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## DIRECT DEMOCRACY AT LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL AS MECHANISM OF POLITICAL NATION-BUILDING IN UKRAINE

**Full text.** The modern Ukrainian society is becoming more politically active and more involved into the political process today. An example is the case of Oksana Makar and case of Pavlicenco family, and Sc. «Tax Maydan», and so on. The above developments have united a rather large number of citizens of Ukraine regardless of region of residence, thereby laying the preconditions for the creation of Ukrainian political nation. That is why the relevance of this article is due to amplification process of self-organization of citizens as an effective way of creating modern Ukrainian political nation.

However, these processes are still quite disintegrative and did not always receive the purpose that was expected, mainly - due to the lack of experience of the community and absence of mechanisms to protect its rights. Therefore the need of effective mechanisms of self-organization of communities that would have a system character with clearly defined methods of actions and general principles adds to the urgency of this study. In addition the creation of such mechanism makes it possible to speed up the process of political nation-building in Ukraine.

The impact of culture and other factors into the process of Ukrainian nation-building and inter-ethnic conflicts was studying by Svidzinsky A., G. Kasyanov, Dontsov, W. Lipynskyy, A. Kartunov et al. But practical mechanism of Ukrainian political nation-building is known to be almost not clear.

The purpose of this article is to propose a mechanism that would ensure political unity of all citizens of Ukraine in nation based on shared political culture.

In Ukraine there were always very serious problems with national idea and identity. First of all, this is due to the existence of different, even contradictory approaches to the understanding of the term «nation». Some local researchers accept nation as an ethnic community united by language, culture and etc. The other scientists are understanding «nation» as political body which is integrated not only by common ethnic origin or cultural component of people (although of course they take place), but by desire to create and preserve Ukrainian state.

Mobilization factor in the first model is an irrational element – the love to the homeland as a combination of certain traditions, language and culture. This model, however, has some significant flaws. First is outlined by Ukrainian researcher E. Novakova and is dealt with unconscious love to country, unselfish feelings associated with place of birth. This unconscious love, according to E. Novakova, may contribute to a large but limited deals and is not suitable for continuous efforts of the people. It can save the state in a moment of danger, but it can leave its fate in peacetime [1, 164]. Another factor is that nation seeks greater autonomy for cultural development, even independence on this basis that can often provoke increased level of conflict for states in which there are such nations. Examples are Kurds in Turkey and Syria, the Catalans in Spain, Chechens in Russia and so on.

Mobilization factor in the second model is rational component. Here people perceive the nation as residents of a certain state with established order of existence who seek to protect the state not as a sacred value, but as a set of absolutely concrete legal provisions – familiar and comfortable standard of living for its inhabitants. The main feature of this model regarding E. Novakova is that people are beginning to see the relationship between their own well-being and prosperity of the state, realize that the system of exactly this states help them to achieve well-being [1, 164]. So here is the more important factor is not of objective (the birthplace and cultural identity), but of subjective character – the desire and aspiration of the individual to life in this country

and under these conditions to improve the country of residence in order to improve his welfare.

Moreover, as A. Svidzinsky rightly notes, «it is revealed that internal will act of a person by which he defines his relation to a certain ethnic group in respect of of all objective and subjective factors is of decisive character for his ethnic selfidentity » [2]. This by the way explains the existence of such modern nations as Canadians or Americans (U.S. citizens). Their existence is an accomplished fact, and American clearly separates himself from the Englishman notwithstanding their belonging to related ethnic community.

Also A. Svidzinsky notes that the important factor of nation-building is culture as a set of specific values. Thus, to create a unified Ukrainian political nation is to create a common political culture and set of values that would be closely bound with the existence of Ukraine. In practice such a model based on the principle «American dream» was able to create an American political nation. Similar principles were applied in Switzerland – today, despite the fact that its territory inhabited by four different nations, this state is unified culturally, because it is unified by the principle of democracy.

It is possible to create the same common culture in Ukraine by the efforts of all citizens or by involving their absolute majority into the active participation in policy. So far as political nation is impossible without political participation. We can not but agree with Ukrainian political researcher, head of the Center for Political Studies A. Romaniuk, that the term «political participation» describes the practical action of citizens in political sphere and is a key component of the mechanisms of functioning of democratic system. It is of conscious character, it should be aimed at achieving certain goal or getting certain results. Political participation is also characterized by repetition over time, that is it can not be analyzed by disposable actions» [3, 44].

