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**FEATURES AND TRENDS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL CULTURE
OF THE UKRAINIAN SOCIETY IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE HYBRID WARFARE**

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Abstract

The article analyzes the latest research and publications on the selected topic, examines the concept of political culture, analyzes approaches to the classification of political culture, and substantiates the state and prospects of formation in Ukrainian society. The relevance of the topic of the research is that political culture as a phenomenon of social life contains sensual and theoretical, value and normative, rational and subconscious ideas of citizens, which help them to understand and develop comprehensive relationships with the institutions of government and with each other regarding participation in governing society and the state. In the context of hybrid warfare, the study of factors of influence and peculiarities of political culture of modern Ukrainian society is of particular importance. The events taking place in Ukraine today are aimed at destroying the consciousness and subjectivity of individuals, society and the nation as a whole, which influences the formation of political culture of society. In order to better understand the specifics of the ambiguous situation in Ukraine, both political and economic, it is necessary to analyze the peculiarities of the political culture of modern Ukrainian society and recent trends in its transformation. The purpose of the article is to study the peculiarities and tendencies of the development of political culture of Ukrainian society in the conditions of hybrid warfare. The objectives of the study: to identify the features of modern ideas about political culture; to determine the specific political culture of Ukrainian society; consider the influence of internal and external factors on the formation of political consciousness in a hybrid warfare. The methodology is to apply analytical and systematic research methods. The scientific novelty of the study is the isolation of various influences on the destruction of consciousness of individuals and society, which directly influence the formation of political culture in the conditions of hybrid warfare. The prospect of further research is to develop ways of counteracting the hybrid warfare and to improve the mechanisms by which Ukrainian society will be united into a single political nation.

Key words: political culture, political consciousness, political orientation, political process, society, society, hybrid warfare.

General formulation of the problem and its connection with important scientific and practical problems.

The relevance of the chosen topic is due to the fact that an important factor in the formation and development of Ukrainian society and the state as a whole is the formation of an active, creative, free personality, capable of acting independently, mobilizing the necessary resources to achieve the set

goals, ready to take responsibility for the results of their actions and deeds. This presupposes the presence of a certain political culture in the state.

Realities show that the Ukrainian state in a hybrid warfare requires a certain spiritual state of society, awareness of the need to create conditions for the prosperity and development of the state. According to researchers, the attitude of social subjects and society is reflected in the system of their

worldview and value orientations, but it is most clearly traced at the level of state-patriotic consciousness. Considering the importance of individual and social consciousness for the support, development and preservation of nature, the content and the specific state of state-patriotic consciousness, they have always been considered relevant and occupied a worthy place in scientific and social thought.

Analysis of recent studies and publications, from which the solution of this problem began and on which the author relies.

The problems of studying and analyzing political culture were dealt with by such modern researchers as V. Voronkova, V. Stepin, L. Pivovar, G. Ragulina, N. Latygina, M. Zavirova, K. Gadzhiev, S. Grabowski, G. Dichkovskaya and others. These scholars in their works refer to the already proposed classifications of the interpretation of the concept of political culture, considering it from different aspects of the political system and social relationship. According to L. Levchenko, I. Kresina, O. Kindratets, V. Gorbatenko, A. Proskurina, A. Kvasha and A. Tsarenko, then they consider political culture as a system of phenomena of social consciousness. Exploring the peculiarities of the formation of political culture in modern society, we note that the analysis of the works of modern scientists opens up a wide space for subsequent studies of the phenomenon of political culture as such, but especially in various spheres of social and political life in a hybrid warfare.

Highlighting previously unsolved parts of the general problem to which this article is devoted.

