and multiculturalism (Sba) or mass culture (Sbc) in the second. Regarding economics (E), we could start from the left (Ea) and the right (Eb) orientations. It is known that the left-wing is characterized by the desire for the economy to be run by a cooperative collective agency (which can mean the state, but can also mean a network of communes), while the right is defined as the desire for the economy to be left to the devices of competing individuals and organizations. Thus, we can mark them accordingly as followers of free government services (Eaa), helping the poor (Eab), equality (Eac) or inequality (Ebc), protection of private property (Ebb), etc.

We could also apply a democratic (D) pattern, which is classified into democratic (Da) and anti-democratic (Db) discourses. Finally, we could indicate a state power discourse (Pa), and a discourse of the opposition (Pb) as a sub pattern of state power orientation (P).

Such an approach allows us to mark both any statement as a code and any identity or ideology as a program, or sum of codes. For example, fascism could be marked as Sa1 Eb1 Rab1 Ib1:

Sa1 – racism positive

Eb1 – right economic orientation

Rab1 - Catholic positive

Ib1 – anti-global positive

However, it is not a complete program –many other codes could be added to clarify it.

Such an approach is useful for investigating new kinds of ideologies, which are called virtual ideologies. It is also useful for detecting contradictions, which is a great tool for criticizing both individual consciousness and social meanings (ideologies). Finally, it is a way of discovering the outcomes of any program performance in different countries and in different ages, thus making it useful for further PDA issues based on PCA.

However, it should be noted that PCA requires systematic teamwork with Big Data. By combining different patterns, the PDA community could create a special online chart for Big Data, like the Mendeleev table in chemistry. This chart would include each type of statement (as a code) that can be used for capturing, maintaining, or multiplying political power. In other words, it would help us to mark any part of the text and to fix it in a common pool of possible meanings. This would be a step forward in PDA in particular, and in modern political studies in general.

Moreover, the PDA community could use blockchain principles and technologies. Thus, such collected data as a program table could be decentralized, it could be managed by anybody, who follows the main principles of the table.

The main principles of such table would be:

- 1) Each pattern should include a special option for development (a sub pattern that is marked as "other").
- 2) Each classification should be based on logic and should not cause contradictions within the pattern.
- 3) It should be possible to evaluate each branch by attitude (as neutral – 0, positive – 1 or negative – 2).
- 4) The table should consist of all possible topics and exclude all possible positions within the framework (it should include all possible branches).

The PCA helps us to:

- determine what knowledge expressed in speech serves as a source of power relations in society (codes have the function of both legitimizing the elites in the eyes of the target audience, and enlightening and identifying the target audience, but the main function of the codes remains the creation of a certain information plane that makes possible any political relationships)
- predict the socio-political consequences of certain discourses, relying on cases with similar codes (the presence of a code helps an analyst to easily collect information about similar events from world political history: each event can be represented as a confrontation of certain codes)
- to define and analyze new ideologies (virtual ideologies, micro-ideologies, etc.)
- identify manipulations and get a "clean" message (translate any text into a code)
- systematize and logically streamline your own political position
- trace which codes can be seen more often than others in the group, and which have never been united within the framework of one program.

Using such a table, we would not need to make a deal with pieces of separate analyses in different languages taken from the mass of global information. Such a way seems to be complicated, ineffective, and even impossible in a global context. Now, we have an opportunity to create data with a special analysis of each code. Each analytical issue, based on PCA, would be marked by codes that have been found in some content and in their functionality within a framework of some social organization (country, region, both profit, non-profit organization, etc.). It allows us to collect all the discourse analysis issues using classifications from the coding table: to find laws and correlations and special patterns between those issues, to compare the

same codes in different conditions, to provide an analogy in social processes, and, as a result, to predict future precedents.

There are some things we should provide in our analysis using PCA.

First, it is necessary to code the content (to mark it as a code or a sum of codes, according to the table). Such content may be both textual and non-textual (audio, visual, etc.).

Second, considering the codes we have, we should find similar analytics in the global network (the Internet). By putting “Raal” into a global scientific network such as a Google Scholar we should be able to see analytic reports of cases from any country at any time.

Third, we should conduct our own research, based on both empirical (observations on how the codes function in an investigated society) and theoretical (work with similar essays, syntheses, and analyses of previous research in other societies) methods.

