

ABSTRACT

Lytvyn V. A. Informal institutions in the process of formation of regional identities in Donbas. Qualification scholarly paper: a manuscript.

Thesis submitted for obtaining the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Social and Behavioral Sciences, Speciality – 052. V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, Kharkiv, 2021.

This thesis presents a study of the influence of informal institutions in the process of formation of regional identities in Donbas. The relevance of this study lies primarily in the emphasis on the meaning in a broad sense of the cultural component of identity, which provides a more convincing explanation of the political institutions' formation and transformation processes through the influence of a certain cognitive set (in our case – through regional self-identification of Donbas citizens) on the strategies of choice and action of individuals in the modern Ukrainian political process. Since formal political institutions in Ukraine are ineffective, the analysis of informal practices as important sustainable components that are systematically reproduced within identities as well as determining the nature of the interaction of informal practices with formal institutions are of particular interest.

The study of the regional identities of Donbas phenomenon is also an extremely important practical task in the context of the armed Russian-Ukrainian confrontation. Although during the seven years of the deployment and course of the conflict in Donbas, this military conflict has not yet received sufficient understanding and conceptualization in both domestic and international scientific discourses, the vast majority of researchers from one or another perspective identify Donbas regional identities either as determinants of the armed conflict or as an important component in the framework of Russia's information war and propaganda, or as the main cause and essence of the conflict, or as a separate socio-political phenomenon that was formed and/or transformed as a result of the conflict in Donbas. In addition, the context of the armed Russian-Ukrainian confrontation

allows us to clearly trace the rootedness and immobility of the cultural and value structures that underlie identities.

The scientific novelty of the obtained results lies a comprehensive study of the formation of regional identities of Donbas through the institutional-value prism of analysis, based on which a map of recommendations for policy development for effective reforms' implementation and democratic institutions building, as well as policies in peacebuilding and reintegration is developed.

The obtained results, which are marked by scientific novelty, are specified in the following provisions. For the first time, the concept of institutional intertextuality was proposed and substantiated as an organizational principle of informal institutions, which allows to conceptualize the a priori predetermination of this phenomenon, which limits and predicts the specifics of informal institutions that emerge in a particular society. The institutional-value approach to the study of the phenomenon of identity, which involves the analysis of informal practices and values, is proposed and substantiated. The interrelationship and interaction of informal institutions, values and identity on the case of regional identities of Donbas are comprehensively studied.

The classification of identity types is improved; based on the analysis of classical and modern approaches to the definition of identity, a comprehensive multilevel study of this phenomenon on ontological (reflexive/non-reflexive personal identity) and social (collective identity according to territorial-institutional level and social attributes) dimensions is proposed. This approach combines non-reflexive and regional/local and national/state identities in order to demonstrate the relationship between identity and informal institutions. The conceptualization and definition of informal institutions through the introduction of the category of identity is also improved. Informal institutions are defined as repetitive social, cultural, political and economic practices that arise and reproduce outside officially sanctioned channels due to the influence of cultural heritage, rooted in the beliefs and values of individuals, and the ones which reflect the specific logic and rules of identity.

The application of P. Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which formed the basis for the development of an institutional-value approach to the study of the identity phenomenon, was further developed. The application of the concepts of territorial space and the space of belonging of S. Rokan and D. Urwin were also further developed. The regional identity of Donbas was analyzed as «mostly territorial space, but with strong signs of belonging space». It has been shown that within the information discourses and narratives of the hybrid Ukrainian-Russian confrontation, Russian propaganda presents the regional identity of Donbas as «mostly a space of belonging». Based on the classification of informal institutions proposed by O. Stoyko, as well as the classification of research methods of territorial identity Y. Oliynyk and O. Hnatiuk, the principles of research of identity through the study of informal institutions are developed.

In the framework of the thesis research the existing classical and modern approaches to the definition of the concept of identity and regional identity were analyzed and systematized. A comprehensive multilevel study of the phenomenon of identity, in terms of ontological (personal identity) and social (collective identity) dimensions is proposed. Personal identity is seen as the result of an individual's perception of personal experience, collective or social identity is seen in terms of imaginary awareness of the community's existence that shares common human interests, beliefs and values. Regional identity is defined as a subjective socio-geographical sense of identity, formed on the basis of a sense of joint ownership and use of a certain territory, which has its own social ties, certain lifestyles and ways of organizing life, beliefs and values that are different from the national ones. Empirical approaches to the study of identity from the point of view of direct or indirect analysis are analyzed and classified. Examples of international and national identity research aimed at identifying markers of certain types of identity (values, ideological and geopolitical views, electoral preferences, artistic tastes, narratives, etc.) are presented.