The condition for the formation of political culture is the citizens' interest in the political process, interaction with political reality. At the present stage of the transformation of society, changes are taking place in all spheres of social life, consciousness and in the sphere of culture. On the one hand, the elimination of old and the formation of new values are inevitable; on the other hand, it is a necessary process, since the updated objective conditions require correspondingly changed norms of life. The development of society is always associated with the formation of new types of activity, behavior and communication, which, in turn, presupposes the emergence of new programs in accordance with the codes of culture. It is possible to understand the importance of political culture only if we consider political culture not as the main determining factor of spiritual and political relations and processes, but as a link between socio-economic interests, basic needs,

social status, moral and ethical norms and spirituality of an individual person, social groups, classes included in the political process, on the one hand, and their political behavior, on the other. In other words, the spirituality of political culture contributes to the formation of certain types of political behavior, it gives it a certain direction, but is not a determining factor in the last instance; determines the level of development and validity of state goals, affects the involvement of citizens of the state in the political process; ensures the development of political consciousness and its social orientation, accelerates the process of entry of a certain political system into the phase of completion of the state management structure.

Purpose and formation of the goals of the article (statement of the problem).

The purpose of the article is to study the features and trends in the development of the political culture of Ukrainian society in the context of a hybrid warfare.

Research objectives: to identify the features of modern ideas about political culture; determine the specifics of the political culture of Ukrainian society and consider the influence of internal and external factors on the formation of political consciousness in a hybrid warfare.

Presentation of the main research material with substantiation of the scientific results obtained.

Exploring the features of modern ideas about political culture, we note that the definition of the category «political culture» has many interpretations, among which the following can be distinguished: the system of beliefs, feelings and beliefs. These interpretations provide the political process with order and significance and, as a result, ensure the adoption of basic rules that correct behavior in the political process [9, p. 177]. Taking into account the peculiarities of the process of the formation of political culture, one should avoid two, false ideas. The first is orientation to Western models of political culture. Historical experience shows ambiguously the futility and unproductiveness of such attempts. The economic and cultural life of each nation is original, it has deep historical and natural sources and does not lose its national and regional characteristics. The second is the assessment of the political culture of certain peoples as «high» or «low». Political culture cannot be measured in this way. Political culture reflects the qualitative characteristics of each civilization, its development is determined by the ability to provide a stable connection between

civil society and the state. A high level of political culture cannot exist without a deep scientific, prudent approach to assessing events and choosing the way forward. Political culture takes decades and even centuries to develop; it is the result of the knowledge of objective political processes.

Culture is at the stage of prosperity, when it has an internal stable idea of itself. The crisis of political culture, of our state, testifies to the disintegration of the permanent core of culture, to the loss of identity, that is, culture ceases, as it were, to understand what it is. In conditions of anti-spirituality, everything turns into its opposite and changes: history, which could be the history of human existence, turns into an independent superhuman substance: means become ends, and ends appear as simple means, a person loses human nature, and instead of true values, it becomes a measure of its wealth the volume of private property and possession of material values. Society by the power of its spirit, education should understand its leading role, wake up the people, unite them around a common Ukrainian idea. Ukraine declares its «pan-European vocation» and thanks to the emergence of new models of world perception on the lands of Ukraine, the formation of a political culture based on European value political and legal categories joins the «universal background of Europe».

Therefore, society cannot achieve either true democracy or a full life if the necessary moral qualities, a certain level of political culture are not created and laws are not brought in accordance with the moral cultural and legal norms of a democratic society. Today, Ukraine, taking into account the events that take place within the state, is facing a very difficult task – to develop its own political culture that would satisfy all members of society. Political culture should not cause internal contradictions in the personality, which is the main carrier of this political culture.

The functions that political culture performs are important for the state in a hybrid warfare: identification, which consists in interpreting the needs of a person, taking into account his social, ethnic or confessional affiliation and participation in upholding state interests; orientations that characterize a person's striving for a semantic reflection of political events in the exercise of rights and freedoms in the state; adaptation, which helps a person to adapt to the political environment; socialization, promotes the assimilation of norms – regulators of social and political life in the state; integration (disintegration), ensuring the possibility of coexistence of various strata on

the territory of the Ukrainian state, preserving the integrity of the state and the relationship of the latter with civil society; communication, creates informational conditions for the interaction of all subjects of politics.