The main functions of the PCA would be:

1) to find identities (ideologies)

As any code can be according to both subjective (private) and objective (social) dimensions, it can indicate both identity and ideology, depending on what is requested. By coding some content released by an actor, we could examine his identity as well as the ideology he is trying to promote.

Here is a picture of how we could see both a single person (private) and a group of people (social) in the context of the code-program method.



Sa1 Eb1 Rab1 Ib1



Sa1 Eb1 Rab1 Ib1

In order to provide identification research, we should conduct an interview with a person whose identity needs to be investigated. In this process, we should use one of the analytical prioritization techniques. For example, the “Bubble technique” approach prioritizes functionality by comparing it with another one. While reviewing two functionalities, stakeholders can find that one is more important than the other. So, it is moved up as "a bubble". Stakeholders can repeat these steps until all items are ranked based on each other.

Researching identification, an analyst could also provide the person with a special matrix, which helps to determine “dominative codes” inside his consciousness. Such a matrix should consist of the special statements as

- I wouldn't say I like that
- I can accept that
- I do not care if we have that or not
- I want that
- I am excited about that

2) to disclose potential conflicts

Regarding codes, they always “struggle for the pattern”. This means that conflict is imminent in the structure of any discourse, people are not able to avoid it so well as they cannot give up the discourse. Having our own table with code classification, we can see which codes are incompatible (which exclude each other) in a certain program. It should be some codes from the same pattern or subpattern that have different attitudes. Because the table of codes will be created based on the principle that any subpattern covers the area of all possible positions in the topic that are based in complete opposition to each other, it becomes possible and easy to predict any conflicts on a social level. Moreover, it becomes possible to rule such conflicts on the one hand and to avoid them in the future on the other. We can also put different codes together to find some points of incompatibility that will inevitably lead to social struggle. Finally, different codes (that struggle for a place in the same pattern) and, as a result, different programs – the main reason for any political conflicts – will emerge.

Let's see the example of such potential conflicts in the latest Macron-Le Pen debates that took place in France in 2022. Marine Le Pen said she was fighting against "the ideology of Islamism", which can be marked as the “Rb2” code (R – religion, Rb – Islam, 2 – negative). According to this data, any other attitude in Pattern “Rb” is considered to be conflictual. That's why Macron's neutral and even positive attitude makes a conflict among the “Rb” codes. Actually, no one is able to synthesize such uncombined pieces of meaning, so people can simply choose which position is more appropriate for their mentality, or their program (sum of habitual codes). Being a carrier of such codes, they become a part of the side, servants of the programs, which is always conflictual a priori. Anyway, such conflicts should be predicted and stopped as well as they lead to awful consequences such as civil and international wars (YouTube, 2022).

The question is could we predict which of the struggling codes is going to win and take a place in a person's mind? To answer the question, we should classify the codes by the level of their power: not interesting (empty), interesting (rational), emotional and ratio-emotional. Not interesting codes perform as a regular informational noise, they mean nothing to the person evaluating them. An interesting or rational code is understood and logical, so it can be consumed in a regular way. Emotional codes are strong because they appeal to people's feelings.

Thus, rational code is more powerful than empty code but less powerful than emotional code. Eventually, ratio-emotional codes are the most powerful.

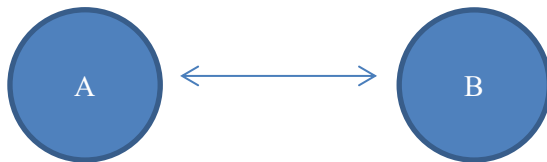
3) to investigate a subject and an object of political power

To investigate political power we should make clear how to define the social phenomenon. There are a lot of different definitions in the multidisciplinary scientific field. One

of the most common is M. Weber's interpretation, which defines power as the ability to exercise one's will over others. According to postmodernist tradition in general and my approach in particular, political power can be defined as "informational influence on a socio-political system". Actually, such influence regulates all socio-political relations and processes." The impacted system can be further considered as a "program", and the process of exercising power (formation of programs) - "political programming". Furthermore, if we assume that the "political power" of today is identified with knowledge and control, then "political programming" is an innovative process and a means of implementing "political power" by forming a communicative political system on the one hand and political consciousness of the certain people on the other. In other words, political power is related to code creation and promotion.

