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THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ORIGIN AND STARTING OF POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN UKRAINE: ARCHETYPICAL ANALYSIS

Abstract. It is determined the nature, main point of political conflicts, it is formed their typology. It is analysed Ukrainian political parties activity in conditions of a political conflict. It is proved that in the Ukrainian society widespread archetypes of the “hero”, “leader” determine the weakness of ideological compound in political parties activities and they are favourable to product temporary leaders projects in which leaders are not ready to find compromises because of fear to harm to their image.

Keywords: political conflict, political parties, the archetype of the “hero” archetype “leader”.

РОЛЬ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ПАРТІЙ У ВИНИКНЕННІ ТА РОЗВ'ЯЗАННІ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ КОНФЛІКТІВ В УКРАЇНІ: АРХЕТИПНИЙ АНАЛІЗ

Анотація. Визначено природу, сутність політичних конфліктів, зроблено їх типологію. Проаналізовано діяльність українських політичних партій в умовах політичного конфлікту. Доведено, що поширені в українському суспільстві архетипи “героя”, “лідера” детермінують послаблення ідеологічної складової в діяльності політичних партій та сприяють продукуванню тимчасових лідерських проєктів, у яких лідери не налаштовані на пошук компромісів через острах нанести шкоду своєму іміджу.

Ключові слова: політичний конфлікт, політичні партії, архетип “героя”, архетип “лідера”.

РОЛЬ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ПАРТИЙ В ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИИ И РЕШЕНИИ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ КОНФЛИКТОВ В УКРАИНЕ: АРХЕТИПИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ

Аннотация. Определено природу, сущность и типологию политических конфликтов. Проанализировано деятельность политических партий в условиях политического конфликта. Доказано, что распространенные в украинском обществе архетипы “героя”, “лидера” детерминируют ослабление идеологической составляющей в деятельности политических партий и способствуют продуцированию временных лидерских проектов, в которых лидеры не настроены на поиск компромиссов из-за боязни нанести вред своему имиджу.

Ключевые слова: политический конфликт, политические партии, архетип “героя”, архетип “лидера”.

Target setting. In modern conditions of social and political transformation and active processes of implementation of European standards in various life spheres of society, and particularly in public administration has become evident the existence of the problem of developing the party system and increasing the political responsibility of political parties. Meanwhile, the existing experience of activity of political parties in Ukraine demonstrates their unwillingness for introducing qualitatively new European principles and

approaches in their activity. Populism of party leaders, grandstanding, and defending the interests of a narrow circle of people routinely cause acute political conflicts, which lead to the disintegration of society, destruction of the economy, and reducing the efficiency of public administration. Meanwhile, an important prerequisite for the democratic development of society is providing effective mechanisms of activity of political parties to prevent acute social and political conflicts. At the same time, the development and

creation of such mechanisms requires a detailed analysis of existing archetypes that influence contemporary political practices in Ukraine. Therefore, during the investigation of the role of political parties in the emergence and resolution of political conflicts, becomes especially important the archetypal approach.

Analysis of the recent researches and publications. The problem of political conflicts was studied in the works of R. Dahrendorf, T. Parsons, E. Durkheim, E. Mayo, A. Tocqueville, G. Simmel and many other researchers. Political leadership and its archetypal component were studied by J. Blondel, M. Weber, K.–G. Jung et al. Modern scientific researches on the study of archetypes were performed by the following scientists: E. Afonin, A. Donchenko, T. Vakulova, L. Kochubey, O. Kryty, O. Kulinich and others. Meanwhile, the archetypal approach to the study of the role of political parties in the emergence and resolution of political conflicts in Ukraine has not been used.

The purpose of this article. Analyzing the role of political parties in causing and solving political conflicts taking into account their archetypal features.

The statement of basic materials. Translated from the Latin *conflictus* is a clash, collision. As scientists define, a political conflict is a conflict, confrontation, theoretical and practical struggle of political subjects for retention, capture or redistribution of power in order to maintain or increase own political status and strengthen or changing the political regime and political system [4].

Alexis de Tocqueville and Karl Marx are considered to be the founders of the theory of political conflict; they noted

the inevitability of associations, alliances and conflicts between different social communities. Thus Karl Marx considered conflict and consensus as alternatives, absolutising the role of political conflict – the core of the whole process, and Alexis de Tocqueville raised the idea that democracy itself contains tools for support the balance between the forces of conflict and consensus. Later, an American sociologist Kenneth Boulding noted that conflict is a situation where the parties impoverish incoherence of their potential positions or states and seek to take a position that excludes the other direction, that is, conflict. According to an American sociologist Lewis Coser, conflicts embody the struggle for values and the right to have a certain status, possession of capacity and resources of power, in which a goal of opponents is to neutralize damage or eliminate an opponent [1].

