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# **THE EXOGENOUS AND ENDOGENOUS PREREQUISITES OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION OF THE POPULATION OF UKRAINE AT THE BEGINNING OF 2013 AND AT THE END OF 2014**

## **ABSTRACT**

The exogenous and endogenous prerequisites of political mobilization of the Ukrainian population at the turn of the 2013–2014 are considered. It is emphasized on the necessity of taking into account socio-economic, socio-cultural, communicational and technological, political and strategic implications of political mobilization in Ukraine. It is approved another attempt to return to the real construction of direct democracy, the “unfreezing” of the mass political processes and the civil initiatives in Ukraine.

**Key words:** political participation, political mobilization, civil society, evromaidan, political protest

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

It was a splash of political activity of the population at the end of 2013 and at the beginning of 2014 in Ukraine, that was caused by a combination of interrelated economic, social and political and spiritual problems with the manifestation against that background of the objective regularities of the internal and global development, the specifics of functioning of state and local government, operating policies of the ruling elite and the “quality” of the political regime that was constructed in 2010–2014. The events of the Ukrainian revolution manifest

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itself more and more on the planet, which is connected with the Russian occupation in the Crimea and other events that destabilize the East regions of the country.

The American political scientist K. Deutsch (Deutsch, 1966) asserted that social mobilization is “the general process of changes that concerns to the considerable groups of the population in countries that are advancing from traditional to modern walks of life” and it is necessary social and cultural and institutional context of public upgrading. Taking into account the general changes in thinking, life and behavior of the main groups of the population of our state that are acquiring the experience of living in the frameworks of modern models of individual and collective life it is actualized the study of prerequisites and consequences of political mobilization in Ukraine at the end of 2013 and at the beginning of 2014. The point is about the prerequisites (including mobilization), which had caused a change of political behavior of citizens of Ukraine and had created an opportunities for a new shapes of socialization, social roles, etc. and also has contributed to the awareness of the consequences that the intensification of individual in politics entails. Most clearly, that is viewed in the formation of man’s virtues that characterize him as a citizen and public figure. Then, exploring the phenomenon of political mobilization of the population of Ukraine in recent months it should be emphasized the determinant role of objective conditions of social and political intensification of the individual and should be taken into account the importance of the subjective factor for stirring up the political participation of individuals.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

Currently, there are no fundamental monographic and thesis researches that are dealing with the theoretical and practical analysis of the events at the end of 2013 and at the beginning of 2014, from the point of view of a comprehensive explanation of the complex of prerequisites of a high level of social and political activity of citizens of Ukraine that are defined by researchers and observers.

Analyzing the publications that concern this issue, it’s worth emphasizing on scientific concepts about the quality of citizen’s participation that is considered in the framework of two basic paradigms (Kolodii, 2004). In the framework of the first concept of passive citizen, the democratic law-governed state provides him with a set of civic, political and social rights and arranges the conditions for his valuable participation in a public life. The second concept of active citizenship connects the civil status not only with a set of rights, but also with a person’s ability to use it and to perform its’ duties. In particular, in the American scientist D. Thompson’s book “The Democratic citizen: Social Science and Democratic Theory in the 20th. Century” (Thompson, 1970) it was noticed that “the citizenship” is not only the rights of citizens of a democratic state, and not only state patriotism and loyalty. According to D. Thompson, “the democratic citizenship” signifies more active involvement of citizens in political life, their ability to influence on the politics. Active citizenship is the feature of the political system, which guarantees a practicable participation of citizens in the governance.

The book of American political scientists G. Almond and S. Verba “The Civic culture” (1963) was written from the standpoint of the concept of active citizenship. The authors emphasize on the importance of inherited to citizens of certain countries the feeling of active participant in the political life for the preservation of a democratic political regime. This feeling retains its’ “power” even in the conditions when a person does not participate in

the political process, but believes in its own ability and opportunity to influence it, when it's necessary.

On the other hand, non-democratic political systems, as it is known, promote a culture of uncritical obedience, inaction and indifference. For authoritarian governors it's important that the society should be submissive and obedient. The democratic society that is dependent on the initiative and engagement of citizens, on the contrary, requires a culture of participation and forms it by itself (Kolodii, 2004). Then, on the basis of the above, it should be specified the necessity to clarify the role of the factors that led to political mobilization as a part of political process in Ukraine. So the aim of this article is to clarify the exogenous and endogenous prerequisites of political mobilization of the population in Ukraine on the verge of 2013–2014 and to research the impact of these events for social and political transformation of our state.