All of the above functions are important, because the core of political culture is the awareness of the needs of our country, contributes to the improvement of the forms of government and the improvement of the device of spirituality. Researchers of spiritual political culture highlight its antinomy, contrast, and deep inner contradiction of its essence. One of the most significant phenomena of Ukrainian political culture is that with an extremely developed propensity for selfishness and individualism, a person as a product and bearer of this culture very rarely reaches a high level of his social status, that is, becomes bright, distinctive individuality. This is especially clearly manifested in the sphere of politics.

Political culture has several levels, each of which can act as its subject: First, it is a citizen who has a certain level of political culture. Secondly, it is the political elite, which is our example and on which the lives of citizens depend. Thirdly, this is the same society. Therefore, we note that the knowledge of the «real» political life of society is impossible without the study of political culture. The political culture of the state is viewed as inextricably linked with the political system. Political culture is a set of norms, values, principles, attitudes that are practiced by members of society so that the corresponding political system can exist. As a complex element of social life and consciousness, political culture includes what has been formed over many decades and generations – political traditions, norms of political practice, ideas, concepts and beliefs about the relationship between various social and political institutions. These components, due to socio-economic, socio-historical and other long-term factors, are characterized by relative stability, vitality and constancy, slowly undergo changes in the process of profound shifts in social life [6, p. 321].

For a long time, the phenomenon of political culture remained a poorly researched area, despite its importance and the influence it has on the life of society. This led to the fact that even now among researchers there is no agreement on the very definition of political culture, not to mention the structure, types, methods of optimizing this phenomenon. Political culture is an organic part of the political life of society. The importance of studying this phenomenon is due to the importance of politics itself,

since in the modern world, political culture expresses the degree of political civilization of society and is one of the main elements of the spiritual potential of society. It expresses the essence of the socio-political system, defines the «rules of the game» in politics, basic political values and social goals. It is impossible to speak of a person as a socially significant person without political culture; it reflects the diversity of political life and has a decisive influence on the assertion of the social status of a citizen.

In the interpretation of political culture, there is a wide range of opinions and definitions. This is due to the fact that political culture itself develops as a phenomenon, sensitively reacts to changes in the realities of the modern world, its political and socio-economic processes [8, p. 443]. She is relatively often subject to change. But this does not mean its opportunism, since political culture does not depend on the ambitions of political leaders, but it is formed on the basis of economic and political interests and needs of classes, social strata, nations, that is, large social groups. With a change in priorities in social development, due to the highlighting of other social interests, the dominant political culture undergoes certain changes, which, however, do not occur quickly and automatically, since in this case deeply rooted political stereotypes are affected. The political culture of the individual is formed under the influence of the political culture of the social class and society as a whole; the person perceives the stereotypes of political thinking, orientation and behavior inherent in the social environment in which the person is. Political culture is considered as one of the components of the political sphere of the life of society, which includes together with it political institutions, the electoral system, political parties and interested political groups. Its peculiarity is that basic values are embodied in it. Political culture encompasses not so much what is happening in the world of politics as views, ideas, attitudes, thoughts about politics. The culture of functioning of political institutions is the culture of political decision-making, the culture of the electoral political process (behavior of parties, movements); culture of perception and regulation of political conflicts; the nature of the interaction between institutions (branches of government, parties); the level of ideologization of institutions; political language (a system of symbols – carriers of political meanings).

The concept of «political culture» is due to the ambiguity of the terms «culture» and «politics» from which it is derived. Enhancing the role

of culture in social and political processes requires the functioning and correlation of culture and politics. Political culture should become the most important component of cultural creation, play a leading role in building society in accordance with democratic and national principles [6, p. 327].

