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UKRAINIAN SOCIETY'S POLITICAL CULTURE: ANALYTICAL EXCURSION

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The article is devoted to the current situation in Ukrainian society's political culture, where there are several segments that give grounds for a statement about the fragmentary type of political culture. First, it focuses on foreign experience, in particular in countries of Europe and America. Absolutizing their experience is not enough to shape democratic values in Ukrainian society.

Keywords: policy, political culture, citizens, tolerance.

Accession. In the new conditions of an independent Ukrainian state's development, the need to deepen democratic processes, new political culture's problems arise: how to engage in dialogue with opposing political forces, what priorities for the nation are more important, what past achievements will be transformed into political traditions and become elements of a new political culture.

Presentation of the material. In modern Ukraine, the domestic political culture can be defined, in a certain way, as fragmental. Today, there are several segments in Ukrainian society's political culture, that give grounds for a statement about the fragmented type of political culture. Firstly, this is a focus on foreign experience, in particular, on Europe and America's countries. Absolutizing their experience is not enough to shape democratic values in Ukrainian society. It is necessary to focus on universal, universally significant democratic values: respect for the individual, respect for the law, politics' openness, views' pluralism, political and religious tolerance, the priority of non-violent methods of solving political problems. Secondly, focus on Russia, more precisely on the Soviet legacy. In this sector, the prevailing role is given to the past political myths, here a "younger brother's" stereotypes is working. Thirdly, the focus on own political practice [8, p. 67, p. 70-71].

According to A. Babkina, the political and legal culture of the majority Ukrainian citizens is characterized by an insufficient development level and is transitioning in contradiction. As a result, there is a lack of political elites' interest in real representation of voters' interests when making strategic political decisions, which negatively affects the government quality and significantly slows down the political modernization process [1, p. 30].

A characteristic feature of Ukrainian political culture's specificity at the democratic transformations' beginning were the "patrial" features' political

culture, the features of which, we believe, in our conditions were: 1) people's orientation towards political institutions in the absence of any responsibility for political choice (as it simply did not exist) 2) feelings' dominance in the political phenomena's assessment; 3) mythological thinking (political myths reflect people's wishes and help organize the masses' activities), society's life vivid ideologization and politicization; 4) the inability to collectively solve problems (directives "from above", "opinion", etc.) 5) the group justice priority over the individual's freedom principles; 6) unshakable confidence in the correctness of "their" principles, combined with a large number of citizens' guidelines, do not imply a compromise; 7) low individual civil status[9, p. 71].

In the current transitional period of development, the political culture in Ukraine is experiencing certain transformations under the influence of crisis' phenomena. To understand Ukrainian political culture's meaning and type, we use a scheme for analyzing societies' psychological properties, which allows us to uncover the mental mechanisms of Ukrainian people's cultural characteristics functioning, the ways they manifest themselves in political life. In accordance with this approach, Ukraine is characterized by an introverted culture's feature, which, first of all, turns out to be in Ukrainian traditionalism both in everyday life and in politics - "to no worse." As for politics, Ukrainian society is not ready for rapid and radical political changes, and therefore, reforms in Ukraine are much slower than in other post-communist countries [2, p. 213-214].

If we consider the Ukrainian political culture in the dimension of rational / irrational, then it is mainly irrational, since the normative behavior is poorly developed in Ukrainian society. Ukrainians are not accustomed to strictly adhere to moral and legal norms, and therefore they perceive solid order in other nations (in particular Anglo-Saxons and Germans) as hard-hearted or unfriendly. This feature today is observed at all political life levels. Social norms in favor of group interests are ignored by lawmakers, high-ranking state officials, party leaders and ordinary citizens. Although the social order idea is a priority in the mass consciousness, however, its implementation is viewed as an exclusive state bodies' prerogative, and not as the citizens' ability to internally organize and live with the world civilization's social practice norms [2, p. 213-214].

The Ukrainian political culture's irrationality also turns out to be that the politicians' activity is not assessed on the scale of its practical performance, professional ability, but on moral and ethnopsychological criteria: fair - unjust, honest - dishonest, courageous - timid, patriot - traitor, own - alien. Such a perception of the politician's image creates favorable conditions for political fraud [2, p. 213-214].