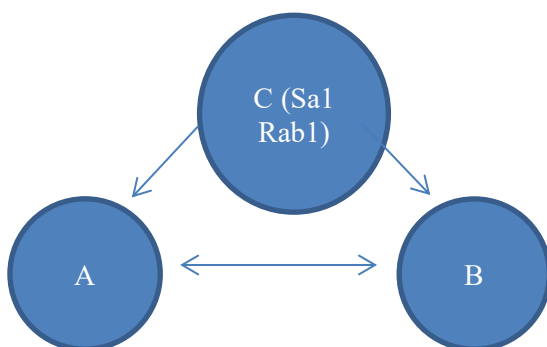
According to the approach, political power can be considered in two dimensions. Let's see them in the graphics below.

The first dimension:



Thus, at the first level A (public opinion leader, political actor) impacts B (target audience) with the help of manipulative technologies. At the same time, A cannot go beyond the "program" he uses, so he has no absolute power, he can just produce content the target audience needs to get. Moreover, it should be noted that B (listener) is not only an object but also a subject of political power intercourse. Actually, B has relative power over A (the speaker), as well as he evaluates and determines the effectiveness of speech, and therefore makes A think and act in a certain way. In other words, A promotes codes to B, but B evaluates promoted codes. So, if we cannot mark a certain number of political power objects and subjects, the question is where the real political power is hidden and who really performs it?

The second dimension



At the second level, a new member emerges. Regarding C (ideologist, moderator of communication), we might talk about the absolute power C has within the communicative field (program). Actually, C constructs a world, sets the system of rules, runs the senses and limits possible thoughts and words, and limits the agenda. In other words, it determines the discourse, managing codes inside the program.

Let`s consider the example of such political power intercourse in the table.

Program	A (a political actor)	B (a target audience)	C (a moderator of a program)
A political show on TV	The politician (response by choosing "keywords" in order to become clear, increase the number of supporters, gain legitimacy, etc).	Viewer (determines the compliance of the discourse policy "program", counts "keywords" and "similar meanings")	Host of the program (chooses the topic, the language of the broadcast, determines the accents, asks questions, chooses the "program" for further communication
	Member of Parliament presenting the bill on the introduction of the mandatory vaccine against Covid-19	The public is waiting for the government to resolve the issue and check its actions for compliance with medical advice	The research doctors who created the vaccine and determined the conditions of vaccination gave recommendations
Christianity	A priest	A parishioner	Apostles, apologists of Christianity

In conclusion, A influences B, and B in its power on A. At the same time, both influence and are based on certain semantic algorithms, which are part of a broad "cognitive program", system, discourse. Another dimension is characterized by the appearance of C (the author or moderator of this "program"), which affects the entire field of communication, and therefore has absolute power over both A and B. The political code analysts might use such understanding

of political power intercourse to mark and investigate the political power objects and subjects in any political and non-political cases.

Considering a code via PCA we might use a special set of questions:

1. Who are the main followers (representatives) of the investigated code? (identification)
2. Who are the authors of the code? (power)
3. Who takes benefits from promoting the code? (power)
4. Which social groups inevitably use the code in their reasonings? (identification)
5. Which social groups are against the code? (identification, conflict)
6. Which codes are typically combined with the investigated code? (identification, power)
7. Which codes are the absolute opposite of the investigated code and could not exist in the same program? (conflict)
8. How was the code performed in history? (power)

To sum up, the main value of PCA is that it lets us predict all possible social changes in the political domain.

Conclusion

Consequently, the political codes analysis is a type of political analysis, based on discourse analysis principles. It combines cutting-edge multidisciplinary information developed by scientists ranging from anthropology to linguistics.

The main purposes of such an analysis are to find identities (ideologies), to disclose potential political conflicts and to investigate a subject and an object of political power. To do this, political discourse experts should collaborate to develop a distinct stable system of conceivable political meanings - a table of political codes.

Of course, PCA should not be regarded as comprehensive. At the moment, it seems to be more of an idea or a direction, the road political discourse analysis should most likely take to become a more major approach of studying social reality. Finally, it opens the door to further inquiry and investigation of cybernetic knowledge in the social sciences. It opens the door to incorporating successes from the computer sector into the social context, and subsequently into the larger world. Finally, PCA is seen to be an important step in improving social data science, which will eventually lead to the formation and development of artificial intelligence.