The person's activation cannot happen otherwise than through the real living vital activity conditions. The social position of each of social group, in particular, class, ethnic, demographic, or professional, is the objective basis on which arise incentives to activities. On the other hand, the personal motivation, the character of incentives that encourage the initiative and creativity, ability to mobilize are important.

According to the Belarusian researcher A. Miskevich (Miskevich, 1991), all the factors that determine specific state indicators of social and political activity of the population can be divided into three groups. The first group includes demographic factors, the second – economic factors, and the third – subjective factors. The researcher asserts that the development of social and political activity depends not only on the creation of objective conditions, appropriate political and economic configurations, institutions and structures, but also on the willingness of a person, its inner orientation on effective participation in public life.

Taking into account the above position of A. Miskevich, we can use for the analysis of political mobilization in Ukraine a groups of factors that determine the mass political mobilization that were allocated by the Russian researcher M. Sabitov (Sabitov, 2012). Thus, this author the totality of factors of protest divides into two main groups: the exogenous and the endogenous.

### **3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The role of exogenous factors is connected with the understanding of the present-day political activity as the result of impact of external determinants. The point is that the mass political protests in post-Soviet space are treated as a part of the global processes that have common causes, that are natural to the other regions of the planet and do not have any specific characteristics. The exogenous factors researcher divides into two categories: the economic and the political.

The economic exogenous factors of protest the researcher interprets as an element of the planetary trend that was called "Occupy Wall-street". In this case the negative consequences of the global economic crisis are considered as the determinants of political protest, and the protest itself is estimated as a bit delayed reaction of citizens who had suffered from the impact of the crisis tendencies in 2008–2011. From the point of view of this position, the protests in post-Soviet states are the reaction of those who are disappointed with the politics

of the ruling elite, that carries out anti-crisis measures in the interests of oligarchic groups at the expense of the wide sections of the population.

The political version of the exogenous approach proceeded from the definition of the Russian mass protest as another attempt of “colour revolution”, that had taken place at different period in Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine, Kirghizia. Political protest in this case is considered only as a mass political “antitechnology” that was used by an external forces (primarily by the countries of the West) to change of the ruling elites in some states and to design of a more favorable geopolitical disposition.

In Ukraine the influence of the exogenous factors (both economic and political) on the intensification of political participation should be interpreted in the context of hesitant, half-hearted and, above all, completely ineffective foreign policy of the United Europe and the United States of America on the Ukrainian direction. We are talking about the reaction of Western countries on the quality of the political regime established by the President V. Yanukovich and his entourage. For example, the senior expert of the European Council of international relations, professor of the school of Slavonic and East European studies, University of London Andrew Wilson (Wilson, 2014) asserts about the inadequate reaction of the West on the V. Yanukovich's usurpation of power. It is the expert's opinion that the West “woke up” only when the ruling elite had began the punishments of opposition's representatives and supporters and selective justice. West countries were not able to declare against that at 2010, when the prerequisites for such usurpation (the concentration of power, the substitution of the Constitution and judicial reform etc.) had appeared. So a mass political mobilization in Ukraine started on the support of the EU, European values. At the same time, Brussels has incapacitated to act decisively, and separate members of the Union have not been able instantly to apply own laws and economic sanctions against corrupt Ukrainian elite (the ruling and oppositional) (Wilson, 2014). Besides that, the lack of support from the Western countries and their delayed reaction are explained (Makarov, 2014) by taking into consideration by officials the real balance of powers on the continent and on the planet, as well as by the difficulty of the coordination of positions within such complicated, and, partly, poorly managed bureaucratic structures as the European Union, NATO, the UN Security Council, etc.

It is also important not to give up an idea of the influence of foreign intelligence services on the events in Euromaidan. In particular, the Prosecutor General's Office provided data about the possible complicity of the Russian intelligence services's staff in the crimes against activists. The point is that there were representatives of foreign special services (for the most part Russian) in Ukraine during events related to the suppression of peaceful protests. It is also assumed (Do zlochyniv proty Maidanu mohly buty prychetni rosiiski spetssluzhby – HPU, 2014, 19) that the Federal Security Service of Russia had been involved in the working out of the plan of dispersal of euromaidan activists in Kyiv. Foreign observers (Ohliadach The Daily Beast: snajperiv SBU navchaly instruktory z Rosii, a Kyiv buv terytoriiu FSB, 2014) also provide the similar information.

