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THE INFLUENCE OF OUTLOOK-VALUE ARCHETYPES ON THE FUNCTIONING OF THE REGIONAL POLITICAL REGIMES IN UKRAINE (LVIV REGION AS AN EXAMPLE)

Abstract. The aspects of influence of outlook-value archetypes (certain visions, which were the symbols of behavior models, existence ways on individual and common levels), typical for the population of Lviv region on the process of the formation, functioning and further transformation of the regional political regime at the years of Ukraine independence are considered. Substantiated position about the social-economic resources of Lviv region (among them the absence of the conditions for the creation of the monopolies on the regional level) and the mental traditions of the nation, political culture, frontier location which strengthen the influence of the European civilization made the ground for the formation in the region the competitive, pluralistic regional political regime with

the engagement of the broad area of individuals of political relations (using the democratic procedures of the recruitment and further rotation of political elite).

The high level of the consensus of common socio-cultural and political values of the society dealing with its homogeneous composition, the ability for the mobilization were the conditions for the existence of the political regime quite autonomous regarding the external influences. This was assisted by the existence of the consolidated political elite of Lviv region which was trying to be the spokesman of the society and directed its activity not only on the performance of the directives from “Center” but also on the creation of political and socio-cultural conditions which were necessary for the execution of the regional interests. As it was cleared the main criteria for the legitimation of the regional political actors was their solidarity with the main national-ethnic archetypes of the region. Any attempt of the opposing with the region had an irreversible effect for the politicians — withdrawal from the regional socio-political relations which was made by the way of legitimate procedures or the force method.

Keywords: outlook-value archetypes, Lviv region, regional political regime.

ВПЛИВ СВИТОГЛЯДНО-ЦІННІСНИХ АРХЕТИПІВ НА ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ РЕГІОНАЛЬНИХ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ РЕЖИМІВ В УКРАЇНІ (НА ПРИКЛАДІ ЛЬВІВСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ)

Анотація. Розглядаються аспекти впливу світоглядно-ціннісних архетипів (певних образів, що символізували моделі поведінки, способи буття на індивідуальному та колективному рівнях), типових для населення Львівської області на процеси формування, функціонування і подальшу трансформацію регіонального політичного режиму в роки державної незалежності України. Обґрунтована позиція, що сукупність соціально-економічних ресурсів Львівщини (серед них — відсутність умов для створення монополій на регіональному рівні) у поєднанні з ментальними традиціями суспільства, політичною культурою, прикордонним розташуванням, яке посилювало впливи європейського цивілізаційного простору, створювали підстави для формування в області конкурентоздатного, плюралістичного, регіонального, політичного режиму із залученням широкого кола (через демократичні процедури рекрутування політичної еліти та її ротації) суб'єктів політичних відносин.

Високий рівень консенсусу загальних соціально-культурних і політичних цінностей суспільства, пов'язаний з його гомогенним складом, здатністю до мобілізації створювали умови для існування політичного режиму достатньо “автономного” щодо зовнішніх впливів. Цьому сприяла наявність консolidованої політичної еліти Львівщини, яка, прагнучи бути виразником суспільства, спрямовувала свою активність не лише на виконання директив “Центру”, а й на утворення політичних і соціально-економічних умов, необхідних для реалізації інтересів свого регіону. Як виявилось, головним критерієм легітимації регіональних політичних акторів була їхня солідарність з головними національно-етнічними архетипами регіону. Будь-яка спроба протиставлення з регіоном мала незворотний наслідок для політиків — вилучення з

регіональних суспільно-політичних відносин, що відбувалося шляхом легітимних процедур або силовим способом.

Ключові слова: світоглядно-ціннісні архетипи, Львівська область, регіональний політичний режим.