One can accept as interesting the position of Ukrainian researcher G. Kasyanov, who argued that the existence of the nation required a number of subjective factors, including collective solidarity, a sense of community, national consciousness, which, in our view, is easily ensured by increasing the political participation of citizens [4, 55.]. However, as it is noted in the book of American researcher Robert Dahl «Problems of civic competence», even in stable democracies «only a small group of people are seriously interested in politics (...) even fewer participate in political life» [5]. This phenomenon is, in our opinion, is explained by the absence of motivation (interest) towards active participation in politics from the public. The question arises is how to increase such interest within Ukrainian citizens. But all such attempts, and not only in Ukraine, have failed with due regard to their verticality – the state tried to encourage people by existing mechanisms, but nothing worked mainly because people did not understand the need in such participation.

The solution of this problem may be dealt with a system of direct democracy, which may be implemented at the local level by such already available institution of self-governing of citizens in Ukraine as condominiums.

It is well known that people always response only those challenges and factors that affect them directly. So it would be logically to create modern Ukrainian nation by initial creation of such system of coordinates which would force all citizens to become active on equal terms. This uniformity of conditions and ways is to create a common cultural field and, as a result, to unite finally Ukrainians into a single, well-organized community throughout the state.

It is necessary to return for ensuring this process of active nation-building by the principles of classical liberalism – to limit the state's role only by setting «rules of the game» for society, to return to the concept of «night watchman» at the local government level. Functions on the local level issues resolving must be turned over to the powers of local communities - to the level of condominiums (in villages and towns – the board streets etc.). This will ensure the principles set by Aristotle, that "the quantity of citizens should be limited for they know each other», because only such system reduces at most the possibility of corruption and abuse of power as far as everyone knows who is responsible for a this or another process and to whom one should apply in the case of problems [6].

It is spoken about the transfer of powers of local councils of deputies to the new institution of civil society - condominiums as community organizations aimed at settling various issues of local importance. Thus all «domestic» problems will be resolved not by the state organs (housing offices etc.), but institutions of civil society – «councils of buildings», «councils of districts» and so on. Local authorities and governments as pre-existing bodies of selforganization of citizens would also loose their actuality. It is proposed a system under which people themselves at the meetings of condominiums or more large organ – system of condominiums (quarter, booth, street – there may be a great number of titles) could decide how, where and who will repair a road, settle a park and so on as far as local government has not been realizing for a long time in Ukraine its functions. For example, Cherkasy City Council offers citizens to co-finance reconstruction of roads, that is actually to finance it again (firstly by the tax on local government maintenance costs and realization of its functions, secondly – as addition act) [7].

Besides that, the refusal from the local councils of deputies as a body of selfgoverning would speed up the process of approval of local community initiatives as far as intermediary in the form of a local council in implementation of the community authority is being eliminated. Because, according to Art. 9 of the Law of Ukraine «On Local Self-Government» initiative of the community is discussed additionally by the session of deputies of local councils and may be rejected [8], while due to the system of condominiums under initiative of the majority of citizens decisions are embodied into the life. Organs of state administration which duplicate today in Ukraine the functions

of local government should be also eliminated from the system of state governing from the point of view of the author, as far as the main role of the state – law making (establishing the «rules of the game») - must be done by Parliament while responsibility for their implementation relies on state supervising organs. Proposed organization of local governance will lead to simplification of the system, and thus to improve its efficiency as well as to save public funds. Also noted model realizes a task that was posed at the beginning – creation of well-formed system of self-organization of citizens which is based on common political principles and fundamentals, providing thereby a unified political culture for further active building of the Ukrainian political nation.

Proposed scheme of organization of public participation is quite simple: inhabitants of a house choose the responsible person who is entrusted to draw up a plan of development of community (as a perspective) and plan (for a quarter or haph a year) to handle certain domestic problems that occur in this community. Being drawn up the plan is submitted by chairman of the house for consideration and approval by the community. If the plan has been approved the budget of these activities is formed, and chairman takes the responsibility for full organization of the process of implementation of the approved plan. If the problem is global (for example, building of a hospital or road in the region), that is if the problem is of such character that can not be resolved by general meeting of all interested community members (according to considerable number of inhabitants ), it is held a general meeting of heads of the region who(having received a mandate and instructions from their citizens) adopt a decision which is then presented to the community.