However, at the beginning of 2015 the report of the Committee on Prevention Torture of Council of Europe (Rada Yevropy: prysutnist zakordonnykh spetssluzhby na Maidani dosi pid pytanniam, 2015) indicates the existence of “gray” areas, which place obstacles in the way of entire understanding of the situation. Particularly it concerns to the possible presence of foreign police officers among Ukrainian forces, which were involved to counteraction of protests in Kiev.

The second group of explications of the mass political protests includes the endogenous approaches, within the framework of which researchers are trying to find internal specific for the state origins of political mobilization.

In this article the author tries to impose the characteristics of the exogenous and the endogenous prerequisites on the situation with political mobilization in Ukraine. So, first of all, the matter is in determinant social and economic background of political mobilization in Ukraine. It is a fact that political protests in post-Soviet space are the consequence of social and economic transformation of the 2000's that was accompanied by economic growth, consumer boom and expansion of the middle class. The middle class being aware of its social interests expresses political demands in the protests form.

For example, during Euromaidan successful people were mobilized; people who have something to lose. Ukrainian columnist A. Mykhelson (Mykhelson, 2013) argues that many participants of the events at 2013–2014's was "yesterday's students" during Orange revolution in 2004, and it is possible that they stood on the Maidan. Therefore, there are some reasons to suppose that the Maidan-2013, to a certain extent, is the product of those who was there in December 2004. At that time these people were just a crowd, but now they became organizers, inspirers, logisticians, sponsors, and they have gained experience and disappointment, and have made some conclusions.

Secondly, within the framework of the social and cultural approach it focuses on the emergence of new cultural values of postmodern type. First and foremost the point is about the impact of the factor of "change of generations". Then, not the level of the welfare of citizens, but the new ideologies, the standards and values of the younger generation, that collide with the existing political realities and social and economic order, become the factors that determine political activity. This interpretation is applied on the use of concepts by researchers, who are trying to reflect not material but normative and valuable requests of activists, and use in analytic works instead the concept of "middle class" other concept of "creative class". So, A. Mykhajlova (Mihajlova, 2012) quotes the American researcher, PhD Professor Richard Florida (in 2005 he published his work "Creative class: people who are changing the future"), that the radical difference between the creative class and other classes (labour and service) is that the service class mainly is paid according to the work plan. At the same time the creative class designs and creates something new, and does so with a considerable degree of autonomy and flexibility. The researcher links considerable and significant changes in habits and methods of work of people, their values and aspirations, in the structure of daily life with the increasing number of representatives of creative class.

Indeed, talking about the Ukrainians we are paying attention to a phenomenon "of the modern generation", that is those who grew up during the period of independence. However, the age of the participants of Euromaidan, on the average, was more than 30 years. Besides, according to the sociological study (Mykhelson, 2013) that was conducted by the Foundation named after I. Kucheriv and the Kiev International Institute of Sociology, more than two thirds of people had higher education, and more than half of them lived in Kiev. More than one third talks in everyday life in Russian. Therefore, both in case of events of 2004 and in 2013–2014 a significant part of the protesters on the areas of the state was successful people – managers, businessmen, creative "professionals" (according to R. Florida).

Thirdly, the communication and the technological factors have the decisive importance for political mobilization. Thus, the researchers (Sabitov, 2012) prove the determinant

importance of Internet networks in the political mobilization of the population (here it should be noted the events of the “Arab spring”, that was described as “twitter revolutions”, and protest actions in Russia, Belarus, Moldova etc). Furthermore many analysts use the concept of “network revolution” to denotation of technological and social factors that help to integrate and transform the traditionally passive forms of political resentment with the ruling elite and its actions into an active form of political protest.

Indeed, the events of 2013–2014 in Ukraine are already called (Mykhelson, 2013) the “revolution of social networks”, because the interchange of information (and misinformation) became much faster. The fact is undisputed that the ruling elite as well as the forthcoming powers inevitably lost their monopoly for the Word. Like a virtual social networks, people on the Maidan, acting independently from each other, were united, when they understood that they have such a need.

