**Identification of the dominant ideology of political parties in new media space**

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Author: Zeng Qingdi

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【Abstract】In the new media space dominated by "interactivity", the identification of the party's dominant ideology presents a three-dimensional picture of dominance, negotiation and resistance. From the perspective of the three-layer internal structure of "cognition-interpretation", "belief-value" and "action-strategy", the internal logic of the party's dominant ideology identification is an autonomous and conscious generation logic. Therefore, the construction path of the party's dominant ideology identification can be carried out from the aspects of developing media literacy education, innovating the ideological discourse system, enhancing the communication power of mainstream media and strengthening the top-level design of public opinion.

【Key words】New media, political party, ideology, identity

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In his important speech at the National Conference on Propaganda and Ideological Work, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out that "economic construction is the central task of the Party, and ideological work is an extremely important task of the Party", and "whether ideological work can be done well is related to the future and destiny of the Party, the long-term stability of the country, and the cohesion and centripetal force of the nation". ① The Party's leading ideology has always been a fine tradition and political advantage of our Party. However, with the integration of new media and globalization, the authority of the party's leading ideology has been challenged. In this context, how to make the party's leading ideology gain widespread recognition is an important topic worthy of discussion.

A three-dimensional picture of the dominant ideological identity of political parties in the new media space

New media is a new technological framework with digital media as its core and digital, integrated, interactive, hypertextual and virtual as its essential characteristics. New media not only transmits information, but also shapes a new social environment and living space, thus affecting the audience's identification with the party's dominant ideology. Overall, in the new media space with "interactivity" as the dominant logic, the identification with the party's dominant ideology presents the following three-dimensional picture:

First, the dominant party-led ideology identity. In this picture, the party-led ideology occupies a dominant position and shapes the collective will of the audience. That is to say, the party-led ideology plays a role in political legitimization, and the authority and legitimacy of political power are recognized and supported from the perspectives of the audience's cognition, values, beliefs and other concepts. According to Gramsci's classification, there are three ways to form the leadership power of a party: one is to achieve absolute domination through coercion; the second is the construction of political legitimacy; and the third is the construction of cultural legitimacy. Only when the leadership penetrates into the third level can it make people consciously follow the dominant logic of the ruler. The theoretical schema provided by Gramsci is still explanatory and persuasive for analyzing the ideological leadership of the new media space. Although the virtual society constructed by new media has strong heterogeneity and weak correlation, and the cultural identity nurtured by the virtual society is less restricted by history and region, it is still based on the collective will of the members' cognitive process, and its development foundation is still social interaction. It is just different from the traditional point-to-point, one-to-many and author-audience interaction mode. The "user-centered" and "self-media" interactive mode of new media allows the audience to control the content of dissemination to a certain extent, and can integrate, reorganize and give new interpretations to the information content. In short, the dominant power of the party's leading ideology formed on this basis is realized through the value identity between the audience and the party.

Second, consultative identification with the party’s dominant ideology. The so-called consultative identification refers to the negotiation process in which the audience and the party’s ideology are in conflict. On the one hand, the audience identifies with the authority of the ideology, and on the other hand, they try to generate their own discourse rules. According to Hall’s “encoding/decoding” theory, the dissemination of the party’s dominant ideological discourse goes through a process of party encoding and audience decoding. Since the knowledge frameworks based on encoding and decoding are different, each produces a meaning structure. The dissemination of the party’s dominant ideology does not mean that it is accepted, because the meaning structure of the communicator is not equal to the meaning structure of the audience, resulting in the phenomenon of “understanding but not acceptance” and “dissemination but inability to communicate”. As McGuire said: "The media produces influential effects through the construction of meaning, which is provided to the audience in a systematic way. In this process, meaning is combined with personal meaning structures based on negotiation, which is usually influenced by the audience's previous collective identity."② This consultative identity stance has become more common in the new media space. On the one hand, since the reform and opening up, with the rise of social forces and the diversification of interest subjects, there are differences in the interests pursued by the audience and the political parties; on the other hand, the interactivity of new media provides a channel for communication between the audience and the political parties, which helps the audience to actively participate in political life and express their own interests, thereby generating consultative identification with the dominant ideology of the political parties.

