

ABSTRACT

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This work is devoted to the study of the political and social phenomenon of a split society based on the characteristics that pose a risk to the integrity of the state. The relevance of the topic is predicated by the tendencies of de-etatization induced by the deepening globalization and transitological processes, the renaissance of primordial identity markers, the number and consequences of religious and ethnic conflicts, as well as by the ongoing armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine.

The first section «Theoretical and methodological approaches to the analysis of a split society» is focused on proving the normativity of the heterogeneous state of modern society, defining the lines of demarcation in society, the division along which could threaten the integrity of a polity, conceptualizing the phenomenon of social division and substantiating the descriptive model of its unfolding.

A key opposition in the definition of the foundation of the stability of democracies is formulated by the pair «homogeneity» — «heterogeneity» of political culture.

It is proposed to shift the analysis of the issues regarding ensuring the integrity of «society-polity» from the «culturally centered» procedural aspect (political culture as a function of society) to the «material» one (the structures of society itself as a factor that qualitatively determines the political culture), focusing on the identity (individual and group) of its members.

The objective heterogeneity of society is proved using the principle of differentiation analyzed within the theoretical approaches of the social progress concept (H. Spencer), the development of society through the division of labor (E. Durkheim), the theory of modern society (T. Parsons), the theory of social

stratification (P. Sorokin) and its vertical aspect in the elite theory (G. Mosca and V. Pareto). Due to the associated relation of the given concepts to the paradigms of modernity and postmodernity, the relevance of disclosing the primordial aspects of differentiation through studying ethnogenesis (L. Gumilyov) is noted.

A correlation between the propensity to homogenization in order to stabilize society and totalitarian transformations of power and undemocratic practices, the manifestations of which are observable in established Western democracies, which are facing the «foreign cultural» pressure with migration processes, has been substantiated.

It is proposed to overcome certain shortcomings of D. Easton's and G. Almond's concept of the political system through the application of the principle of isomorphism of laws and conducting research based on the model of a heterogeneous physicochemical system (Analogy I), the child emancipation model (Analogy II) and logical and formal analysis of the social interaction concept (A. Comte, G. Simmel, R. Merton, P. Bourdieu, and others).

The definition of differentiating markers of ethnic, linguistic, and religious (confessional) affiliation as lines of demarcation, a division along which would threaten the integrity of the «society-polity» heterogeneous system has been substantiated. The dissimilarity of confrontations with the outlined distinctive characteristics of parties with civil conflicts over ideological differences and their relationship to the influence of external actors is illustrated.

The possibility of assigning the three identified affiliations to one ethnic category according to S. Shirokogoroff's definition as well as the advantages of his definition over that of Weber have been proved.

The limitations of the Lipset-Rokkan concept of delineation (taking into account its further development by D.-L. Seiler, B. Isaeva, A. Vlaskina, O. Meleshkina) are established and the conceptualization of the scientific definition of the «social division» with the construction of a dynamic model on the example of the mathematical pendulum (Analogy III) and localization of the conflictual component is proposed.

The bifurcation point in this model employing W. Sumner's and W. Mühlmann's «ethnocentrism» concept as the basic structure of the ethnic phenomenon is investigated for the first time. It is illustrated that within the poly-ethnic «society-polity» system the interaction of the ethnocenters, the contact between which has already taken place with various strategies of relations already developed, represents cyclic operations of inclusion - integration and exclusion - differentiation, which are carried out simultaneously and are interconnected, and their dialectical result creates a new multitude/identity — the people. It is noted that in interethnic conflicts it is typical for an ethnocenter to gravitate to its original state before the contact with «the other one», which requires the application of «efforts» to destroy the foundation of its ontology by successive and «intensive» exclusion: pushing «the other one» to the periphery of its «world» — «deprivation» of a certain equivalence through turning «the other one» into «something» — throwing it out «outside» the world by turning it into «nothing». As a result of such a scenario unfolding the reversal/deconstruction of interethnic interaction, formed in the course of history, of the multitude known as «people» takes place.

