SOCIAL NETWORKS AS A FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN UKRAINE

Andrii Kutsyk

University of Gdansk,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
Department of Political Sciences,
Jana Bażyńskiego 4, Gdańsk, 80-309, Poland
andriy.na@ukr.net

&

Viktoria Golovei

Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University,
Department of Cultural Studies,
Voly av.13, Lutsk, 43025, Ukraine
V_golovey@ukr.net

Abstract

The article examines the role and importance of social networks in the process of the formation of civil society in Ukraine. There is a parallel with the events of the "Arab Spring", in which social media has been an important factor in political processes. It shows how social networks, including Facebook, were actively used to organize people during the Ukrainian "Revolution of Dignity". Positive and negative factors of influence of social networks on the political life after the revolutionary events are analyzed, the role of facebook and instagram in the 2019 presidential election campaign and in the subsequent domestic political life are highlighted. In addition to various socio-cultural and communication functions, social networks have become a catalyst for political change, a platform for active civic engagement. There is a significant level of influence of social networks on the course of political processes, which was manifested in the active promotion of new practices of public participation, consolidation and self-organization of Ukrainian civil society. It is substantiated that in the context of democratic media policy, the role of social networks as an important factor in the development of civil society will increase.

Key words: *social networks, civil society, political processes, Revolution of Dignity, Presidential election of Ukraine, media policy*

INTRODUCTION

Today, in the context of civil society development in Ukraine, its democratization and the emergence of a new type of political culture, the internet and, in particular, social media are an integral part of this process. Social networks have become a powerful tool that controls the actions of the authorities and enables the mobilization of people in case of violation of the national elite of the country's political interests [Tökölyová, Dêd 2019: 17-19].

Great distrust of the usual media, such as television, radio, newspapers, has made it possible for social networks to become a widespread medium between readers/viewers and sources of information, narrowing to some extent the field of customized information policy in traditional media. For the first time, we started talking about the interconnection and interplay of social media and civil society during the events of late 2010 in the Arab countries, dubbed the "Arab Spring". In these states, protests have been initiated and coordinated through the social networks Facebook and Twitter. A certain phenomenon in the development of European civil society was the circumstances in Ukraine in 2013, called the "Euromaidan" or the "Revolution of Dignity".

The events in Ukraine logically continued the trends that have emerged in the Arab countries, when social networks became the driving force for changes in the political order in the country and its geopolitical course. In this situation, a very important component was the absolute freedom to use the Internet and the number of users of social networks in Ukraine. Thus, according to "We Are Social" and "Hootsuite" agencies, there are about 40 million Internet users in Ukraine, 17 million of which are social network users, including 13 million are Facebook users [We Are Social 2019].

The trend of increasing influence of social media on socio-political processes was clearly manifested during the 2019 presidential campaign in Ukraine, when popular Ukrainian actor and comedian V. Zelensky, who ran for President of Ukraine, made the most of social networks to win elections. In fact, his entire election campaign unfolded on social media in an interactive format – from the election announcement, the writing of a joint voter presidential candidate program, the formulation of election slogans, to the announcement of election results; all this Ukrainian citizens for the first time could hear and observe on its official pages-profiles in Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, and only then on television, radio and newspapers.The rapid and widespread increase in the impact of social networks on political processes, forms of social communication and civic engagement of the general population determines the importance and relevance of research into these issues. It should also be noted that the events explored in this article (namely, "Revolution of Dignity", President election 2019 etc.) are recent in nature and have not yet been fully scrutinized by scholars, although there is a scientific and public demand for their research.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review of this document is based on the work of well-known media theorists, political philosophers, sociologists, political scientists to study the issues impact of the internet and social media on the dynamics of political processes, as well as the emergence and development of civil society in Ukraine. In particular, the concept of "Information civilization" of A. Toffler were of great methodological importance for our study. As you know, in his work "The third wave. From industrial

society to a more humane civilization"(1980), he outlines the concepts of the three civilizations (waves) of social development, namely the agrarian wave, the industrial and the post-industrial, paying particular attention to the analysis of the latter (the lust one). According to A. Toffler, post-industrial civilization or the age of the information society is characterized by a shift in value-oriented economic orientations from industrial production to the value and importance of scientific knowledge, information, the widespread nature of the worker and his mobility. A defining feature of this period, A. Toffler considers, is the proliferation of computer communication, which is beginning to have a significant impact on the cultural, economic and political development of society. The scientist continues and deepens such thoughts in the work "Predictions and Prerequisites" (1983), where he focuses his attention on the formation of the structure of the information society. Also important for our study is the work of "Powershift" (1990), because in this work A. Toffler describes the processes of influence of new communication systems on political protests, analyzing changes in political conditions under the influence of new information technologies. The scientist points out that revolutions are the main factor of these changes and democratization of societies, which are caused by the development of new knowledge by people and the availability of information. It is noteworthy that particular emphasis in his work is on the region of Eastern Europe, which is the object of our study.