In the scientific literature there are different perspectives on the problem of the sources, nature and causes of political conflicts. Representatives of the *first perspective* (K. Marx, R. Dahrendorf, M. Duverger, et al.) believed that the source of political conflicts is existing in society is the system of economic, political, social and spiritual relationships, in which subjects of politics occupy different objective position. Integrative indicator of this situation is the political status of the subject that is characterized by its access to public authority, political, material and spiritual values, its political authority, prestige and image. Thus, political conflicts are reflecting the objective contradictions that exist in society that are revealed in differences of the statuses of subjects of politics, their role assignments and

functions, interests and needs in power, opportunities in the choice of means, forms and methods of political struggle.

The second perspective of the nature of political conflicts is presented the theory of human needs that emerged in the west in the recent years (J. Burton, C. Lederer, J. Davis, R. Inglehart, D. Easton, D. Nadler et al.). This concept states that conflicts arise due to restriction or partial satisfaction of needs that define the essence of the human person. Proponents of this position consider the main sources of conflicts different social values: David Easton – power, material goods and social prestige; Ronald Inglehart – safety, social acceptance, and moral self-improvement; David A. Nadler – transcendence (internal self-disclosure), economic growth, success and so on. In any society, according to representatives of this perspective, power, material goods and spiritual benefits are always missing values, it is only natural that other individuals, different political and social forces want to possess them. Their fight about these missing values naturally creates conflicts. Thus, the main source of political conflicts is the lack of certain values in society and consequently there is an inadequate satisfying of universal human needs.

The third perspective points on the source, nature and causes of political conflicts – socio-psychological, the founder of which is considered Sigmund Freud. He created the theory of psychological frustrations (from *the Latin* frustratio – deception, disappointment) that had a significant influence on the development of the modern theory of conflictology. Sigmund Freud showed that the formation of personality plays

a decisive role during of its early socialization; it makes a noticeable impact on all subsequent relationships in society, including its attitude to power [5].

Meanwhile, summarizing the given views, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that the subjects of the political conflict (political organizations, institutions and certain leaders) always act on behalf of a certain social community. Certain individuals form communities for protecting their interests and values; they create organizations and institutions and thus become subjects of the political conflict. This indicates that the political conflict is always organized and institutional. The participants of this conflict are usually organized subjects of political relations, including political parties. It is through political conflicts are active, active members of which are political parties, there are socio-political transformations in any country of the world.

Meanwhile, the political conflicts arise in a number of ways. In the scientific literature there are many options for classification of conflicts. The most common is the division of conflicts in the conflict of values, interests and identities.

The conflict of values, in particular, appears a clash of different ideological concepts, differences between them are the main prerequisites of conflict (left–right, liberals–conservatives, communists–Social Democrats).

The conflict of interests is associated primarily with the clash of political, and socio-economic interests that lead to the conflict between the governance ruling elite and the general public.

The conflict of identification is observed when the question on the defi-

nition by a citizen of a certain country of his ethnic and nationality is decided. The essence of the conflict is that part of the population does not want to recognize themselves as citizens of the state in the territory of which they currently reside [9].

By defining manifestations of socio-economic, ethnic, transnational, political, ideological, religious, family, military, legal, domestic and other types of conflicts. Concerning the functions, there are positive (constructive) and negative (destructive).

Consideration of the conflicts in dynamics helps to identify the following varieties:

- during the emergence phase: spontaneous, scheduled, provoked, initiative;
- during the development phase: short, long, protracted;
- during the elimination phase: managed, partially managed, unmanaged;

In terms of composition of the conflicting parties there can be: intrapersonal, interpersonal and group [2].

The value and place of conflict in political life is shown at the base of its functions. Under the function of conflict will be understood defined in certain temporary frames effects or orientation of its impact on society as a whole or in separate spheres of life.