Third, the resistant identification with the party-led ideology. Unlike the dominant complete identification and the consultative partial identification, the resistant identification is a thorough resistance to the party-led ideology. This is the product of the marriage between Western ideological hegemony and my country's new media "soft power", which can be explained from two aspects: First, new media can not only control people's thoughts, but also penetrate into people's psychological structure, change people's way of thinking and values, and is a kind of "soft power". The marketization of the capital structure, operation mode and management system of new media has made the "soft power" of new media present three development trends: the "ideological state machine" new media that obeys the party, the "fourth power" new media that criticizes the party-led ideology, and the "ideological neutrality" new media that maintains mutual trust with various groups. Among them, the "fourth power" new media is a hotbed for the resistant identification with the party-led ideology. Second, Western developed countries have mastered the global media discourse power and tried to discredit and shake the guiding position of my country's Marxist ideology with the help of information potential differences. In particular, the integration of the "fourth power" new media and Western ideological hegemony has intensified the resistance to the identification with the party-led ideology. Specifically, it is manifested in the proliferation of various ideological trends such as "de-ideologization", "universal values", and "weak ideologization". Because new media is not limited by time and space, ideological identity is more fluid and dynamic, which poses a severe challenge to the autonomy and stability of ideological identity dominated by political parties.

The Inner Logic of Ideological Identification of Party-led New Media Space

From the perspective of the complex picture of the party-led ideological identity in the new media space, the technical paradigm of new media is "shaping" rather than "determining", which means that on the one hand, new media has the function of reconstructing ideology, and on the other hand, ideology is not only "transmitted" by the transmitter, but also "produced" by the audience. Based on the internal structure of ideology, the generation logic of the party-led ideological identity in the new media space can be divided into three layers of internal structure.

First, the logic of identification at the “cognition-interpretation” level of the party’s dominant ideology. The “cognition-interpretation” level is the basic level, which is manifested in the worldview and methodology, as well as the reasonable explanation and description of the socialist system, institutions and policy measures formed on this basis. Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the “cognition-interpretation” level of the party’s dominant ideology has mainly manifested in the overall understanding, judgment and views of the governance strategies such as the “two negations” and the “Chinese Dream” interpretation mechanism, reshaping the reform and development discourse. In the new media space, the logic of identification at this level is manifested as follows: First, identification based on the central path; new media influences the audience’s cognition through the “agenda setting effect” and the “framing effect”, so that the audience can actively form an identification with the party’s dominant ideology. The classic expression of the so-called “agenda setting effect” is that “the media cannot decide how people think, but it can decide what people think”. And the “framing effect” as a cognitive structure shows that new media can shape the audience’s understanding of the party’s dominant ideology. Second, identification based on the marginal path; the marginal path does not require the audience to actively examine the information, but can passively accept the information based on simple clues. When the audience's ability to process information is weak, persuasive ideological topics can play a role through the marginal path. Whether it is the central path or the marginal path, it can form the "cognition-interpretation" level of the party's dominant ideology, thereby transforming the logic of thought into the logic of rule.

Second, the identification logic of the party-led ideology at the level of "belief-value". The "belief-value" level is the core level, which is the concern and advocacy about the meaning of life and ultimate value. At this stage, it is mainly reflected in the ontological construction of value choices and evaluation criteria such as "socialist core values". The identification logic at this level is reflected in: First, rational identification. That is, before people identify with the ideology at the "value-belief" level, they first form a perceptual cognition of it, and then generate rational identification under the guidance of reason. Rational identification is the essential understanding of the socialist core values ​​and communist ideals and beliefs, and is a higher level of identification. Second, emotional identification. That is, people have a satisfied, fond and affirmative attitude towards mainstream ideologies such as socialist core values ​​in terms of non-rational aspects such as emotions, will, desire, and motivation. Once emotional identification is formed, it will have a huge strengthening and internalization effect on rational identification. Third, behavioral identification. That is, internalized identification at the cognitive, belief and emotional levels, through mechanisms such as clarifying meaning, true belief and true understanding, it is externalized into moral standards and behavioral norms, and forms good behavioral habits. The new media's main communication method of "selected broadcast + interaction" greatly meets people's personalized needs, can enhance the appeal, appeal and influence of the party's dominant ideology at the "value-belief" level, and help it play its "value leadership" function.

