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## **ACTIVISM: TERMS OF ORIGIN OF PUBLIC MOTIONS**

*In the article it is represented the analysis of the conditions of appearance of social movements, individual and group activity. The focus of the article is on the conceptual approaches that has been formed in social psychology and are actively used by the political science. It is considered that the selection of the mean of explanation of the nature and mechanisms of social action that appeared by the influence of cultural, social, structural, mental-psychological factors is a high-powered element through the research of the socio-political activism.*

Interest to the study of revolutionary processes arose up at the end of XIX c. in social psychology which gave birth in a that period at the active co-operating with sociology and political science. In XX c. political and social psychology investigate new reasons for activism, influence of social structure on the dynamics of public motions, interdependence between communication and socio-political space «new citizens operate in which».

An important element in research of socio-political activity and public tension is a choice of explanation of essence and mechanisms of its origin facilities. Coming from the complex understanding of the phenomenon of socio-political activism, as the system phenomenon, which not only characterizes socio-political processes but also has psychological character, in this article research of approaches comes forward a purpose from the different areas of knowledge for the analysis of socio-political tension.

The level of social activity of citizens depends on the row of factors: from correlation of social development with the rhythms of update of tradition from the side of progressive innovations; from inconsistency between social values and possibilities of their achievement; from unrealizable social expectations; from a status and structural vagueness in society, which are accompanied social dissatisfaction.

Social history of humanity is the endless change of ideas, values, tastes, priorities. According to the American socially anthropologist Melvila Kherskovitsa, «small deformations change character and forms of vital functions of people» slowly, stipulating the process of social-cultural changes [9, c. 578]. M Kherskovich considered, that a culture is a way of life of people, while society – it the organized mechanism in which individuals will realize certain way of life. Consequently society consists of people, and

way of life, which they elect, – is a culture. Cultural experience of society provides terms for social motions, прискорює or slows their activity.

Every cultural flow appears and develops under act of many factors of generate social transformations which becomes the product of active actions of individuals. At the same time, social motions can be instrumental in the origin of cultural flows. Social motions which coincided with direction of development of cultural flows have considerable terms for success, unlike motions which develop despite cultural flows. The last had a tendency to disorganization of public relations.

Society that changes, can not create steel and the guided models of conduct for the members which losing cultural basis and social statuses simultaneously lose and balance between social values and possibilities of their achievement. This idea which was formulated by the American sociologist Robert Merton is known as a «paradigm of Mertona».

The «Merton's paradigm» interprets the deviant conduct as special form of adaptation to the new social terms. During destruction of the system of moral values, when contradiction is between the norms-values of culture and by possibilities their achievements, conditioned the existent institutes of power and management, an individual feels alienation from society. Therefore on the first plans selfish necessities go out in his activity. Merton describes the origin of such types of девіантної conduct, as: conformism, ритуалізм, innovation and супротив [3]. The members of such societies feel estrangement to the public agents, unforeseen situation and danger from the side of its actions, futility of own efforts, absence of social and psychological support, from the side of public institutes.

Arising up on this background social deviations, the complex of senses and reasons scientists examine as a variety of аномії, under which any violation is understood valued-normative systems of society. Consider Emilya Dyurgeyma the author of conception of anemia. He considered that in the period of public rest and stability a social order is based on the traditional hierarchy of social and moral norms, on the so-called «ordinary order», which is just and legitimate due to the protracted existence in time and space, on the stereotypes of consciousness and conduct, on social traditions and domestic authorities and domestic copulas.

Consequently, authority of traditions is stipulated by stability of society and collective. In stable periods a law for a man is not pressure of environment, but choice of collective consciousness, ratified a public consent. By virtue of it, after opinion of Dyurkgeyma, – «society presents the system, which is formed due to the association of individuals and presents reality, provided with the special properties» [2, c. 493]. Society is here presented as an objective structure, which programs the acts of people through social institute, norms and rules of conduct.