There are the following features of the political conflict:

- alarm (characterizing conflict as an indicator of a certain state of society. In all the places where there is a conflict, in social relations something needs major changes. Thus, a conflict contributes to socially necessary equilibrium. However equilibrium is always relative and temporary, because in it are

incubating and waiting to resolve new conflicts);

- informative (deployment, course, and turns of the conflict situation have some information about the causes that created it and about the balance of power in society. Studying this information is an important means of learning social problems and processes);

- differentiating (the process of social differentiation, which is influenced by conflict, often destroys the old social structures, changes the ratio of their elements, and defines new forms of relationship);

- integration (in opposition to other groups there is growing consolidation within the group, increasing the degree of group identification within the group, and increasing the degree of group identification of its members);

- dynamic (conflict opens the way for changes, forcing to move forward, and developing the political system) [9].

Thus, analyzing functions, we can say that conflicts have both the positive and negative effects. In particular, the positive impact on the social development makes it possible to naturally maintain the dynamics of socio-political life, which leads to renewal and creative modernization of the political system; helps relieve tension in society, achieve intragroup cohesion; find allies that are able to maintain and strengthen the conflicting party; stimulate its activity, creativity, and achieve social changes.

The negative consequences of the conflict for social development can be [10]:

- the elimination of the existing political system, which adversely affects

the credibility and functioning of the authorities, it is vitally dangerous to parties of the conflict;

- political conflict can be linked to violent means to resolve it;

- can lead to a slowdown in social, economic, political and spiritual development of society;

- may contribute to the destruction of social communications, and accompanied by the increasing pessimism in society;

- conflict could cause a new, more destructive conflicts.

Thus, the political conflict in Ukraine had a destructive character that was linked to violent means to address it, which resulted in loss of life. We can say that the “party of power” provoked a violent confrontation in 2013–2014. In general, the main parties were actively involved in socio-political events that took place in 2013–2014 and took diametrically opposed positions. Thus, the opposition parliamentary parties according to their political positions, from the very beginning actively involved in the protest, despite the fact that the initial public activists and some party leaders demanded “non-partisan” actions. However, after the actions in November 2013, parliamentary opposition (“Batkivshchyna”, “UDAR” and “Svoboda”) took the lead role in organizing and coordinating the protest movement. Prominent role in protests played and other political parties, established before the Maidan, in particular the party “Civil Position” (A. Gritsenko), Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko (O. Lyashko), party “Democratic Alliance” (V. Hatsko), and party Union “Self Reliance” (A. Sadovy). During the protest took place the cry-

tallization of new political parties based on the members of public organizations and movements (formal and informal), other political parties. The excellent example is the party “Right Sector”. The culmination of the parliamentary activities of factions “Party of Regions” and the Communist Party of Ukraine during the Maidan was the adoption on January 16, 2014 “dictatorship laws”. Entry into force of the laws provoked a new wave of violent confrontation between the government and protesters during which claimed first victim. Thus, the Party of Regions and the Communist Party of Ukraine, in fact, were the catalyst for the confrontation. Thus, after the parliamentary elections in 2014 took place rotation in parties in the coordinates “government-opposition”. Accordingly, the parliamentary opposition became the Party of Regions and the Communist Party of Ukraine. As a result of the adoption of decommunisation laws aroused legal grounds for termination of the Communist Party of Ukraine and other communist parties [7]. Thus, we can conclude that due to the political crisis with political parties there were dynamic changes in the political system.

On the other hand, political parties can be the mechanism, by which conflicts can be resolved. The positive feature turns is that matured in the depths of the political system conflict sends a message to society, power structures and political parties about contradictions and conflict mismatch of positions of certain individuals and their groups. The most important structural feature of the political conflict is its ability to catalyze the urgent socio-political changes. However, political parties act

as a mechanism of eliminating imbalance that arose creating new alternatives for the development, new combinations of elements and structures of society, offering an alternative to formal and informal agreements, contracts.

Accordingly, the role of political parties in the socio-political development of society is extremely important. Parties, connecting civil society with the state, contribute to overcoming and mitigate conflicts that are inherent to relationships between them. The ability of political parties to solve existing tasks at each stage of the conflicts provides additional opportunities for effective implementation of own goals and interests in the political process.

Meanwhile, this does not happen through common, in management of political parties in Ukraine, archetypes of “leader”, “enemy”, and “sage”. In philosophical encyclopaedia the term “archetype” (from Greek *ἀρχέτυπον*, from *αρχή* — beginning and *τύπος* — image) is defined as a prototype, the idea [11].