ВЛИЯНИЕ МИРОВОЗЗРЕНЧЕСКО-ЦЕННОСТНЫХ АРХЕТИПОВ НА ФУНКЦИОНИРОВАНИЕ РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫХ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ РЕЖИМОВ В УКРАИНЕ (НА ПРИМЕРЕ ЛЬВОВСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ)

Аннотация. Рассматриваются аспекты влияния мировоззренческо-ценностных архетипов (определенных образов, которые символизировали модели поведения, способы существования на индивидуальном и коллективном уровнях), типичных для населения Львовской области на процессы формирования, функционирования и дальнейшую трансформацию регионального политического режима в годы государственной независимости Украины. Обоснована позиция, что совокупность социально-экономических ресурсов Львовщины (среди них — отсутствие условий для создания монополий на региональном уровне) в сочетании с ментальными традициями общества, политической культурой, пограничным расположением, которое усиливало влияния европейского цивилизационного пространства, создавали основания для формирования в области конкурентоспособного, плюралистичного, регионального, политического режима с привлечением широкого круга (через демократические процедуры рекрутирования политической элиты и ее ротации) субъектов политических отношений.

Высокий уровень консенсуса общих социально-культурных и политических ценностей общества, связанный с его гомогенным составом, способностью к мобилизации создавали условия для существования политического режима достаточно “автономного” относительно внешних влияний. Этому способствовало наличие консолидированной политической элиты Львовщины, которая, стремясь быть выразителем общества, направляла свою активность не только на выполнение директив “Центра”, но и на образование политических и социально-экономических условий, необходимых для реализации интересов своего региона. Как оказалось, главным критерием легитимации региональных политических актеров была их солидарность с главными национально-этническими архетипами региона. Любая попытка противопоставления с регионом имела необратимое следствие для политиков — исключения из региональных общественно-политических отношений, что происходило путем легитимных процедур или силовым способом.

Ключевые слова: мировоззренческо-ценностные архетипы, Львовская область, региональный политический режим.

Problem statement. The problem of the transformation period that Ukraine is currently experiencing requires an in-depth examination of the function-

ing of political power in the centre and on the ground, the identification of its peculiarities. In this regard, the study of a new phenomenon in the unitary Ukrainian state of regional political regimes, which, reflecting the processes of political subjectivization of regions (oblasts), strengthening their influence on public policy, require scientific study, development and implementation of an effective model of multi-level political relations, which involves both the consideration of interests and powers in the Centre – Region system and as well as rethinking the general approaches to public administration.

Given the significant role of the Lviv Oblast in the modern state-building processes of Ukraine, which led to constant attention from the central authorities, leading politicians, who often sought to neutralize or subordinate socio-political processes in the region, the subject of the Lviv region was constantly present in the political and scientific discourse. The consequence was the emergence of certain assessments (markers or labels), which often had a multipolar, far from impartial character. So, even on the eve of the independence of Ukraine (1990), the new political elite of Lviv (from the circle of 'revolutionary romantics'), concentrated in the Lviv Regional Council headed by V. Chornovil, considered the region as a certain standard of functioning of power, worthy to follow the place 'development of mechanisms and principles of realization of the eternal dream of our people about an independent, democratic Ukrainian state' [1, p. 220–221]. Instead, in the context of the deployment of the Revolution of Dignity, the last 'chief administrator' of the Lviv

region (the Head of the Lviv regional state administration; O. Salo) from the blocked protesters of the premises told the correspondent of The New York Times his vision of a practiced political relations format as 'our region never did not recognize the authorities', stipulating it in the traditional radical sentiments of society ('insurgent spirit') [2].

Analysis of recent researches and publications. The problem of archetype fell into the field of national researchers of social sciences at the beginning of the 21st century. Among them, we can mention them, namely: Ye. Afonin, M. Holovaty, O. Donchenko, L. Zubrytska, L. Kochubei, O. Kriukov, O. Kulinich, T. Novachenko, M. Piren, O. Radchenko, Yu. Romanenko, H. Pocheptsov and others, whose scientific work involved the solution of a wide range of theoretical, methodological and practical problems in the field of public administration, political psychology, political leadership and image-management and public relations, etc., laying the foundations for a more in-depth understanding of contemporary political processes, political actions of the social and ethnic communities of the country. At the same time, the use of archetypal paradigm in the field of political regionalism, including the applied nature, is still relevant, and this article is also devoted to this.

The purpose of the article is to identify, with the archetype paradigm, the specificity and influence of the policy environment at the level of the Lviv Oblast on the formation and transformation of the regional political regime during the years of Ukraine's state independence.

Presentation of the main material.