Problems of the information society, communicative practice and globalization are addressed by Spanish researcher M. Castells. In "Galaxy Internet" (2001), he analyzes how the Internet has become a universal medium of communication in all spheres of life. Thus, when researching a network society, the researcher noted that the information age dramatically increases the productivity of the population of the earth, which in his opinion will lead to a decrease in consumption and will give a person greater responsibility for the political, spiritual and environmental spheres of life. The impact of information on economics, socio-political relations and culture has been detailed in his trilogy "The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture" (1996), "The Power of Identity" (1997) and "End of the Millennium" (1998). In these books, M. Castells also explores the political, social, and economic factors of social development, and finds that computer networks in the current information age have had a decisive influence on the processes mentioned above. The researcher considers that the active use of Internet networks in public and political life is promising.

In his numerous publications, American theorist F. Fukuyama describes and thoroughly analyzes civil movements in the world. In his book "The End of History and the Last Man" (1992), – he argues that humanity moves from the stage of authoritarianism, dictatorship, socialism to liberal democracy, where the personal freedom, free-thinking and sovereignty of every nation and people are promoted. The researcher also analyzes the reasons for changing the social and political order in the world and concludes about the crisis of ideas when old principles and ideals were no longer accepted by society and new ones were not offered. Analyzing the formation and development of a democratic society, the researcher has given the work "State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century" (2004), in this work he analyzes the strong (military) states, their economies, governments and, in contrast, the weak. F. Fukuyama opposes excessive government interference in civil society activities, noting the possible negative effects of government pressure on public institutions that manifest themselves in the degradation of market relations and civil institutions.

On the use of social networks as a mechanism in political games, the historian N. Ferguson writes in his work "The Square and the Tower: Networks and Power, from the Freemasons to Facebook" (2017). Thus, the researcher in this work talks about the term "network", and also focuses on the confrontation of the current power in different countries and the spontaneous democracy of social networks. The scholar demonstrates the role and importance of networks in contemporary political and historical processes.

A well-known didgerate scientist J. Lanier, the author of the term "virtual reality" in his work "You Are Not a Gadget" (2010) introduced the concept of "Generation of Facebook". This term is used today to describe and analyze the specific activity of users of Internet networks, including the analysis of protest sentiments that first arise and spread on social networks, and then turn into street protests. Researcher S. Orlov deals with the problems of "Arab Spring" events, in his article "The role of social networks in organizing protests during the Arab Spring" (2014), he analyzes the impact of youth on these events. An interesting opinion on the events of the "Arab Spring" is expressed by the scientist Chen Di, in his article "Social Networks and their Impact on Events in the Arab Countries (2010–2013 gg.)" (2013), in particular he indicates that due to these events the role and the level of popularity have grown facebook in arab countries.

About the social media, as the first source of information during the Ukrainian "Revolution of Dignity", described by Ukrainian researcher A. Samus. The analysis of information content distributed by twitter users of the Euromaidan period was made by Ukrainian media researcher O. Kosova, as well as American scientist, professor of political science at New York University, J. Tucker. In the context of political events in other countries, the role of Twitter in protest sentiment was studied by American media researcher C. Shirky, his main ideas were outlined in the book "Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing Without Organizations" (2008).

Y. Zakalskaya writes about the social network Facebook as the leader of information influence. The possibility of social media as a multifunctional tool for influencing social and political processes is explored in their monograph "Social Networks as a Factor of Civil Society Development" (2013) by scientists O. Onishchenko, V. Gorovy, V. Popik. The impact of fake information during various protest events, including Euromaidan, is explored by researcher Khoma N. in her article "Role of social networks in coordination protests" (2014).

A brief survey of scientific publications/research, on the one hand, showed the considerable interest of scientists in this field, and on the other, showed that the influence of social networks on the modern processes of deployment of civil political activity in Ukraine is still not well understood.