Flash of protest community spirits, growth of social activism is the reflection of process of loss of feeling of solidarity into society. Dyurkgeym asserted that the level of solidarity (unanimity, feeling of general tasks) is determined by character and intensity of social processes. In absence of solidarity, founder of sociology, sees the source of most negative public displays.

Veritable solidarity – organic, when exist a condition for harmony between consciousness of person and society, when a person keeps own space for development and does not meet with society. Conception of organic solidarity of Dyurkgeyma foresaw creation of the so-called «just inequality» which must prevent social аномії, to provide constancy of the co-ordinated actions, confession of traditional hierarchies, in a middle society. Consequently, a loss of stability, feeling of rest, is in society, but not desire of primitive equality – is a condition for activism of social motions.

The «theory of alienation stands next to conception of аномії». A concept «alienation» includes such senses of disorganizing man, as helplessness, absence of clear орієнтирів, an isolation is the complete emotional dissociating an individual from society.

Alienation which accompanies аномію is the extreme stage of public disorganization. Feeling of inaccessibility of aims, futility of ordinary actions, results in disconnected of people, serve as an ideal environment for an origin and development of social motions. Thus, the vagueness of norms and aims is more frequent caused by social motions, than poverty. People remain emotionally proof and sure in the future, without regard to the financial state, if their system of values determines it as induces the «normal» terms of existence and only violation of «norm» to social activity. On the example of events in Ukraine we saw that corruption, social inequality and social injustice, not always result in the origin of protest motions. The frames of society remain stable not because of total poverty of majority of population while the members of society arrive at the expected purpose. People get used to privations and patiently carry them, if consider them inevitable, a man is capable in any social to find the systems positives, if the system is inwardly stable and predictable. But as soon as a hope appears on an improvement, these privations, perceived as unendurable. That, become reason of revolutionary events not degree of economic necessity and political burden, in itself, but them psychological perception. Such situation, after A. Tokvil, name «revolution of growings expectations» [4]. Consequently, revolutions take place when a hope is on the improvement of terms of life, when expectation and hopes grow outruns the real possibilities.

Revolutionary activity, protest appearances of activists are most reliable then, when a break is created between the increase of necessities and possibilities for their realization. Such position is generated by feeling of social dissatisfaction by the terms of life, system of social relations, distributing of imperious plenary powers, existent long-term social strategies. Theory of «relative dissatisfaction», or «relative депривації» grounded the English social psychologist Semyuel Stauferr. In future it developed in labours Metrona and In. Ruinsaymena. Concordantly to it, people feel a break between that they have and that they were in a position to have [10, н. 207]. The size of break between the expected result and realization stipulates feet of social dissatisfaction. Consequently, social dissatisfaction can cause social activity as among social «bottoms», so è among провладних oligarchic «tops».

Conception of «relative deprivation» in combination with the ideas of social justice presented in labour V. Ruinsaymena. Inequality of the clustered access to the social blessings and political possibilities results in the origin of group activity. Task forces, as well as individuals are able to compare the position to the socio-political terms of other groups. If comparison is carried by negative character is can provoke the displays of active collective dissatisfaction, that is basis of origin and development of socio-political activity. If power can not influence on a crisis situation, then political mobilization spreads on all layers of society, instrumental in forming of political positions in a middle all task forces. In opinion of Ralph Darendorfa, «who is able to manage with conflicts by their confession, that takes the rhythm of history under control. Who упустиць this possibility, gets a rhythm to itself in opponents». From his point of view, social conflict – is the result of counteraction the existing in society relations of domination and submission. Suppression of conflict conduces to his sharpening, and «rational adjusting» – to the «controlled evolution» [1]. Consequently, strengthening of депривації provokes aggressive reactions on фрустрацію which arises up at blocking of purposeful conduct of group. An aggressive reaction on фрустрацію will be realized in counteraction the sources of disappointments, thus not important, whether culprits of the state of businesses are the real or thought of

Near to this explanation of social contradictions is a theory of «base human necessities». In labours of A. Bertona, A. Arara is marked, that exactly impossibility of satisfaction of basic necessities results in violence, social shocks and political conflicts. «Aspiring to satisfaction of base necessities insuperably, them it is possible or temporally to strangle, or destroy together with their subjects-transmitters»[7, с. 145-146].