The analysis of theoretical and methodological approaches to the conceptualization of informal institutions has shown that the most fundamental

problem is the relationship between cultural values and informal institutions, as the majority of existing concepts agree that one way or another informal practices or based on subjective expectations of the individual socio-cultural preferences, or is a direct embodiment of the values transmitted by a particular culture. In our study, informal institutions were distinguished from the concepts of culture, values, and social beliefs. We have defined informal institutions as repetitive social, cultural, political and economic practices that arise and reproduce outside officially sanctioned channels due to the influence of cultural heritage, rooted in the beliefs and values of individuals, and reflect the specific logic and rules of identity.

Manifestations of regional identities of Donbas at the institutional and value levels are studied. Based on a comprehensive analysis of domestic and foreign research, the assumption that the use of the Russian language in Donbas is an important characteristic of Russian identity has been refuted. It is considered that in Donbas there is a significant respect and attachment to the Russian language, which coexists with the confidence that this language can be used to express Ukrainian culture. Thus, a Russian-speaking person is not identical to an ethnic Russian, the Russian language acts only as a means of communication. Based on a comprehensive analysis of domestic and foreign research, the assumption about the anti-European nature of Donbas is also refuted. Despite the relatively low level of support for European integration in the Donbas, Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts are not anti-European. Perceptions of Europe and the related European Union are very attractive to the people of the region in terms of bearers of standards and values that are inaccessible and/or desirable to the people of the region. This characteristic is true even if the majority of residents oppose EU membership.

The practical significance and functions of regional identities of Donbas under the conditions of Russian-Ukrainian armed confrontation are studied. It is analyzed how the principle of mutual exclusion «either they or we» was taken as a basis by Russian propaganda to characterize Ukraine's policy, creating a narrative «opposition of the regional community to the rest of Ukraine», when through the resuscitation and renewal of numerous Soviet myths and mythologists image of

separatist Donbas was created. It is considered how the elements of regional identities, cultural and mental features of Donbas were used by Russian propaganda. It is proved that the actual military confrontation in Donbas was preceded by a virtual war, which resulted in the formation of «correct» for Russia cognitive frames of perception of the conflict, especially among the residents of Donbas. Different perspectives of the analysis of the conflict in Donbas (civil war, external inspiration of the conflict, structuralist approach, moderate approach) are considered. It is substantiated that the conflict in Donbas cannot be considered as a conflict of identities, since the separate and separatist identity of Donbas was formed in the discourse of Russian propaganda, which was very effectively aimed at the pain points and acute issues about Donbas center-region relations which lasted over decade.

The comparative analysis of regional identities of Donbas studies carried out during 2014-2021 is done and the basic tendencies of development and/or transformation of regional identities of Donbas during 2014-2021 years are defined. It is proved that the study of identity's changes in the conditions of war is extremely important both for understanding the steps of peacebuilding and for developing a strategy for state development after the end of the armed conflict. Based on the latest research, the functions of regional identity, which influenced the attitude of Donbas residents to the insurgents/militants, were analyzed: residents of the region, who primarily identified themselves as residents of the region, more often attributed to the insurgents ideal motives for their activities, which would have been caused by the actions of the insurgents, and also reported that they felt safe in the presence of militants. Conversely, residents of Donbas, who primarily identified themselves as Ukrainian citizens, were more likely to attribute material motives to the insurgents, point to their responsibility for attacks on civilians, and feel fear during direct meetings with insurgents.

Comprehensive recommendations for the development of policies in the field of peacebuilding and reintegration on the basic concepts of ontological security of E. Giddens and inclusive civic identity, as well as taking into account the

institutional and value characteristics of regional identities of Donbas are provided. First of all, the general recommendations lie in the need to pay considerable attention to the value component in the framework of cultural and information policy, as well as to work on establishing and ensuring a permanent dialogue between the Ukrainian authorities and the population. The transformation of Donbas's competing regional identity into a complementary one to a national identity can be achieved by moving from a post-Soviet paternalistic political culture to a participatory culture of participation. The introduction of effective tools for direct political participation through mechanisms of transparency, accountability, open access will help neutralize the potential of unconventional protest practices.

The practical significance of the obtained results is that the results of the thesis can be used in the development and teaching of courses «Political Science», «Global Problems of Modernity», «Ideology and Politics», «Applied Political Science», etc. Research materials can be used in practice in the educational process, in the preparation of normative and special courses of higher education institutions of political science, ethnopolitics, conflictology, international relations, foreign policy of Ukraine, modern history. The main results of the study can be used in the operating activities of the Ministry of Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, the Ministry of Communities and Territories Development of Ukraine, other ministries and public authorities, research institutes and centers, non-governmental organizations.

Key words: identity, regional identities, informal institutions, Donbas, hybrid war.