Ukraine has a weak democratic structure in society. The elites' and citizens' low political culture is, above all, the cause of this state of affairs. In our opinion, because of absence the power's and opposition's interest in

the political culture evolution's progressive dynamics, the participation's democratic culture will remain only a nominal public dogma. And with all-round political erosion, social negativity, the absenteeism's phenomenon in the Ukrainian state and Ukrainian society is in fact one of the many elements of the political and civil systems' crisis.

The low Ukrainian political culture's factors, in our opinion, are political and public corruption's tolerance, the political worldview and the indifferent world view and understanding of one's civic dignity are deformed by political myths.

As the experience of democratizing countries, which have democratized, shows widespread at the transformation stage from an undemocratic political regime to a democratic one gets a "broken" mass consciousness' type, in which there are opposite and mutually exclusive orientations: the combination of the desire for change and fear of them, the democratic transformations' importance awareness and rejection from participation in them readiness for dialogue and compromises in one cases and impatience in others, the need for freedom connected with responsibility and a habit to submission to directives from above, mistrust to the state and assignment on it. The carriers of such a political consciousness adopt new democratic rules, but at the same time experience the influence of old views and ideas, remaining inwardly non-free [10].

In Soviet times, the election institution itself was completely leveled thanks to the directive management of the united communist party. The elections were turned into a voting ritual rite, where the henchmen support determined by the regime in advance reached absolute indicators [5, p. 499]. According to the domestic scientist M. Gordienko, we have no experience in electoral competitions, tolerant attitude to opponents, sacrifice for the sake of the Motherland. Post-Soviet Ukraine is overloaded with protest electorate. An impartial political realities' analysis shows that the Ukrainian authorities of the current format have a conformist essence. Its signs are ignoring the society's demands, the democratic values' and freedoms' oppression, and indifference to national interests. But the fault is not in the government itself, that was elected, but in the citizens' majority. Today's Ukrainian nation is not ready to move into the civil society's orbit [5, p. 499]. All national liberation and state projects in Ukraine are defeated due to the fact that our pseudo-elite does not constitute a test for democracy, it speculates with people's confidence and often changes them. In the domestic establishment, the Soviet-style consciousness dominates, biased by the Slavic unity's utopia, which led to the neo-imperial Moscow expansion into Ukraine [3, p. 499].

Confirmation of the above is found in the level of citizen participation in political processes' analysis, which remains low. Mistakes that have taken place in the political and legal reform implementation, a deep political crisis

that engulfed Ukrainian society at this stage of its development affected the activity of citizens and their ability to influence the power's formation. These factors have become an important prerequisite for the population's disappointment in the results of the reforms, the appearance of indifference to the society's political life, the alienation of some citizens from the state.

Affected by social nihilism and anomie, society has insufficient institutional means of influencing behavior and is therefore socially unstable. The distress archetypes peculiar to the Ukrainian social psyche cause additional difficulties on the way of the state and especially on the way of creating a civil society. A time mine can be, first of all, the archetype of externality, which M. Weber characterized by a lack of "responsibility ethics". Consequently, under such conditions, the Ukrainian society, aggravated by "distressing heredity" and "little Russian mentality," in relation to statehood, shows mainly the effect of "removal" kind. It is not easy to get used to the distance between the ideal and reality, it is difficult to adapt to the norms and values of the new social environment [7, p. 211]. As a result of citizens' such exclusion in the political sphere, doubts and warnings about the essence of the main political institutions, in our case of elections' institution, begin to arise in society itself.

Today, according to V. Guban, elections in Ukraine are no longer a means of reaching agreement in society. Western experts associate a decline in interest in elections with a decline in the role of representative bodies in the society's political life [4]. In 2012, the Razumkov Center conducted a survey that is relevant to the subject of our research. Researchers were looking for answers to the question of agreement or disagreement that elections in Ukraine are the real mechanism of citizens' influence on power. Skeptics won - more than 46% against 32% of those who believe that they influence power through elections [11].

Obviously, analyzing the sociological study's data, it can be assumed that today we do not have an unequivocal attitude towards elections as a mechanism for real influence on power. As a result, it can be stated that in Ukraine a decrease in electoral activity is primarily an expression of citizens' disappointment in the Ukrainian electoral system, an indicator of confidence loss in government structures at all levels, a decrease in the democratic values' significance against the background of aggravating economic problems, evidence of the fact that Elections will not change life in the country for the better, that the election results are predetermined. We believe that the increase in the share of "absenteeism" in Ukrainian society can be interpreted as a serious crisis' manifestation of the political system's legitimacy, its norms' and values' deep crisis.

