TREND OF SELF-ORGANIZATION OF THE POPULATION IN CONDITIONS OF CONFLICTOGENIC TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE WORLD POLITICAL SYSTEM: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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Abstract: The article analyzes the features of the transformation of the world political system in the context of globalization. The role of the nation-state is weakening, the influence of international organizations is growing, the growing of number and strengthening of the role of national and supranational non-governmental organizations in world politics is growing, and a new political culture is emerging which is characterized by dissemination and adoption of common world values and interests. One of the trends in the transformation of the world political system is the strengthening of forms of self-organization of the population, the strengthening of civil society institutions. This trend is related to the democratic modernization of the Western model and is characteristic of sustainable democracies and states where democratic transit takes place, transitional political systems exist. There is a counter-trend of counter- or anti-modernization, mainly in Russia, China, North Korea, some countries where Islam is the dominant religion, and Latin American countries, etc. This is a factor in the emergence of domestic social conflicts and the aggravation of the military-political situation in the system of international relations. Therefore, emphasis is placed on strengthening the role of information technology in the political life of society. It is pointed out that among the important consequences of virtualization in public activity, there is the transition to e-democracy. Still, this trend has a downside – infodemia as a phenomenon of the information epidemic that swept the world during the COVID-19 pandemic and became a challenge for governments worldwide.

Keywords: Antimodernization, Civil society, Countermodernization, Forms of self-organization of the population, Globalization, Infodemia, Information technology, Political modernization, Transformation of the political system.

1 Introduction

Today, with the intensification of globalization and regionalization, the world political system is being transformed, which is caused by the growing role of interethnic and supranational associations and the diminishing role of the nation state. Some researchers believe that global actors (by which we mean transnational organizations, other global economic entities, global culture, or various ideologies of globalization) are becoming so strong that the continued existence of individual nation-states is being questioned. These are manifestation of political globalization.

Various aspects of the transformation of political systems and socio-political aspects of globalization were considered in the works of R. Dalton, P. Norris, P. Anlah, M. Schlechter, A. Utkin, J. Scholte, T. Lowe, E. Bowman, and R. Darendorf. Studies of the latter, together with the work of L. Coser, represent the conflictological paradigm of this study. As for the process of democratic modernization, its contradictory nature is reflected in the works of S. Huntington, A. Touraine, and R. Inglehart. Also, in the study of self-organization of the population and the corresponding social transformations one should mention such scientists as Y. Savelyev, J. Alexander, M. Lamon.

2 Materials and Methods

The following scientific methods are used in the work: systemic, logical-dialectical, comparative, structural-functional, synergistic formalization, generalization. In particular, systemic, structural-functional, comparative methods became the basic basis of the study and made it possible, in particular: to clarify the features of conflict-generating transformation of the political system and the role of self-organization of the population in contradictory processes of modernization, counter-and anti-modernization; specify the terms and concepts used in the study. The synergetic method allowed studying the phenomenon of the functioning of society as a self-organizing process, which is characterized by the emergence of new social structures and practices. Generalization method was used to generalize the processed materials in order to formulate conclusions and recommendations based on the results of the study.

3 Results

The parameters of political globalization are determined by the crisis of the potential of individual states, the emergence of problems of planetary scale, the emergence of a new political culture. There is an unprecedented increase in the number of international organizations, an increase in the number and strength of multinational corporations, national and international NGOs in the world politics.

At the same time, one of the trends in the transformation of the world political system is the strengthening of forms of self-organization of the population, strengthening the institutions of civil society. It should be noted that a special role in the globalization process is played by non-governmental international organizations, which, as forms of self-organization of citizens, along with many different organizations of national and local levels, which have become widespread in almost all countries, act as conductors of "bottom-up globalization" [3].

The possibility of growing public initiative is largely due to the spread of means of communication and transmission of information. A significant, if not the main, role is played by the Internet, due to which the boundaries of space and time have ceased to be an obstacle to communication and the formation of communities of different nature and scale, plus, population mobility increased. Under such conditions, state borders are increasingly losing their former significance. Technological progress and, above all, unprecedented breakthroughs in communications, are turning interstate borders into something rather ephemeral. The consequence of such changes in globalization is the transformation of traditional forms of social organization, resulting in changes also of the role of the institution of the state.

In particular, the political life of a society of conventional status, as defined by modern society M. Waters, is characterized by declining popularity of parties, declining confidence in them and their leaders, reluctance to 'join their banners' [16]. Citizens of all countries are less and less involved in political life every year. Thus, in 2014, elections to the European Parliament were held with the participation of 30% of voters, and in 2013 only ⅕ part of New Yorkers came to vote for the new mayor. On average, the share of voters in the 34 countries that are members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is approaching 68% [4]. The mayoral and local council elections in Ukraine in 2020 also showed a very low turnout. It is worth noting that the elderly are more active in the elections than young people. If we take into account the participation of the richest people (for example, 1/5 of the population) in the elections and the poorest (also 1/5 of the population), it is obvious that the former are 13% more active.