A special role in the study of modern political processes associated with the existence in a unitary country of such a phenomenon as regional political regimes plays the application of the archetypal method, in particular its component as various characters, which together can be reduced to *symbolic capital* including individual and collective feelings, guides, experiences, actions, etc. ('if we want to see the phenomenon in the right perspective, we need to understand ... the past' [3]). It is the processes associated with symbolic capital, its reconstruction ('new reading'), giving it new forms of communication interaction, including the activation of ideological and value archetypes (adopted in the society of ideas about justice, freedom, equality, honesty and dignity) became a powerful motive for collective political action, significantly influencing the processes of political solidarity and mobilization of society in 1990s. In turn, it also accelerated the formation on the basis of sustainable sociocultural images and representations on the political map of Ukraine *regions* with their mental archetypes, with their characteristics of regional self-consciousness, regional interest, and regional dimension of political and cultural traditions [4, P. 58].

Regarding the Lviv region (as well as the historical Galicia as a whole), in contrast to the widespread stereotypes and emotional-sensory reactions in the Ukrainian society, which had connection with Byzantine archetypes and Byzantine mentality (they contained elements of fatalism, the domination of the state over society and personality, irresponsibility of the authorities

to society, and consequently led to a decrease in the level of personal responsibility and initiative of members of society, etc.) [5, p. 263–265], in its territory, taking into account the combination of historical, socio-economic and cultural factors, developed the social characteristics of the western type. There are among them individualism, appreciation of personal freedom, critical attitude to power, tolerance, spirituality (including high level of religiosity at the 'churched' level, and respect for the institution of private property, etc.).

At the initial stage of development of Ukraine as a sovereign state, this led to a complete denial (through the identification gap) with the socio-political traditions of the Soviet time, partially pre-Soviet (Polish and Austrian days), the actualization of the symbols of the 'ancient Ukrainian Lviv' (as basic), which included certain stereotypical or mythological representations, but coexisted with each other in a non-antagonistic relationship. In the political sphere among them, we can distinguish the following:

- Belonging of the Lviv Oblast to the 'Historical Galicia' heritage as the centre of ancient Ukrainian statehood, preservation and cultivation of the Ukrainian ethnos and its culture, an integral part of the European civilizational space (including recognition of the fundamental values of democracy, in particular, tolerance in the international, political, religious and other spheres);
- Belonging of Lviv region to the phenomenon of 'All-Ukrainian spiritual Pyomon';
- The tradition of sacrificial struggle for the implementation of Ukrainian

statehood in modern times (including military symbols: Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, Ukrainian Nationalists Organization, and Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

Their set created grounds for the politically active community of the region, the regional political elite to claim not only participation but also a special role (the main retransmission of the 'Ukrainian national idea') in the development of the newest state of Ukraine (to become 'a model for the development of the whole of Ukraine' [6, p. 17–18]). This was also exacerbated by the fact that the population of the region was characterized by high homogeneity (primarily ethnic and religious), which determined the high level of compatibility (consensus) of common socio-cultural and political values, solidarity, based on ethno-cultural, traditional archetypes of behaviour and activities. The consequence of the political-cultural and mental peculiarities of the region was the deep rooted in the social consciousness of the primacy of the primacy of national interests, which determined the dominant position in the Lviv region of the ideology of ethnocentrism, including 'national radicalism' (inherited from integral nationalism), which was combined with the pro-European civilization the choice of the country. The high level of awareness of the population of Lviv region of its socio-cultural unity, its own interests and the desire for their articulation and realization in the conditions of politicization of regional peculiarities, the appearance of sufficiently autonomous political actors involved in 'political decisions', contributed to the transformation of the region in the 1990's from the 'territory' to the 're-

gion', and local officials and businessmen into the regional political elite.

As for the latter one. Despite the existing contradictions and the competition between the various groups of the political elite of Lviv ('authoritarian nationalists', 'moderate nationalists', 'functional pragmatic actors' from the circle of the former party-Soviet nomenclatura, and 'politically active businessmen'), it was characterized by the consensus in the field of 'national issues (including national traditions, historical memory, etc.), which made it adjust to the sentiments of society [7, p. 113]. However, on the level of this 'correction', it is necessary to refer to the conclusions of the American transitologist T. Catothers, who noted: in the context of the 'democratic transit' carried out by Ukraine, the political elites, although they were 'pluralistic' and 'competitive', remained 'deeply estranged from citizens' [8, p. 51]. Because of this, the regional political regime in the Lviv region, which began to form in the 1990's, its further transformation, in spite of its formal democracy, all the same resembled the transitional form from 'political monopoly' to 'political oligopoly', serving primarily the interests of a small part of society, and its higher social strata.