The «archaization» of society in interethnic conflict through the activation of archetypes and their irrational cruelty through the concept of fundamental anthropology of R. Girard's in defining the «sacrificial crisis» as well as the effect of self-synchronization from Social Psychology are explained for the first time.

The essence of the cause of interethnic conflict in a «society-polity» heterogeneous system is determined — the politicization of ethnicity, which occurs when a nation is formed on the basis of one ethno-cultural group in a multi-ethnic society in the absence of consensus practices, but with the exclusion of ethnic minorities from the process of state leadership (L.-E. Cederman, H. Buhaug, J. K. Rod, J. Linz, A. Stepan, R. Brubaker, A. Akhiezer, M. Ozhevan). The role of the state in the form of «favourability» to one of the parties in a social confrontation is explored through a comparison with judicial proceedings (Analogy IV).

The definition of variants of ethnic communities' strategies during the social division is proposed using an explanatory model built on the concept of «state

capture» by A. Grzymala-Busse, «symbolic capital» by P. Bourdieu, and the concept of A. Hirschman - S. Finer individual strategy of behavior in relation to formal rules in adverse conditions.

In the second section «Fundamentals and methods of ensuring the integrity of the «society-polity» system», the basic concepts of political and institutional consolidation of a divided society are studied, the substantive characteristics of the recommendations of consociational and integrative models of distributed governance are revealed, the requirements for a consensus-oriented electoral system of representative authorities are determined and the characteristics of party functioning in a divided society are identified.

It is proposed to define democratism as characteristics of admissibility of means of overcoming social division due to the presence of a set of conditions derived from the concept of «agonism» by C. Mouffe: mutual recognition by the parties-identities of their equivalence; rejection of the goal of the destruction of the «constitutive external»; preservation of common space of existence- interaction.

The main courses in the political science literature of the concepts of conflict resolution in a divided society and the principles of post-conflict institutional regulation of democratic orientation are defined: remedial secession (L. Buchheit, A. Buchanan, A. Downes, C. Kaufmann), power division (P. Roeder) or multiple-majorities and distributed governance (A. Lijphart, D. Horowitz), and their essence is also identified.

The use of criteria set for the evaluation of the implementation of the recommendations of the social consolidation concepts in a particular heterogeneous «society-polity» system is proposed: sovereignty (1); economical efficiency (2) and the complex interrelation of the three aspects — rapidness (3a), effectiveness (3b), and sustainability (3c), which allowed to focus further scientific exploration on the recommendations and theoretical foundations of the «power-sharing» domain.

A comparative analysis is performed concerning the competing within the concept of power sharing integrative model of D. Horowitz and the consociationalism of A. Lijphart using the three key problem dimensions

systematized by S. Wolff (territorial structure, the composition of power, and the ratio of individual and group rights).

The need for the ability of the electoral system to ensure the legitimacy of power to consolidate a divided society and stabilize the polity has been determined, and the nature of the electoral system-mediated process of assembly and delegation of shares of popular sovereignty, carried by each citizen individually, has been clarified through comparison with the institution of representation in jurisprudence (Analogy V).

It is suggested to employ the concept of collective subject to overcome the «winners-losers» dichotomy concerning the attitude of each voter to the results of voting: to define the collective will of a certain part of the electorate not as a mechanical sum of each individual will (predictably opposite in a divided society) of a voter regarding their personal favorite, but as a result of coordination/consensus of such individual wills.

The criteria of legitimacy of a decision for its reception by the community on whose behalf it is taken are formulated: inclusiveness (as opposed to the conflict strategy of «intense exclusion») — the participation of all members of the collective (naturally, considering the generally recognized requirements for legal capacity by age and mental health) in the formulation of a decision; universal representation — objective coverage and inclusion of all individual points of view — the personal freedoms of voters in the final result.