Of course, all this has certain consequences. According to R. Darendorf, "parties lost first their regular voters, then all voters in general. As early as the middle of the 20th century, more than 90% of voters in many countries voted for one of two clearly identifiable camps; half a century later, 70% of them, but their votes can never be a reliable basis for the parties. The number of members in large parties is decreasing. At the same time, the number of voters who have changed their political orientation is constantly growing. Even in the former stronghold, the majority changes its position. Part of this process is the fact that party programs are almost indistinguishable. Everyone is looking for a "third way", which becomes the more vague, the less noticeable, than the other two ways that should define it" [6].

Thus, the commonality of political, state, and power functions in the context of globalization is increasingly standardized, based on the idea of Eurocentrism, and, at the same time, the role of non-standard, hybrid manifestations in modern politics is changing. These tendentious changes affect not only the vector of policy focus, but also the direction of government and the state. There is a global trend of individualization in the political space. Recent research confirms Inglehart's conclusions about the establishment of a "postmaterial" political culture in Europe, and that its characteristic features are as follows: a decline in citizens' respect for power and political authority; strengthening political participation; transition from participation through political parties to autonomous entities, as well as a tendency to non-conventional (not sanctioned by the authorities) forms of political activity; strengthening the desire of individuals for self-expression, including during elections; gradual loss of a class nature by political conflicts and focusing conflicts around issues of culture and quality of life.

In recent decades, as noted by R. Inglehart, there have been two multipolar trends: the first – reducing the role of those forms of citizen participation in society that are guided or controlled by existing elites (membership in political parties, participation in elections), the second trend – increasing role of their individually motivated form of participation in society, which, in fact, is a kind of "challenge to the elites" [8].

This view is shared by P. Norris, who notes the declining popularity of traditional forms of citizen participation in the socio-political life of Western countries and the growing popularity of a variety of alternative channels of socio-political interaction of civil society, which indicates rather "evolution, transformation and restructuring than to its untimely death" [11, p. 4].

Thus, politics is affected by globalization changes and becomes more individualized. It is as a result of globalization that the connection of the individual with the social and political spheres of life is weakened, from which there is no proposal (as it was before) to adopt a clear, defined system of norms, values, behavioral rules. In the context of globalization, this process is accelerating and creating favorable conditions for expanding the network of social ties and increasing personal responsibility.

J. Alexander also wrote about the increase of personal responsibility and inclusion of a person in social work in the well-known work "Civic Sphere". The civic sphere in developed countries is actively expanding and forming both its own space and a new civic identity, which is becoming more important than personal [1]. An important indicator of the development of civil society is, in his opinion, social inclusion, which is "the dimension of successful societies". This dimension, according to Yu. Saveliev, determines the level of social quality, because "without increasing the social inclusion, societies cannot reach a higher level of development [12]. Thus, inclusiveness is one of the obligatory and necessary characteristics of a modern "successful society", i.e., one that creates the conditions for social recognition of different social groups.

Despite the fact that the level of participation of citizens of different countries in political life is decreasing every year, according to researchers, in the next 15-20 years the public will influence political life more actively. The reasons for this phenomenon, in addition to the shift in values towards the post-materialization and development of civil society, increasing inclusion, are, in particular, in the reduction in the number of poor citizens, given the growing percentage of middle class on the planet. Political activity will take the form of civic activity, declarations and manifestations of civic position, responsibility. Strengthening the self-organization of citizens contributes to the development of civil society.

4 Discussion

In addition to the development of social inclusion, another aspect of modern civil society is the society of 'couch potatoes' (homebodies), TV viewers who spend their free time on the couch, chewing potato chips and watching on screen events in a world in which they no longer participate, and soon they will not even be able to do so [4]. This newly formed global stratum is the embodiment of hopes for easy money; the loss not only of these hopes but also of participation in democratic processes contributes to the emergence of hidden explosive hostility. Thus, J. Scholte emphasizes: "… partly as a consequence of the policy of globalization around the world, there has been an increase in consumption and a departure from the high standards of social protection provided by the state. As a result, increasing spatial segregation, divorce and alienation are becoming an integral part of globalization. This is most evident in the growing disruption of ties between increasingly globalized, extraterritorial elites and the rest of the population, whose "localization" is constantly deepening" [13].