Dzh. Berton considers that the most essential sources of conflicts in society are social institutes with support on the existent system of power

and norm of ruling elite. Break between social expectations in relation to satisfaction of base necessities and actual degree of satisfaction of this necessities within the framework of the existent political system characterizes legitimacy of power regardless of laws in force and legal system. If task forces can not satisfy the basic necessities through legal norms and institutes, then they will aspire to their satisfaction outside the institutes [7, c. 150] of Decision of conflicts in obedience to this approach, it must be directed on the institutional and system changing, perfections of political structures, for adequate satisfaction of basic necessities, but not on changing of group conduct.

The system of socio-political institutes, as reason of social destruction and origin of social motions, appeared in the theory of «structural violence». This theory goes out from that organization of society can create the conflict terms of intergroup co-operation. By structural violence the Norwegian sociologist, Yokhan Gal'tung names that situations in which individuals самореалізуються below own potential possibilities in a physical and spiritual plan. In this case, options and presentations, which are contained in a culture, does not allow people to notice the phenomenon of structural violence and even justify such position [8].

The theory of structural violence explains reasons of socio-political collisions the structural terms of modern society. And. Gal'tung examines the structures of social inequality as unfair, as they do not provide the representative office of interests of the masses. Social structures can both integrate and contrast task forces, породжуючи between them active opposing.

Unlike «direct» violence, the «structural» is characterized static and stability, as socio-political structures are not added rapid transformations. Yes, the overthrow of managing power as a result of political protests with application of direct violence can displace political leaders and their surroundings, but not structures. A new elite takes seat immediately, which was freed, places of political influence and will be instrumental in the recreation of structure. Even if a structure was destroyed, it can appear again through the formed practices in society. Yokhan Gal'tung marks that decision of structural conflicts possibly through the systematic change of co-operations in the structures of society, directed minimization of інституціоналізованої injustice.

At the same time, political institutes, development of which did not attain completions, not capable to give legitimate mean for structural presentation by the political system of interests of the mobilized groups. In this case there is escalation of socio-political tension, activation of violent actions [5].

The American researcher of social activity Jean Stokdeyl selected structural pre-conditions of origin of social motions: a structural blockade is barriers in a social structure, which are instrumental in the origin of social dissatisfaction; regularity of contacts is between the dissatisfied individuals and groups; a confidence is in that collective actions can weaken social dissatisfaction and improve the terms of life; presence of ideology, which explains effectiveness of collective actions in social motions.

Structural pre-conditions, as a factor of mobilization closely related to the ideas of purposeful actions, which induces people to social mobilization, to the active actions. Yes, on the rational calculation of leaders of mobilization of group resources there is the built theory of «resource mobilization», which links the process of modernization and dynamics of socio-political changes, processes of forming of solidarity in society on the basis of general signs (етичність, religion, social)[ status.). The problems of collective mobilization and forming of soil for social motions are presented in labours V. Gamsona, Tilly but other Latent dissatisfaction of certain groups by political technology is translated in an active phase. Collective mobilization will be realized at mediation of socio-political motions in which a major role is played by organization. The activists of public motion are perceived as actors which operate on the basis of own aspirations and resources.