The choice of the strategies of the political elite of Lviv region, which had insignificant resources, in relations with the 'Centre', was rather narrow. While in the early 1990's the most prominent among them was the 'game of autonomy' or the 'trip to Kyiv', which turned out to be unrealized, then in the future, political actors were forced to hold loyal (including political mimicry) or anticipated positions. In turn, this pro-

vided both the obtaining of the necessary resources for the development of the region, as well as guarantees for the preservation of the powers of the current elite and its conservation. At the same time, the subjects of the political field of Lviv region (as well as other regions) with respect to the 'Centre' took far from a consolidated position. Thus, the regional political elite (from dissidents, human rights activists, activists of the national revival) has often been in conflict with official Kyiv, which at the initial stage of state independence of Ukraine was to a large extent represented by the ex-party-Soviet nomenklatura. A condition for the successful activity of the economic elite was its 'adaptive qualities', showing loyalty to the 'Centre', which created the conditions for obtaining certain preferences [9, p. 8]. The latter, as the business politicians from the second half of the 1990s transformed into the leading 'political players' [10], due to the concentration of material resources in their hands, and the receipt of social legitimacy by them, significantly influenced the level of interaction of the region with the 'Centre'. The above-mentioned made significant correction regarding the main indicator of regional political elites ability (regardless of external influences) to adhere to their local regional socio-economic and political interests.

The transformation of the political regime in Ukraine with the coming to power of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma significantly changed the course of political processes in the region, which was followed by an increase in authoritarian tendencies, the formation of a 'territorial-hierarchical system of power', the intentions of strenght-

ening control over regional groups of elites, their consolidation under the leadership of the 'party of power', including the format of 'imposed consensus'. To this end, an effective tool for influencing the 'Centre' over the 'Regions' was used as a regional state administration. And although in Lviv region, the state administration was formed mainly by people from the region, from the circle of representatives of the dominant political elite, the emergence of a new leading political player with his intentions to exercise leadership on behalf of the 'Centre', the channel of penetration into the region of various 'parties of power', created only a new field of collision the interests of which resulted in the strengthening of social tension and record high (!) rotation of the heads of Lviv Regional State Administration (during these years of 1995–2018, such appointments were made 16).

In general, during the years of Ukraine's independence in the Lviv region, it is possible to distinguish several stages in changing the qualities of the local political regime, the formation and functioning of which had a close link to the political situation in the capital. Their change, in turn, led to the rotation of regional political actors, changes in the configuration of the local multi-party system, which negatively affected the observance of continuity in regional policy.

I. The development of political relations in the Lviv region in 1991–1997, which included political actors belonging to the traditional national democratic forces in the region, contributed to the establishment of a pluralistic regional political regime in which the most involved political strategies,

which in general, were consistent with the state of development of society; his value orientations, were such that they resembled the 'struggle for the rules', and 'the community of the elites'. It can be argued that at that time the regional political regime was developing on its own, since the 'Centre' (in the era of the presidency of L. Kravchuk, the beginning of the first cadence of L. Kuchma) had not yet had the necessary levers (the legislative framework and personnel) for the implementation of a comprehensive political control and giving the region's political relations the 'right format'. At the same time, the new phenomena of socio-political and economic relations are the transformation of local self-government bodies that are increasingly transforming from institutions representing the interests of territorial communities to representatives of local political elite groups, an instrument for lobbying their interests, the emergence of new political players of 'political pragmatists', which were replaced by 'romantic politicians', as well as 'business politicians', representatives of the Financial-Industrial Group (FIG), the progressive tendency of nepotism and political corruption caused the crisis of traditional methods of political relations, and hence the regional political regime, which took advantage of the 'official Kyiv' in strengthening its positions.