According to Carl Jung, the archetype is a “universal basic innate mental structures that constitute the collective unconscious that are recognized in our experience”. Archetypal component is an influential factor in forming motives and stereotypes of political behavior of individuals. Attention of scientists is focused in such cases to both universal stereotypes that were described by Carl Jung, and specific, such as a dichotomous archetypes “development” and “climb down” to archetypes of “leader”, “hero”, etc. [12]. Carl Jung singled out the following basic archetypes: the archetype of the mother, divine infant, self, spirit, animus (anime), masks (per-

sons) shade. The changes that characterize the political system are characterized by a trend to create parties of leadership type. This trend is observed in Ukraine since the beginning of 2000; in particular through the dissemination of political practice the archetype of “hero” (self), which Carl Jung considered one of the principal. This is the archetype of the unity of conscious and unconscious, which represents the harmony of opposing elements psyche by means of integration.

Carl Jung believed that the conscious and unconscious are not necessarily opposed to each other, but complement each other with integrity, which is the self. In the culture self is realized in the form of the hero, a knight, and a winner [13]. In the political sphere the archetype of self — hero — is the main basis for creating an image of “effective, decisive” politician [6]. As a consequence, in Ukraine there is a large number of “leadership” parties. However, these processes are the consequence of the spread of the archetypes in society. Thus, answering the question: “Is there any way to influence your intention to vote for the chosen political party, active politicians who led the party list, their positions in the government and other authorities, then 49,1 % of respondents said that it made them vote for this party, but did not contribute — 10,6 % of respondents. Also there is a question: “What approach to the issue of leadership was mentioned in the party is the modern Ukrainian parties, than 41,6 % of respondents said that the party has a strong lead, authoritative leader who does not change for a long time [7].

But we need to pay attention to the fact that archetypal basis a political

leader has only if he is identified with the problems that concern mass audience, and in mass political consciousness he will be considered as a “true leader”. Parties of a leadership personality are hostages to the image of their leader. For fans of this type of parties is important not the future that they will be facing, but who is the leader. However, such behavior pattern has been forming hundreds and thousands of years. Psychological basis for following the leader deposited in the unconscious of Ukrainians. Problematic issue in this regard is that type of the leader behavior in conflict situations (because it has a strong image as a determined, strict, and uncompromising politician) is confrontational, not aimed at cooperation and resolving conflicts as soon as possible. What we have seen in Ukrainian realities over the past twenty years.

At the same time, symmetrically to the formed archetype of the “leader” or “hero” in Ukrainian political practice was formed and the archetype of the “enemy”, which represents the total “evil”. This figure is needed as a confrontation between intentions and actions of the “leader”. Meanwhile, the “good” does not have to negotiate anything with the “evil”... Thus, the place for political compromise in Ukraine from the beginning is too small.

Thus, today Ukrainian politics shows complete dominance of temporary, directed its activities for a temporary benefit “selfishness, self-satisfied leaders” upon idea-driven, ideological parties that set for themselves global aims at least at the level of individual groups of people (middle class, liberals, democrats, and nationalists), not mentioning the interests of the state or soci-

ety as a whole. This is also confirmed by sociological studies. Thus, 42,1 % of citizens believe that Ukraine has no parties that would base their programs on certain ideological principles and followed them in their practice. However, more than a half (56,1 %) of citizens believes that parties should have a certain ideology, based on values and principles of which are formed the party and election programs [7].

Meanwhile, the level of political culture of society in Ukraine also remains at a low level. Thus, almost a half the population of Ukraine (47 %) do not know who was elected in their district in 2014, and the question “Do you know (have any idea) that the differences between right-wing parties from left?”, in 60,3 % of respondents do not know anything about that [3].

That is why, in a dynamically changing conditions society that wants to get out of the crisis will follow the leader rather than build its live in accordance with the values and priorities. When the goal is to survive, then are used tools that enable improvements in the short term.

Conclusions. Now, analyzing the political situation, it may be noted that in Ukraine there is a tendency to create political parties with “leadership” in nature. Satisfying the needs of citizens in simple and easy answers to difficult questions, political parties, instead of programs and ideologies offer the public “charismatic leaders”, who very often act as a catalyst for the emergence and resolution of acute destructive political conflicts. The “leadership character” of parties significantly narrows the possibilities for the development of political parties and giving them signs

of temporality. At the same time dichotomy of common archetypes of “hero”–“enemy” and the fear of losing the image of “strict leader” does not allow leaders of political parties, as parties in general, act as tools of solving political conflicts and the democratization of the political process.

Possibilities of transformation of the role and functions of political parties in addressing and resolving political conflicts will be the subject of further research.

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