Thus, analyzing the research we agree with the following conclusions: political absenteeism leads to a number of factors — the dominance of a subculture's norms in a particular person, provided that the general culture's norms are completely decaying, as a result of which the

personality perceives the world that exists beyond its subculture how bizarre and one that it cannot influence, but the condition of political “absenteeism”, as opposed to the mobilizing political participation’s process, is the process of “minus -mobilization”, which is as a condition for the political processes’ simulation, forms an alternative political reality, based on a mass consciousness stereotypes’ system; political minus mobilization is shown to be societies’ characteristic that develop in the context of a social, cultural, financial, intellectual, foreign policy, and other resources’ shortage that determine the possibilities and prospects for their political development [6].

According to the Ukrainian political scientist F. Rudic, there are no political elites in Ukraine, but there is a closed political class. Such the political elite’s exclusivity has its negative, irrational consequences. Such consequences are the growth in the apolitical society, protest moods in the authorities’ activities, dissatisfaction with the elections’ institution in the country, and growing skepticism about their results. All things mainly describe that the “absenteeism” phenomenon is characteristic of political and electoral practices in Ukraine.

In turn, V. Sushchenko is convinced that:

1) In Ukraine it is a lack of citizens' faith in the political institutions’ effectiveness, the political culture’s absenteeism, the struggle for situational satisfaction of corporate, clan, political interests.

2) The causes of political absenteeism in Ukraine are our state history, the lack of a political nation and an effective civil society, the people disappointment in their abilities and ability to influence the formation and government activity, the officials’ cynicism, people's indifference to everything that does not concern everyone personally.

According to Goncharuk, for Ukraine the problem is the lack of real mechanisms for ensuring the right to vote for many voters. First of all it is about those who are abroad. Therefore, many may and would like to vote, but objectively there is no such possibility, given the complexity, bureaucratization of the voting procedure not in the place of stay.

The reasons for absenteeism in Ukraine have not only deep historical roots, but also prerequisites from modernity. Such, in our opinion, causes provoking manifestations of absenteeism through: 1) ineffective state policy in the field of ensuring human and civil rights and freedoms, which, according to the Constitution of Ukraine, determine the content and focus of the state’s activities, and their approval and provision is considered the main state’s duty. A vivid example of such a state “profanity” is the parliament habit to introduce norms into the electoral legislation; according to the results of repeated reports, international and domestic election observers are recognized as irrational, like those that do not ensure the value of every vote and protect the process from the administrative resources’ destructive influence; 2) Political antagonisms, non-consensus

statements by political leaders about the nature of the Ukrainian voter, waste of this resource. In fact, a situation is created in which a particular politician is present in an active public policy, but it does not take real development steps; 3) Despondency in the functional power and effectiveness of state institutions, a local self-government institutions, turns into pessimistic citizens' despair. Such disbelief is born from perpetual hardships in the power cabinets seeking the truth, culminating in officials' impunity, an employee of law enforcement agencies for exceeding their official duties; 4) Disappointment in previous electoral experiments. A fairly widespread electoral "virus" among Ukrainian voters, which, in our opinion, is born with a reassessment of the quality and deputies' professionalism and a suggestion about the voting nature.

To sum up the absenteeism's causal aspect, we believe that the described absenteeism electoral typology can be attributed to the motivating factors by the causality criterion of this political phenomenon: the political elites are not interested in holding competitive elections and citizens offer new quality and corresponding coordinated systemic reforms in key areas of life; political power's "desacralization" by citizens (and in their electoral status too), which, thus, recognize the weakness and functional non-competitiveness of opposition political parties and movements; public warnings, understanding and perception by citizens of social injustice, economic and financial lack of freedom, threats to man and citizen's freedoms, must be guaranteed by the state in accordance with the Constitution.

In Ukrainian political realities, absenteeism, with its political- electoral and political-cultural reasons, has its own hypothetical pragmatism. It is expressed, firstly, in the fact that attention is being focused on the inconsistency of the political representation's state with the social and political society's structure, its political, cultural, world outlook orientations and values.

Conclusion. As a result, analyzing the above prerequisites, causes and characteristics of Ukrainian citizens' electoral non-participation, we believe that absenteeism as a result of political alienation and political apathy has many factors for its practical implementation in electoral, political positions, principles and citizens' behavior. To limit such a risk, it is worth talking about the factors of overcoming absenteeism as an electoral culture's phenomenon.

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