II. In 1997–2004, the characteristics of the political regime in Lviv region have undergone substantial changes in accordance with the introduced standards of the 'Centre' ('Soft Option'). At this time, the practice of 'being' used 'the tradition of transition in political strategies from 'compro-

mise' to 'force' (power) using a wide range of administrative resources in the fight against political rivals aimed at eliminating them, reminiscent of the strategy like 'winner receives everything'. In the era of L. Kuchma's presidency, the leading political actors in the Lviv region were, as a rule, not typical representatives of the 'party of power' for the region, which led to attempts to unify the region, impose certain models of political behaviour and practice, in particular, patronage-client 'rules' in a relationship with the 'Centre', which strengthened the resistance of the local elite, a society that reached its height during the Orange Revolution in 2004.

III. In 2005–2010, political relations in the Lviv region resembled attempts to implement the 'Lviv version' of the regional political regime (like 1991–1997), however, due to the predominance of centralization tendencies of the 'Centre', they did not find their implementation. The reason for this was the actions of President Viktor Yushchenko, his desire to monopolize the political space of the Lviv region, to establish in it space with the dominant political actor (based on the following political parties: Our Ukraine, Our Ukraine People's Union (OUPU), which in practice led to a change in the levels of interaction of subjects of political life from the 'struggle for the rules' or the 'community of elites' to 'the winner receives everything', which created new fields of tension among the political elites belonging to the 'orange camp', not contributing to the formation of a stable, predictable political regime and giving it the nature of uncertainty.

IV. Years 2010–2013 can be characterized as an attempt to ‘impose consensus’ (‘hard version’) on the part of the ‘Centre’, when during the presidency of V. Yanukovych, the main subjects of politics in the Lviv region (executive power vertical) were mainly ‘Varangians’ (those from the oblast, who lost contact with him), ‘regionalists’, ‘technical administrators’, whose activities were aimed at maintaining the region’s loyalty to the new President of Ukraine. This was done through a variety of tools, including personnel policy, the use of administrative pressure during election campaigns, and the impact on the formation of local government bodies, which was neutralized by the sharp opposition of society. As a result, this led to the fact that the Centre was forced to refuse to use force methods in the Lviv region, giving preference to its manipulative technologies and budgetary pressure in its policy. In general, the ‘imposed consensus’ strategy did not work in the Lviv region, leading to a confrontation between the vertical of the executive and the representative bodies of local self-government, power and society, when the system of political relations in the region entered a stage of political turbulence. The latter contributed to the lightning-fast change in the characteristics of the regional political regime, which took place in the context of the deployment of the Prosecution Revolution in 2013–2014.

V. In 2014–2015, the standards of the functioning of the political regime at the level of Lviv region largely repeat the ‘post-Orange period’ with all its successes and problems. Trying to make the most use of the region’s resources after the victory of the Revolution of

Dignity, the ‘Centre’ in its policy used the strategy of relying on the ‘dominant political actor’, which at that time was FREEDOM, All-Ukrainian Association and subsequently to SELF-HELP Association, Progressing party. However, after winning the presidential election P. Poroshenko, central authorities once again had been tempted to resources of Lviv region, aiming to create ‘desired format’ regional political regime in the form of a presidential project, which was carried out via the promotion of the ‘new party of power’ as BLOCK PETRO POROSHENKO Party (SOLIDARITY, Block Petro Poroshenko Party). The domination of the latter at the local elections of 2015 provided a process of complete appearance, when the pro-presidential forces seized the main political institutions of the region. At the same time, these realities have led to the creation of additional voltage zones in the region, the threat of loss due to the requirements of political expediency of the pluralist tendencies that traditionally existed in the political life of the region.

Conclusions and prospects for further researches. Modern processes of transformation of the political system of Ukraine, connected with the far-not complete ‘democratic transit’, the formation of civil society and the implementation of administrative and territorial reform, require a profound scientific diagnosis of modern socio-political relations. These circumstances require the use of modern effective research tools and techniques, including a more in-depth application of the archetypal paradigm, which should contribute not only to the search for harmonization of relations between the ‘Centre’

and 'Regions', bringing them to a new qualitative level, but also will allow to deepen the scientific forecasting of socio-political processes in Ukraine as a whole, which should be the subject of further research.

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