Fourthly, the political mobilization is explained through the action of the political and strategic factors. We are talking about strategies of political actors, their resources and opportunities for the political mobilization of the population in the course of the confrontation between the ruling and opposition elites and subelites. Therefore, in this case the fundamental determinants of a mass protest are the specific characteristics of the political regime, the strategic mistakes of the ruling elite and the bureaucracy, the new strategy of the opposition elite and its supporters, who were able successfully to use the mistakes of the ruling elites and on the background of this opportunities substantially to stimulate political mobilization of the population (Gel'man, 2012).

Andrew Wilson (Wilson, 2014), who was mentioned before, notes that the regime of V. Yanukovich did not belong to the classic authoritarian, because he tried to take into account an external and internal reaction on restriction of the rights and freedoms of citizens, to hide their repressive nature. Partly, it's also because the Parliament as the highest authority was not completely illegitimate with the eyes of society and foreign countries. However, the clashes with the police still have arisen because the government refused from social compromise concerning with European direction of the foreign policy of the state. And further there were the dispersals of peaceful protesters that had mobilized the majority of the Ukrainian public. According to the information of Vladimir Vasylenko (“Pravoznavets: vid zlochyniv rezhyму Yanukovycha postrazhdaly bilshe 2 tys. liudei”, 2014), the member of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (2001–2005), during the violent suppression of a peaceful protests in the period from November 21, 2013 and February 22, 2014 more than 2 thousand citizens of Ukraine and foreigners have suffered from outrages on humanity that was committed by the regime of V. Yanukovich. Most important among these crimes the member of the International Criminal Tribunal named the more than 100 person's murders that were committed in the period from February 18–20, 2014 by snipers of the punitive units, which should be considered as mass slaughters.

Fifthly, for the analysis of the prerequisites of political protest in Russia, M. Sabitov applies the principles of the modern theory of the “social contract”. A. Auzan (Auzan, 2010), Russian economist, Professor of Moscow State University named after M. Lomonosov is adherent of this theory. It is a fact that the protest actions in Russia resulted in destruction of unspoken “social contract” which has been concluded between the Russian ruling elite and society in the early 2000s and in the emergence of new social inquiries that society makes to the authority. The docket of this contact is in briefly statement: “political freedoms in

exchange for economic stability”. Taking into account the global economic crisis such an agreement have been exhausted, so far as the stability in the Russian Federation it is difficult to maintain because of the objective reasons.

As to Ukraine, the formation of such a social contract at different stages of its independence was associated with the stability and economic development, the increase of social standards that was suggested by ruling elite, on the one hand, and the maintenance of order, obedience of the society, on the other hand. But, the constitutional contact, which was concluded after amending the amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine in 2004, and formally has complemented unformal social contract, was destroyed in 2010, and the predictability of such a rule of law has become improbable. According to A. Auzan (Auzan, 2010), the society in Russia did not understand, why one is a prisoner and the other is not under the same circumstances. Then, the formulation of the Spanish dictator F. Franco: “everything to my friends, the law – to my enemies” has become the general rule. The same situation was in Ukraine. Besides, it should be mentioned the intensity of European integration of Ukraine’s preparation in 2010s’ and unexpected postponement of signing of the agreement “On Association with the EU” on the eve of the Vilnius summit of the Eastern partnership in November 2013. As a result, these circumstances were “the last straw” that caused the political mobilization and formed new requests for a new social contract with other political elites.

The analysis of events in Ukraine is possible within the framework of the standpoint of the American scientist A. Oberschall (Oberschall, 1973). On his opinion the political conflict is a reaction to the dissatisfaction with the existing system. The researcher emphasizes several reasons: firstly, the dissatisfaction may arise in social groups that are under external, alien government or as a result of reduction of authorities of local regional groups of elites because of implementation of the state policy of unification and centralization by the ruling elite. Substantially, we are talking about the conflict of elites of different levels. Average population generally supports the “old” elite in such resistance movements because do not know what to expect from the “new” one.

Secondly, a requirement for significant powers, rights, and recognition by the ruling elite by previously empowered social groups or entities may cause the political discontent. In this case movements of collective protest and opposition arise.