Third, the logic of identification at the “action-strategy” level of the party’s dominant ideology. The “action-strategy” level is the operational level, which is the path and method set by the party’s dominant ideology to realize its governing philosophy and value goals. At this stage, it is a model of “large propaganda” and “positive propaganda”. Different from the traditional action logic of widely disseminating and instilling “class struggle” and “mass movement” through official media and party and league organizations, the identification at the “action-strategy” level of the new media space has achieved two levels of logical transformation: First, constructive individual identification. Traditional media is a collective ritual that aggregates individuals into a stable social structure by promoting “structural” rights and obligations with “clear definitions”, thereby generating a structural identification with the party’s dominant ideology; ③ New media has the characteristics of discreteness, personalization and de-ritualization, which makes ideological propaganda tend to fit individualized experiences and feelings. Therefore, the ideological identification in the new media space is more reflected in the individual’s autonomous construction process. Second, formative class identification. As a tool of ideological propaganda, traditional media plays the role of instilling class consciousness. However, in the new era, my country's social classes are clearly differentiated. As a tool of "big propaganda", new media should focus on combining people's social perception and identity, shaping the class consciousness of the public, and forming a new "collective will", thereby generating identification with the party's dominant ideology.

The construction path of party-led ideological identity in new media space

Although the internal logic of the party-dominant ideology in the new media space is reflected in the autonomous and conscious generation logic, due to the increasingly obvious trend of "political mediatization" and "media politicization" around the world, new media has become an important variable affecting the party-dominant ideology. Therefore, we need to make an overall layout and coordinate to enhance the recognition of the party-dominant ideology in the new media space from four levels.

The path of identity construction based on the subject: developing media literacy education. From the perspective of the subject of identity, the key to improving the identity of the party's dominant ideology is to develop media literacy education. The so-called media literacy education is to cultivate people's ability to critically select, correctly interpret and constructively use media information. As early as the 1930s, British scholars began to advocate media literacy education, but it was not until 1997 that my country began to pay attention to it. Although in terms of quantity, my country's new media technology "has greatly expanded the scope of operation of ideology in modern society, because it enables symbolic forms to be transmitted to a large potential audience that is dispersed in time and space"④, the qualitative level of citizens' media literacy needs to be improved. The focus is: first, to update the citizens' media knowledge structure and adjust the citizens' media function concepts; second, to improve the citizens' ability to select, analyze and disseminate information; third, to promote the citizens' ability to use media resources to improve themselves and participate in social development. In short, media literacy education should be taken as an important citizen quality education, and combined with the cultivation of socialist core values, it should be implemented in specific school education links.

The path of constructing identity based on the object: Innovating the ideological discourse system. From the perspective of the object of identity, the core path to enhance the identity of the party-led ideology is to innovate the discourse system of the party-led ideology. The discourse system of the party-led ideology in my country has undergone a historical transformation from revolutionary discourse to construction discourse, and then from construction discourse to revival discourse. The use of new media to innovate the revival discourse system can be started from three aspects: First, enrich the discourse carrier, that is, aggregate media resources to expand the information platform of the discourse system, and use new carriers such as websites, Weibo, and WeChat to enhance the charm of ideological discourse with vivid and vivid forms of expression such as text, pictures, audio, and video. Second, change the discourse mode, that is, change the one-way indoctrination mode of traditional political authority from top to bottom, and make full use of the one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many media forms of new media transmission methods to achieve the interactivity of ideological discourse mode. Third, change the discourse style, that is, condense the characteristics of the times and popular characteristics to enhance the affinity of ideological discourse, and transform the traditional ideological discourse of theoretical, academic, and grand narrative into a lively and lively discourse style close to the actual life and cognitive level of the masses.