Such system of organization is aimed at realization of several functions at once:

1) prevents at most embezzlement of finances of community so far as formation of the budget for this or another project is of transparent character and the responsibility is turned over the chairman, who is constantly among his community and is overt to it;

2) provides direct democracy – majority of condominium members approves one or another decision and thus is engaged to some extent to governing and responsibility. This is confirmed by research work of American sociologist D. McGregor – the psychological aspect of participation in governing gives individual a sence of importance and enhance his responsibility upon realization of approved decision [9];

3) stimulates the development of competition in the market of services as far as chairman would be interested in getting qualitative services at the lowest price. The growing number of companies must lead to increase of a number of working places and thus welfare.

In turn, growing of welfare must lead to apprehension by all citizens of a need of preservation of Ukraine as independent state, because just its existence provides the level of comfort, social standards, and way of the life on the whole which are of need for majority of citizens.

Another important factor for the creation of a common cultural sphere in Ukraine is establishment of a single information system. There is need also of means of information influence for active work, mobilization of citizens. These are first of all newspapers or so called agitation sheets which would present actual for one or another condominium (or their cooperatives) problems and would impact locally limited but well-defined audience. This process analyzed by A. Toffler in his book "The Third Wave" is called «demass of media» and means narrowing of the subject which is covered by mass media [10]. Scientist noted in particular that with appearance of this new fast, cheap press each organization, community, religious group could allow itself to have their own printed organ, but importance of the third wave was dealt not with press only, but with broadcasting etc [10].

In the context of creation of local, for each condominium, means of information of population such type of mass media will be of extremely high efficiency by two positions: firstly, by the urgency of the problem for each member of condominium or cooperative of condominiums, and secondly by high level trust to information sources. That is under existence of opposing viewpoints in the information sphere of the district the citizen would perceive as true information provided to him by the condominium because he was involved into the process of it obtaining. For example, in Lugansk concrete plant was closed and work of cretaceous plant was held up owing to short leaflets and meetings of communities of several condominiums [6].

The introduction of this system throughout the country will speed significantly the process of interintegration based on shared values - political and social freedom that was always inherent to Ukrainians. Ukrainian political tradition always tried to create a state that would not restrict individual freedoms and rights of citizens. And, first of all: this state should not interfere in economic affairs, because personal economic categories (property, money, etc.) are pledge of individual freedom. Under such organization the state apparatus is relatively weak, but the role of assembly of citizens as a form of direct democracy is of growing character. Such was the Veche in Kievan Rus and Cossacks meetings during Cossachchina times, and free communities in times of Nestor Makhno. By the way, it was the activity of Nestor Ivanovich Makhno and support to it among Ukrainian peasants which proved aspiration of Ukrainians to the highest degree of individual freedom, reinforced by the right for property (in this case for property for land).

Thus it must be said that the new system of self-organization will create a modern Ukrainian political nation by insuring certain requirements. Firstly, direct democracy which will create common cultural value to all citizens – political and social freedom; common mobile informational space with high level of legitimacy that will provide rapid cultural cointegration of all citizens of Ukraine. This mechanism of self-organization will provide association of citizens under horizontal (among themselves), but not vertical (by the orders "from above") principle. The latter eliminates the cause which hindered political nation-building in Ukraine during the period of its existence.

As M. Dragomanov mentioned, political nation «can't be where administrative measures are taken to provide preference to whatever sign of ethnographic nation, that is where the concept of the state is mixed with the concept of the nation, and where there are no conditions for the formation of political nationality. These are conditions when the state unity is being weakened by the measures aimed to strengthen and to create this unity» [4].

Secondly, this model of self-organization provides a strict structure of community, its mutual responsibility, political activity and initiative which are the main features of its consolidation and efficiency. Thirdly, proposed mechanism is to create a system of public order, including at local government level, which will provide maximum growing of welfare of citizens and thus will provide their interest in existence of independent Ukraine.

**Key words:** *political nation, self-organization, condominiums, local government, direct democracy.*

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