Let us name the main indicators of the formation of a person's political culture, which are empirically verified. The first is the political posture knowledge, since the full participation of a person in the life of society is impossible without his desire to be informed about his political rights, the political system, the management system [2, p. 14]. This indicator breaks down into other indicators: a) the level of attention to political events (studies have shown that the level of attention is higher in developed countries) b) knowledge of information and the presence of one's own opinion, for example, the ability to identify the leaders of political parties and knowledge of the essence of their programs; the higher the level of political culture, the closer the relationship between the level of awareness and the presence of one's own opinion [8 p. 445]; c) the level of competence in the field of politics. Today, a large number of Ukrainians are being manipulated and receive information uncritically. This is especially true for the older generations, whose political socialization took place in conditions of monocentrism [1, p. 13]. Therefore, the second indicator is the attitude towards the development of the state. The following points are important here: a) assessment of the activities of the authorities; b) the frequency of discussing political problems with friends, relatives, acquaintances, and the level of freedom in discussion; c) forms of political communication, that is, how much people feel their security, feel that they are free to support any political parties and forces; d) the level of national pride for the country's political system, for its successes in various fields, for the country's position in the international arena, its economic system, spiritual and religious values, contribution to science, art, etc. The third indicator is the degree of participation in the political life of society. By this indicator we mean: a) the level of political activity of the individual; b) forms of participation in political life; c) participation in public policy or in local government [4, p. 72]; d) the degree of people's belief that they are able to influence the decisions made by the elite, and the choice of methods of such influence through a political party, informal organization, legal bodies, courts, elections.

Regarding realities, in modern Ukraine there are two political cultures: the official, that is, the system of values and behavior of the ruling strata, politicians and officials, and not officially recognized, just human, which is guided by ordinary citizens who are not included in the system of power relations. The general situation with the two cultures is related to the peculiarity of the Ukrainian politicum. Ukraine differs from the democratic world, in particular, in that its political elite for the most part does not feel under the control of either the structures of civil society, or strict norms of public morality, or the prescriptions of law.

Findings. The formation of a modern political culture in Ukraine should significantly contribute to the economic, social and spiritual development of the state, its international authority. A qualitative change in political culture will lead to a change in the political behavior of citizens. The mass political consciousness in Ukraine is characterized by ambivalence of political values and political attitudes, their eclectic mixture. The absolute majority of Ukrainians do not trust political parties, but at the same time they vote for specific political parties in elections. Therefore, we note that the political culture in Ukraine is formed and develops on the basis of understanding the realities and under the influence of the activities of numerous political parties.

Contributing to the civilized development of the Ukrainian state, it is necessary to take into

account cultural traditions in the new value orientations of society. The formation of national consciousness is a necessary factor in the self-organization of the individual through the system of national values, modernization of culture and through world cultural values [3, p. 76]. Is there enough culture of functioning of power as the personification of an integral nation. Moreover, this is manifested in two aspects – both from the side of not helping the authorities «subordinate», and from the side of its implementation «by the authorities proper». The function of power is the harmonization and structuring of disparate, and sometimes mutually opposite parts of society. So, the formation of real Ukrainian power is possible only as the formation of moral power, obtained not by force, but by authority, and capable of restoring, building and generating internally national ties.

Thus, the events that are taking place in modern Ukraine, in the conditions of a hybrid warfare, have significantly influenced the political, economic, humanitarian and other processes. This, in turn, makes us think about the future of our state, where culture is the dominant source of the formation of political space both within national and globalized social boundaries. The influence of modern political culture as a special way of internal organization of social interaction on the establishment and distribution of power is acquiring qualitatively new dimensions.