The distinguishment of active and passive (as correlates of subjective suffrage), as well as the conceptualization of the mixed (active-passive) aspects of inclusiveness, is substantiated. The mixed aspect of inclusiveness focuses on the competitiveness of elections — the existence of a broad (necessary and sufficient) alternative for the declaration of citizens' will to be taken into account in ascertaining the collective will of the territorial community and designed to prevent «exit» through the prevention of «voice atrophy» in A. Hirschman's model. Universal representation is responsible for the substantive preference of «voice» over «exit» and constitutes a mechanism for converting individual wills into a single consensus,

the consolidating power of which lies in the understanding of everyone's engagement specifically in the outcome, not merely in participation.

It is illustrated that the presence of an individual point of view in the consensual decision in the light of the prohibition of annihilation of the "constitutive external" derived from the concept of agonism by C. Mouffe involves rejection of the negative (exclusive) methodology of searching for the result when opposing positions are mutually annihilated — each one's «for» is simultaneously «against» the opponent's position. It is established that stimulation by the electoral system of formation of cross-segmental electoral support and, consequently, broad primary legitimacy of representative authorities requires rejection of the binary logic of opposition "truth — falsehood", which symbolically reproduces equivalent in their incompatibility pairs of conflictual confrontation for an ethnocenter «us-them» or «friend-foe» in understanding the political by C. Schmitt, and the introduction of the pluralistic logic of recognition of others' interests on the grounds of reciprocity as a guarantee of securing one's own.

The conditions for the pluralistic electoral system are formulated and the proportionality of the representative body's composition with monosegmental legitimacy of each separate group and with granting of polysegmental legitimacy to the elected person according to the principle of multiple dependence are compared, which allows stating the implicit proportionality of consideration of the interests of segments — the «donors» of personal legitimacy during the making of political decisions with the participation of such elected person.

The problems of the actual (current) legitimacy of the representative body of power are considered, which are unjustifiably neglected in studies of the design of electoral systems through certain «presumptions», the fallacy of which is proven in light of Analogy V.

The mechanism of early elections is analyzed and assessed as an insufficient tool to properly support the current legitimacy and ensure the advantage of «voice» over «exit», the need for the introduction of the institution of individual

impeachment is substantiated based on the proper elimination of the shortcomings of such a mechanism.

The role expected by the co-social and integrative models and the actual role of a party system in a divided society are examined and the "points of intersection" of parties and ethnic communities are analyzed. The interaction of ethnicity and the party system is investigated by comparing the modern construct of a political nation with human consciousness, and ethnic self-consciousness — with the subconsciousness, which, respectively, correlates with «I» and «It» according to the Freudian model of subjectivity, with the «Super Ego» as the moral and ethical force in the personality structure in the political system one can associate ideas of the rule of law and normative regulators resulting from it (Analogy VI).

It has been proved that it is the parties that are most suitable for the role of actors who are able to effectively bring the reality of conflict archetypes into peaceful coexistence and constructive or at least neutral interaction between different ethnic groups of a heterogeneous society; their inherent «advantages» for implementing such a scenario have been identified.

It is concluded that the formulated principle of partisanship is neutral in itself, but its introduction leads to the reproduction and strengthening of the existing trend in the gradients of power, to the extent that in a totalitarian society it causes super-etatization, and in divided societies — generates further chaotization.

The third section is devoted to the problems of consolidation of Ukrainian society throughout the building of the nation: it highlights the process of formation of the territory and population of Ukraine in modern history, presents views on the concept and practice of forming a political nation, considers proposals for institutional guarantees of a social contract.

The course of the formation of Ukrainian «society-polity» in modern history until the proclamation of independence in 1991 is analyzed. Based on expert research and analysis of factual material, it is proved that Ukraine's «inheritance» of the territory and population with different historical experiences in the wake of the collapse of the USSR has conditioned a heterogeneous composition of its society by

the criteria of ethnic origin, religious and linguistic affiliation. It is illustrated that the consistent assimilationist policies of the states, which at different times included the modern Ukrainian lands, caused the emergence of a stable connection between the ethnic groups-citizens of Ukraine and their respective neighboring states as well as a significant regional cultural differences.