The existence of a large layer of couch potatoes leads to the fact that populism is gaining momentum, which has long been spreading the planet, bringing to power people not only far from politics, but also elementary incompetent in state construction and frankly uneducated, but favorites of the masses – showmen, actors, sports and show business stars, etc.

However, the most powerful influence on the formation of civil society practices is made by the virtualization of civic activity. Today, it creates the latest forms of communication and social organization – groups of social networks, blogosphere, etc., which expands the opportunities for civil society to influence and, if necessary, put pressure on the government through innovative tools of technological and organizational influence.

In addition, one of the driving forces of virtualization is the availability of information, which at the same time, is enabling carrying out control. The activities of members of the public are probably one of the most important methods of deterring global power, which is not controlled in principle. It is possible to monitor it constantly; the establishment of Transparency International is a clear example of this, as it is possible to identify corruption and fraud in international practice on an ongoing basis.

Information technologies, which have been developing recently, help to give every inhabitant of the planet the opportunity to express themselves. Thanks to social networks, calls to act are spreading in real time among all users of the World Wide Web, and the broadcast of videos of protests via smartphones deters the authorities from directly using violent methods.

Network democracy is also characterized by the existence of "virtual communities" – groups of people who discuss certain issues, make decisions not only in the national interest. A variety of innovative experience of civic participation is Networked Government, the main characteristics of which are the tendency to make innovative decisions and quickly establish new contacts; implementation of selective choice of network participants; strategic thinking and flexibility.

However, it should be noted that the organizational structure of public political networks is poorly understood. This is due to their self-organization and significant fragmentation as an entity. When we talk about governance, we usually mean political networks that are directly related to political activities and the provision of services, where the key role belongs to the government. If the government fails to study the origins of a particular political network and identify the main characters, the policy implementation process may fail.

The trend of virtualization and development of the global information society, in addition to positive connotations, poses challenges to ensure the security of society and the state. Thus, together with the COVID-19 pandemic, the world was hit by an infodemia – an information epidemic characterized by the rapid spread of inaccurate and/or false (manipulative) information about the COVID-19 pandemic through the media, social networks and the Internet in the form of conspiracy theories, rumors, misinformation, opinions of pseudo-experts on coronavirus. The reason for its appearance is the insufficient

level of collective information immunity (critical thinking) and media literacy of the population. The term "infodemia" was first used by WHO Director-General Tedros Adan Gebreisus at the Munich Security Conference in February 2020.

During the infodemia, from 2019, thanks to the development of information technology and the existence of a global information space, fakes about the coronavirus spread as fast as Covid-19 itself. Misinformation about the virus has already harmed the health and lives of citizens around the world, affected their social security.

To counter the infodemia, fact checkers from 99 organizations in 77 countries have joined the #CoronaVirusFacts Alliance, the largest joint fact-checking project to date. The Paris Peace Forum noted the initiative as a resource for combating misinformation. Analyzing fakes from this resource, we see that the same false theses are spreading in different countries. For example, a fake about breath hold for 10 seconds to check for COVID-19 has been reported in more than 20 countries [17]. The #CoronaVirusFacts Alliance initiative cooperates with the largest social networking platforms – Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, disseminating factual information about the coronavirus. This cooperation helps to convey the facts to those who do not find them on their own or do not look for them in reliable sources.

In Ukraine, the movement of public initiatives to combat infodemia has also become widespread. Among the most well-known volunteer projects, non-governmental and non-profit public organizations on fact-checking and information hygiene are "VoxCheck/VoxUkraine", "StopFake", "Texty.org.ua", "Media Detector", "On the other side of the news", "Maidan Monitoring Information Center", "How not to become a vegetable", and others.

Such self-help information groups work in local communities to overcome the effects of aggressive advocacy and help reduce anxiety, aggression, and insecurity. They combine educational work to facilitate understanding the impact of information on human behavior and support their membership in overcoming the negative effects of infodemia.

The process of democratic modernization on the Western model, which is associated with the trend of self-organization of the population, is not always organic for different societies, culturally, politically, religiously different from Western communities with their historically established institutions of democracy. A. Turen at one time singled out the phenomena of countermodernization (modernization not according to the Western model) and antimodernization (counteraction to modernization). Examples of countermodernization are both Stalinist industrialization and reforms in China, where technological development and the introduction of elements of market economies are combined with traditional culture and authoritarian communist political regime. As for anti-modernization, it is based on traditionalism, preservation of endogenous cultural values, complete or partial rejection of the Western technological and capitalist model of the economy-which is typical of a number of states and social communities where Islam is the dominant religion. The globalization trend of modernization and alternative counter-trends are based on different values, historically formed opposite approaches to the implementation of public policy, the level and forms of participation of various groups in the formation and functioning of the political system.