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ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ТА ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ РОЗВИТКУ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА В УМОВАХ ГІБРИДНОЇ ВІЙНИ

Анотація

У статті проведено аналіз останніх досліджень і публікацій стосовно обраної теми, розглянуто поняття політичної культури, проаналізовано підходи до класифікації політичної культури, обґрунтовано стан і перспективи формування в українському суспільстві. **Актуальність теми дослідження** полягає в тому, що політична культура як явище суспільного життя містить чуттєві й теоретичні, ціннісні й нормативні, раціональні й підсвідомі уявлення громадян, які допомагають їм усвідомити й розвинути всебічні зв'язки з інститутами влади й між собою щодо участі в управлінні суспільством і державою. В умовах гібридної війни вивчення факторів впливу та особливості політичної культури сучасного українського суспільства набуває особливого значення. Події які сьогодні відбуваються в Україні, спрямовані на руйнування свідомості та суб'єктивності індивідуумів, соціуму та нації в цілому, що впливає на формування політичної культури суспільства. Для того, щоб краще розуміти специфіку неоднозначної ситуації в Україні, як політичної, так і економічної, необхідно проаналізувати особливості політичної культури сучасного українського суспільства та останні тенденції її трансформації. **Мета статті** полягає у дослідженні особливостей та тенденцій розвитку політичної культури українського суспільства в умовах гібридної війни. **Завдання дослідження:** виявити особливості сучасних уявлень про політичну культуру; визначити специфіку політичної культури українського суспільства; розглянути вплив внутрішніх і зовнішніх чинників на формування політичної свідомості в умовах гібридної війни. **Методологія** полягає в застосуванні аналітичного

та системного методів дослідження. **Науковою новизною дослідження** є виокремлення різноманітних впливів на руйнування свідомості індивідуумів та соціуму що безпосередньо впливають на формування політичної культури в умовах гібридної війни. **Перспективою подальших досліджень** є розроблення шляхів протидії гібридній війні та удосконалення механізмів за допомогою яких відбудеться об'єднання українського суспільства в єдину політичну націю.

Ключові слова: політична культура, політична свідомість, політична орієнтація, політичний процес, суспільство, соціум, гібридна війна.

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ОСОБЕННОСТИ И ТЕНДЕНЦИИ РАЗВИТИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ УКРАИНСКОГО ОБЩЕСТВА В УСЛОВИЯХ ГИБРИДНОЙ ВОЙНЫ

Аннотация

В статье поведено анализ последних исследований и публикаций относительно выбранной темы, рассмотрено понятие политической культуры, проанализированы подходы к классификации политической культуры, обосновано состояние и перспективы формирования в украинском обществе. **Актуальность темы исследования** заключается в том, что политическая культура как явление общественной жизни содержит чувствительные и теоретические, ценностные и нормативные, рациональные и подсознательные представления граждан, которые помогают им осознать и развить всесторонние связи с институтами власти и между собой относительно участия в управлении обществом и государством. В условиях гибридной войны изучение факторов влияния и особенности политической культуры современного украинского общества приобретает особое значение. События, происходящие сегодня в Украине, направленные на разрушение сознания и субъективности индивидуумов, социума и нации в целом, что влияет на формирование политической культуры общества. Для того, чтобы лучше понимать специфику неоднозначной ситуации в Украине, как политической, так и экономической, необходимо проанализировать особенности политической культуры современного украинского общества и последние тенденции ее трансформации. **Цель статьи** заключается в исследовании особенностей и тенденций развития политической культуры украинского общества в условиях гибридной войны. **Задачи исследования:** выявить особенности современных представлений о политической культуре; определить специфику политической культуры украинского общества; рассмотреть влияние внутренних и внешних факторов на формирование политического сознания в условиях гибридной войны. **Методология** заключается в применении аналитического и системного методов исследования. **Научной новизной исследования** является выделение различных воздействий на разрушение сознания индивидуумов и социума, которые непосредственно влияют на формирование политической культуры в условиях гибридной войны. **Перспективой дальнейших исследований** является разработка путей противодействия гибридной войне и усовершенствование механизмов с помощью которых произойдет объединение украинского общества в единую политическую нацию.

Ключевые слова: политическая культура, политическое сознание, политическая ориентация, политический процесс, общество, социум, гибридная война.

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