References

- [1] Andrushko, V. I. (2021). DISCOURSE IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL AND POWER RELATIONS. *Bulletin of VN Karazin Kharkiv National University. Series" Issues of Political Science"*, 39, 31-39.
- [2] Bart, R. (1989a). *Selected works. Semiotics. Poetics.* Moscow, Progress.
- [3] Bart, R. (1989b). *Text analysis of a novel by Edgar Poe.* In Bart R. *Selected works. Semiotics. Poetics.* Moscow, Progress, 424-461.
- [4] Bart, R. (2003). *Fashion System. Articles on semiotics of culture.* Translated from French. Moscow, Sabashnikovs' Publishing house.
- [5] Bouvier, G., & Machin, D. (2018). *Critical discourse analysis and the challenges and opportunities of social media.* *Review of Communication*, 18(3), 178-192.
- [6] Bucher, T. (2018). *If... then: Algorithmic power and politics.* *Oxford University Press.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190493028.001.0001>

- [7] Dabirimehr, A. & Fatmi, M. T. (2014). Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse. *Journal of Novel Applied Sciences*, 3(11), 1283-1287. <https://doi.org/10.18052/www.scipress.com/ILSHS.57.10>
- [8] Eco, U. (2004). *The Absent Structure. Introduction to Semiotics*. Translated from Italian. St. Petersburg, Symposium.
- [9] Foucault, M. (2019). *Power: the essential works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984. Penguin 3rd edition*, 115-205.
- [10] Geroulanos, S. & Weatherby, L. (2020). Cybernetics and the human sciences. *History of the Human Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952695119887098>
- [11] Hardy, C., Bhakoo, V., & Maguire, S. (2020). A new methodology for supply chain management: Discourse analysis and its potential for theoretical advancement. *Journal of Supply Chain Management*, 56(2), 19-35. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jscm.12227>
- [12] Jacobs, T. (2018). The dislocated universe of Laclau and Mouffe: An introduction to post-structuralist discourse theory. *Critical Review*, 30(3-4), 294-315. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08913811.2018.1565731>
- [13] Johnstone, B. (2017). *Discourse analysis*. John Wiley & Sons.
- [14] Luhmann, N. (1982). The Political Code "Progressive" and "Conservative" *Columbia University Press*, 166-189. <https://doi.org/10.7312/luhm90862-011>
- [15] Panagia, D. (2020). On the Possibilities of a Political Theory of Algorithms. *Political Theory*, 49(1), 109-133. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591720959853>
- [16] Saussure, F. M. (2011). *Course in general linguistics*. Columbia University Press.
- [17] Schaeffner Ch., Porsch P. (1998) Continuity and change: German discourse after unification.
- [18] *Political discourse in transition in Europe, 1989-1991*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, 51–68. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.36.17sch>
- [19] Shipunova O. D., Mureyko L. V., Berezovskaya I. P., Kolomeyzev I. V., Serkova V. A. (2017) Cultural Code in Controlling Stereotypes of Mass Consciousness. *European Research Studies Journal Volume XX, Issue 4B*, 694-705. <https://doi.org/10.35808/ersj/921>
- [20] Special edition: Macron vs Le Pen: follow the Debate LIVE - French presidential election FR <https://youtu.be/NKtZprAHJwM>
- [21] Swann, T. (2020). Anarchist Cybernetics: Control and Communication in Radical Politics. *Policy Press*, 98-144.
- [22] Timcke, S. (2021). Algorithms and the End of Politics: How Technology Shapes 21st-Century American Life. *Policy Press*. <https://doi.org/10.1332/9781529215311.001.0001>
- [23] van Dijk T.A. (1985) Introduction: The role of discourse analysis in society. *Handbook of discourse analysis*, 1–8.
- [24] van. Dijk T.A. (2002) Political Discourse and Political Cognition. *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse*. Amsterdam, 203-237. <https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.4.11dij>
- [25] Walton, S. & Boon, B. (2014). Engaging with a Laclau & Mouffe informed discourse analysis: a proposed framework. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*. 9(4), 351-370. <https://doi.org/10.1108/QROM-10-2012-1106>