Thus, S. Huntington believes that for successful democratic modernization, in addition to the appropriate level of economic development, the appropriate social structure, external environment, and cultural context are necessary. As for the social structure, it must have a certain level of social differentiation and include social groups that can ensure public control over state power, contribute to the establishment of democracy. The external environment is the purposeful promotion of democratization by Western states. The cultural context is the most complex, as religion plays an important role

in it. Huntington believed that Protestantism was most conducive to democracy, but Islam, with its non-separation of politics and religion and negative attitude towards alternative forms of political participation and political inclusion, did not promote democratization [7]. As the experience of successful and unsuccessful attempts at democratization shows, all the conditions for successful democratic modernization are not always present.

Attempts by Western states to spread "universal" democratic values resulted is a poly-conflict situation both in the system of international relations and in individual states. In the first case, conflicts take place in the context of confrontation between democratic and totalitarian or authoritarian regimes of the "axis of evil", and in the second – in the form of a struggle for civil rights and freedoms within the state. The spread of democratic values often takes the form of military intervention, which, in turn, increases the threat of terrorism. Today, some of the greatest threats to international security are the escalation of the confrontation between the United States and China, the clash between authoritarian Russia and the collective West, radical anti-modernization through terrorism, the overthrow of pro-Western regimes and attempts to form states by terrorist organizations (for example, ISIS).

The domestic political situation in democracies also has a high degree of conflict. A. Touraine, considering his contemporary transformation of social conflicts, notes: "It is not in the name of the citizen or the worker that a great struggle can be waged to protect their demands against the apparatus of domination, which increasingly governs the whole of society in order to guide it along a certain path of development. It can be conducted today in the name of groups defined more by their existence than by their activities" [14]. In other words, the opposition, protest force in modern conditions is formed rather in contrast to the existing social, political order and may include different segments of the population and social groups with different age, professional, educational, gender, ethnic characteristics. This took place during two popular uprisings in Ukraine both in 2004 and in 2013-2014 ("Orange Revolution" and "Revolution of Dignity", respectively).

In general, a poly-conflict situation is typical of democratic societies. Democratic societies and states are more resistant to adverse internal and external factors, have a higher degree of adaptation to living conditions. Researchers explained this by the existence of mechanisms of self-organization of society, among which a key role is played by institutionalized conflicts, in the process of which existing social contradictions are resolved in a non-violent way. An intragroup association under external threat from another group also has a positive function [5].

In authoritarian and totalitarian states, existing social contradictions are usually suppressed, creating the illusion of stability. However, with the change of internal and external conditions, the previously accumulated contradictions can take the form of violent conflicts that destroy the political system. Self-organization of the population can be not only peaceful but also violent. On the one hand, it provides additional opportunities for democratic modernization, and on the other hand, it is associated with the threat to human life and health and the high risk of long-term zones of military and political instability with all their negative consequences for individual states and the world community as a whole.

5 Conclusion

All the considered tendencies and phenomena demonstrate the change of the political system of the world, the formation of its new paradigm, and a characteristic feature of this scenario is the conclusion that can be made on the basis of the above: there are again the processes of unification and integration of the world unfolding. But globalization not only makes the world more united and cohesive, but also fills it with new contradictions.

Unification of political and legal institutions is accompanied by a parallel increase in the number of new structures, due to the

objective need to regulate qualitatively new relations, for which previously established structures, principles, and objectives of their operation have become largely contradictory.

Along with the development of civil society institutions and participatory democracy, there is a large stratum of couch potatoes (homebodies), and this leads to the growing momentum of populism, which has long spread the planet leading to power persons not only far from politics but also elementary not competent in the state of construction and frankly uneducated, but who are the favorites of the masses – showmen, actors, stars of sports and show business, and so on. As history shows, political populism often contributes to the establishment of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, the overthrow of which is difficult and can take violent forms, if at all in the long run.

The trend of virtualization and development of the global information society, in addition to positive connotations, poses challenges to ensure the security of society and the state. An example is the infodemia in the context of the modern coronavirus pandemic, which becomes a challenge for public authorities, a test of the effectiveness of strategic communications between government and citizens, and in some cases a threat to social stability and security.

Increasing the role of self-organization of the population in democratic transition states is not typical for a number of societies with too different from Western models culture, social structure, economic systems, where there is counter-modernization or even anti-modernization. Attempts to forcibly democratize them often lead to domestic and international conflicts, resulting in an increased threat of terrorism.

The above presupposes the need for search for new forms of responding to the challenges of the globalized world, on which the form of the future existence of the world political system depends.

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