The ideas of V. Chornovil concerning the federal structure of the state and the advantages of the established unitary form (V. Yavir), as well as its influence on the social contract laid down in the basis of independent Ukraine, are highlighted. A formula for this social contract is defined in accordance with the polycephalous approach of building a political nation («nation-state»).

The validity of the qualification of the Ukrainian society being in a state of division according to the criteria of distinction defined in the dissertation research is proved. The gradual revision of the initial ratio of the status of the titular ethnic group and other minorities throughout the development of the Ukrainian political nation, which mobilized the ethnocentric logic of perception of the counter parties' actions, is shown. The intensification of irredentist programs of neighboring states and Russia's support of anti-government forces in Donbas, the confrontation with which in the form of a «hybrid war» with numerous involvement of Ukrainian citizens has led to an ongoing armed conflict with significant casualties and losses, as a determinant of the gravitation towards implementation of the concept of «nation-state» is noted.

The dangers of indulging the desire for justice/satisfaction of ethnocenter's collective subconscious through the recognition in the public discourse of the acceptability of forced assimilation and expulsion in pursuit of ethnic homogenization and cohesion (F. Rudych, L. Uhryn, A. Wilson, R. Brubaker) of the majority/title group against the minority «enemy» is highlighted. Given the active passportization of Ukrainian citizens from the respective ethnic minorities by the neighboring «kin» states, the promotion and implementation of the project of forming a political nation by focusing exclusively on the attributes of the titular ethnic group and the exclusion of citizens of other identities from the search for a

common cultural denominator undermine the preservation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine: the reversionary deconstruction of the multitude of people into ethnic components following the logic of ethnocentricity immanently presupposes the emergence of a question concerning the division of common territory.

The necessity to introduce ethnopolitics on the principle of «unity in diversity» (S. Rymarenko, I. Kononov) and to direct the formation of the modern Ukrainian political nation to the common future of a democratic multi-ethnic society (H. Lutsyshyn, Yu. Lysenko) in connection with the inability to offer a common «image of the past» is substantiated. With the goal of uniting its society around the idea of its own sovereign existence, Ukraine must return to the concept of a «nation-state», building a shared future beyond the gravitation to the monopoly of primordial criteria through the conclusion and observance of a new inclusive social contract.

The necessity of the implementation of the following political institutions, which in the Ukrainian reality will contribute to the attainment of such a contract and ensure the consolidation of a divided society, is proposed and substantiated:

- A parliamentary form of government in which the president elected through direct elections with preferential lists serves exclusively as head of state, without the right to interfere in the direct shaping and implementation of the political course, but with the task and sufficient institutional capacity to observe the «status quo» embodied in the social contract;

- Minimization of the political parties' influence as «agents of conflict» and «electoral machines» of oligarchic groups (O. Fisun), as well as of the media controlled by them, through a mechanism of staffing the representative bodies of power, built on the pyramidal principle of direct election of MPs on a majority-preferential basis to the primary level of legislatures and the subsequent consecutive delegation of delegates by such legislatures to the regional and national parliaments, with an institution of recall of MPs during the entire term of office;

- Maintenance of the unitary form of organization with the simultaneous introduction of effective subordination principle through financial and functional decentralization, as well as ensuring non-territorial cultural autonomy of segments

through the formation of linguistic and religious self-governing communities by the latter with guaranteed collective rights.

In order for these institutional guarantees to be sustainable, they must be constitutionally enshrined and a body of constitutional jurisdiction with depoliticized staffing principles must be created, empowered to monitor the compliance of lawmaking with the conditions and principles of the social contract.

Keywords: heterogeneous system, diverse society, identity, ethnicity, social division, electoral system, party system, social contract.