To the factors, which activate the action of structural pre-conditions, take the indexes of degree of mobility and маргінальності of society. Mobility is weakened by social control, deprives emotional connection with a group. Break individual as a result of him social mobility with former social surroundings and impossibility to be integrated in new surroundings result in the association of such people in social motions. Their активізм has for a purpose to purchase social and emotional support, improve the terms of existence in an advantageous on your own side. Migrants aim to change «new» surroundings in its own behalf, ignoring with a culture and traditions of new group or society. They examine social motion as element of emotional refuge. Persons and groups, what isolated from society, more feel like mass motions than that groups statuses, roles and activity of which computer-integrated in society.

Similar attitude toward social activity is characteristic for маргіналів, what disturbed inferior status in each of groups which it is potentially belonged to. Conception of маргінальності, which was developed American a sociologist Robert Parkom, is used for the analysis of difficult public processes. «marginal persons» on determination of Thomas Shibutani, link different social spaces, not included fully in none of them [6]. Marginal'niy status pushes slightly people to the receipt of radical, extreme

statuses: oppositionness to society, or hyperpatriotism, religious fanaticism or bellicose atheism. It is explained an attempt in spite of everything, to adapt in an environment. A маргінальна situation is always exceptionally tense, and realized extremely ambiguously.

Consequently, understanding of development of socio-political looks and theories on the sources of contradictions in society, gives possibility to draw conclusion about the factors of forming of socio-political tension in society and in separate regions in particular. The synthesis of different conceptual approaches allows to compare psychological, structurally functional and system going near understanding of essence and sources of socio-political tension, which are justified for practical research of factors which influence on the level of socio-political activity.

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*У статті представлений аналіз умов виникнення соціальних рухів, індивідуальної та групової активності. Зроблений акцент на концептуальні підходи, які склалися в соціальній психології і активно використовуються політичної наукою. Наголошується, що впливовим елементом у дослідженні соціально-політичного активізму є вибір засобу пояснення природи і механізмів соціальної дії, яка виникає під впливом культурних, соціальних, структурних, ментально-психологічних чинників.*



*В статтє представлен анализ условий возникновения социальных движений, индивидуальной и групповой активности. Сделан акцент на концептуальные подходы, которые сложились в социальной психологии и активно используются политической наукой. Отмечается, что влиятельным элементом в исследовании социально-политического активизма является выбор средства объяснения природы и механизмов социального действия, которое возникает под влиянием культурных, социальных, структурных, ментально-психологических факторов.*

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## **ОСНОВНІ ПОЛІТОЛОГІЧНІ ТЕОРІЇ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ФЕНОМЕНУ «РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ»**

*В статті проаналізовано основні політологічні теорії феномену «революція». Розглянуто загальну класифікацію теорій революції. Вирізнено характерні риси, слабкі та сильні сторони досліджуваних теорій.*

Одним із найважливіших напрямків сучасної політичної науки є вивчення причин, механізмів та результатів суспільних, у тому числі й політичних трансформацій – переходів політичного і загалом суспільного ладу з одного якісного стану в інший. Дослідження революцій в даному аспекті є актуальним політологічним дослідженням, викликаним до появи потребами сучасної політичної науки та практики.

Революція як політичний феномен в межах політичної теорії на сучасному етапі перебуває в якості найбільш актуальних. Серед зарубіжних вчених найбільшої уваги заслуговують роботи Дж. Девіса, Т. Роберта Гарра, Г. Екштейна, Н. Смелзера, С. Хантингтона, Ч. Тіллі, Т. Скокпол та інших. Такі українські автори, як О. Долженков, А. Колодій, А. Магун, Ю. Мацієвський, М. Мілова, Володимир та Віктор Мейтуси, Г. Музиченко, С. Наумкіна, С. Ростецька, В. Якушик, Л. Ярова та інші чимало уваги приділили цій проблематиці. Корисними в даному аспекті є й роботи російських політологів, зокрема С. Кара-Мурзи, В. А. Мау, І. В. Стародубровської. Виникають нові терміни та визначення революції, змінюються завдання та цілі останніх, що вимагає наукової рефлексії в даній площині й викликало необхідність проведення даного політологічного дослідження.