The path of identity construction based on intermediaries: improving the communication power of mainstream media. From the perspective of identity intermediaries, the key to improving the recognition of the dominant ideology of political parties lies in improving the ability of mainstream media to effectively communicate. From an international perspective, the main responsibility of my country's mainstream media is to tell Chinese stories and spread China's voice, and it is the core force in the struggle for international discourse power. Specifically, the measures to build international communication power include: creating brand media with international influence; improving the agenda setting and framework capabilities of mainstream media; improving the international credibility of mainstream media; focusing on the construction of international mainstream channels, etc. It is necessary to summarize the experience and lessons of mainstream media's international communication, combine the characteristics of information and psychological warfare in the new media era, and use new media scientifically and rationally to improve international communication power. From a domestic perspective, the bottleneck of building the communication power of mainstream media lies in how to improve the communication power of party newspapers. The feasible ways include: first, adhering to political consciousness, actively setting topics, and expanding cultural formats. Second, following the laws of propaganda, news and the market, and innovating the communication system. Third, through media integration, enhance the communication power, credibility and influence of party newspapers. Fourth, it is necessary to adapt to the challenges of new media, strengthen the construction of party newspaper talent teams, and improve overall quality.

The path of identity construction based on the environment: Strengthen the top-level design of public opinion. From the perspective of the identity environment, the most fundamental way to enhance the identity of the party's dominant ideology is to strengthen the top-level design of media public opinion guidance. In his classic work on communication, Public Opinion, Lippmann pointed out that the "pseudo-environment" constructed by new media "not only restricts people's cognition and behavior, but also affects the objective reality environment by restricting people's cognition and behavior." ⑤ "The environmentalization of the pseudo-environment" has become an important factor affecting the identity of the party's dominant ideology. The strategic measure to strengthen the construction of the "pseudo-environment" is to strengthen the top-level design of media public opinion guidance. According to the important speech delivered by General Secretary Xi Jinping at the symposium on news and public opinion work on February 19, 2016, the top-level design of public opinion guidance can be carried out from three aspects: First, starting from the overall situation, grasping the core and key issues of public opinion guidance, and making a comprehensive plan for public opinion guidance from the overall perspective. Second, adhere to the "position consciousness", "leading consciousness" and "innovation consciousness", focus on positive guidance, sing the main melody, and strengthen mainstream public opinion. Third, improve the ability to guide public opinion and consolidate the party's public opinion foundation.

Conclusion

The relationship structure between the state and society determines the relationship model between new media and the government. So what does the combination of social transformation and new media mean for China today? What impact will this have on the party-led ideology? This is a new topic and challenge regarding social stability, national security and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. New media has created a new living space and ideological conditions, which inevitably weakens or strengthens the identification foundation of the party-led ideology. New media is integrating with other media to jointly form an important force in shaping the Chinese public's identification with the party-led ideology. The mechanism of new media and party-led ideology identification needs more in-depth investigation.

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【Notes】

①Xi Jinping: “Keep the overall situation in mind, grasp the general trend, focus on major issues, and strive to do a better job in propaganda and ideological work”, People’s Daily, August 21, 2013.

② [US] McGuire: "McQuail's Mass Communication Theory", translated by Cui Baoguo et al., Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2006, p. 357.

③[US] Kellner: "Media Culture", translated by Ding Ning, Beijing: Commercial Press, 2004, p. 395.

④ [British] John B. Thompson: Ideology and Modern Culture, translated by Gao Wei, Beijing: Yilin Press, 2005, p. 287.

⑤ [US] Lippmann, Public Opinion, translated by Yan Kewen and Jiang Hong, Shanghai Century Publishing Group, 2005, p. 3.