Thirdly, a protest arises when ruling group are in authority, but has lost its legitimacy, and trying to stay on the positions by illegal ways (for example, by falsification of election).

Fourthly, a protest arises when the existing political regime was established in illegitimate way and the ruling elite holds power by means of force. Under a totalitarian regime the forbidden opposition has no choice only to go out with its demands on the streets.

Finally, the political discontent could be caused by inefficient power elites that do not capable of solving of the most important social tasks, for example, to protect the unity of the territory and the national interests from claims of the foreign communities.

Hypothetically, abstracting away from the explanations of the processes that occurred on the East of Ukraine in 2014 as actions of destructive forces of the Russian Federation, the likelihood of future mass protests and political mobilization in Ukraine under the influence of the pointed out above factors significantly increases. First of all we are talking about frequent radical change of the ruling elite in Ukraine (there were at least three changes that had occurred after the Orange revolution 2004), that represents, as usual, separate regions of our

country. Such elite primarily is based on its regional advantages, but not on the mass support of the ruling party throughout the country.

Thus, there is every time creation of a certain “elite club” with the broad system of patronage and backstage agreements. This “club” rapidly “addicts” to be in power and, consequently, abuses of authority. The “ossification” of civil society in these regions and in state in general, commonly negative perception of the “new ruling elite” in other parts of the country does not result into stabilization of the political system of Ukraine and its democratization. Thus, today we have a situation, when citizens are protesting and mobilized not only against the ruling elite, but against the whole “political class” in Ukraine. We are talking about the loss of political confidence to this class, but according to Ukrainian politician, the first in the history of independent Ukraine, NSDC Secretary Vladimir Gorbulin (“Eks-sekretar RNBO: Bez doviry suspilstva padinnia vlady staie pytanniam chasu”, 2013), “power is a strong exactly by public trust. Without trust, power hangs over the precipice, and the recession becomes a question of time, even a relatively prolonged. It is impossible to change by any force or external support, no matter how great it is”.

Taking into account all these reasons and prerequisites of the political mobilization, which gives rise to revolutionary changes in the consciousness of people and affects their further participation in the system-wide political process, separate researchers defines revolutionary changes and limitly interprets them. We are talking about “crowned with success efforts” (Kolodii, 2005) that are based on collective and conscious mobilization, the aim of which is to change the existing principles and practices concerning the main spheres of life”. But, it is impossible to make an “absolute change of existing principles, “total” revolution that would cover all parcels of life. Therefore, scientists (Kolodii, 2005) understand the need to limit the ambitions for a change. In Ukraine, these radical and total changes of all spheres of political life, including political elites with the involvement of representatives of civil society, in our opinion, are absolutely essential.

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

Summing up, it should be noted that modern political mobilization of the population of Ukraine can be characterized (according to K. Deutsch) (Deutsch, 1966) as the process in which “the main nodes of the former social, economic and psychological obligations are being eroded or destroyed and people are prepared for new patterns of socialization and behavior”. The prerequisites of these changes both have a subjective and objective character. In particular, when we speak about subjective changes it’s means both changes of domicile, occupation, social attitudes, groups, institutions, and changes of social roles, ways of acting, experiences, expectations, habits and needs, including the need for a new models of socialization and samples of personal identity. These changes cumulatively provide improvements of the political behavior of the individual, its transformation.

On the other hand, there is a totality of objective prerequisites in the emergence of need and the fact of mass mobilization, that are connected with periods of overcoming by population of prolonged crises or protracted economic difficulties against a background of considerable growth of welfare of a very limited group of people (the ruling elite), the formation of authoritarian political regime, which is the main threat to the democracy, lack of efficient institutions of civil society, etc. This situation required an urgent wide public dialogue,

decompression of the political regime, which the ruling elite in Ukraine didn't want. Consequently, there was a return to the building and projection of real forms of direct democracy, "unfreezing" of the mass parcel political processes and civil initiatives. This day citizens of Ukraine revived faith in the efficiency of political mechanisms of influence on the public authorities, state system and municipal self-government, the adoption of socially significant decisions, and, therefore, the understanding of shared responsibility for the future between the masses of society and the ruling and opposition elites. Consequently, the point is about another attempt of modernization of Ukraine, because it can happen (from the point of view of A. Maslow) only under the circumstance of predominance of values of self-realization, personal expression, but not the values of its security and survival.

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