2. METHODS

The methods we use in the research process are determined by the stated purpose and objectives. This is, first and foremost, a historical method by which the impact of television and other media on the emergence and development of civil society before the emergence of the internet and social networks was analyzed in a historical retrospective. Also, the statistical method of research was used in the work, by which we were able to obtain information about statistics of the number of Ukrainian users of the Internet, as well as a statistical index of the number of subscribers and page visitors on social networks of candidates for the President of Ukraine. The content-

analysis method investigated the forms and levels of influence of social networks on political processes during the "Revolution of Dignity" and the 2019 presidential campaign. The conceptualisation method was used to identify the main trends and factors behind such an impact, as well as to explain the context and implications of the internet's role in the events mentioned above.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS

The formation of civil society in Ukraine is a complex, painful and long-lasting process, on the one hand, and on the other – a necessary component of the existence of a democratic state and the nation as a whole. For a better understanding of the concept of "civil society", we will define what is meant by this term. Thus, according to the United Nations: "civil society is the third sector of society, along with government and business. It comprises civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations"[1]. In our opinion, the concept of "civil society" refers to a state of society in which the fundamental rights and freedoms of man are freely exercised through various forms of social activity and self-organization. First of all, a balanced model of interaction between the state, society and citizens on the basis of democracy, respect for rights and freedoms, free access to cultural and social goods, to real participation in political processes is the basis of forming a so-called democratic governance.

In Ukraine, we could observe the beginnings of civil society in the 1990s. In the process of the struggle for independence, during the so-called "Revolutions on Granite" and the "Orange Revolution". But these manifestations of democratization and the fight for civil rights and freedoms were hampered by the birth of an oligarchy, which appropriated strategic economic resources and put pressure on the authorities, realizing through their representatives their own political and economic interests, and creating an advanced system of oligarchic media. Almost every powerful TV channel, the vast majority of print media, and later the online media, were controlled by a large oligarchic business.

The processes of democratization and awakening of civil consciousness in the neighboring countries of Eastern Europe have developed more successfully. And new information and communication technologies, notably telecommunications and computers, have had a major impact on these processes. In his work, Powershift (1991), A. Toffler describes these processes as, new communication systems or new ways of using old systems around the world serve to challenge government (and sometimes topple it) [Toffler 1991: 423-424]. The researcher also refers to the founder of the Polish trade union "Solidarity", and later to the President of Poland (1990-1995), Lech Walesa, who was a participant in the events of the overthrow of the communist regime in our neighboring Poland. According to Lech Walesa, the political upheavals in Eastern Europe can be described as, these reforms are the result of civilization – computers, satellite television (and other innovations) that offer us alternative solutions [Toffler 1991: 423-424]. It can be argued that the period described by researcher Alvin Toffler and analyzed by L. Walesa, is the time of the emergence of civil society both in Ukraine and throughout Eastern Europe.

---

[1] United Nations. Civil Society [online]. Available at:
https://www.un.org/en/sections/resources-different-audiences/civil-society/index.html

Already a completely new form of development, civil society has acquired, along with the progress of the Internet and, in particular, social networks. Digital 2019 report finds in the past year social media use also jumped almost 9% to almost 3.5 billion people [We Are Social 2019]. According to the Cambridge dictionary, social network is defined as "a website or computer program that allows people to communicate and share information on the Internet using a computer or mobile phone"[2]. In this context, it is appropriate to mention sociologist M. Castels, who in his work "Galaxy Internet" says that ...the Internet becomes a basic means of communication and organization in all spheres of activity, it seems quite natural that social movements and political process used and will use Network [Castells 2002: 87].

We first started talking about the interconnection and interaction of social media and civil society during the events of late 2010 in Arab countries, dubbed the "Arab Spring" or the "Facebook Revolution" [Gumenyuk 2015: 318]. The peculiarity of these events is that traditionally closed socially and politically, as well as a fairly conservative Arab society has risen to protest over the change of political system and the introduction of democratic reforms. Perhaps the most important and decisive role in the rapid spread of these shares was played by social networks such as facebook and Twitter.

Researcher of the role of social networks in the events of the "Arab Spring" S. Orlov notes that the success of social media is related to the audience they were targeted, because the main users were and still are young people who are receiving or have already received education, but unfortunately not can use it within an old corrupt system of national governance [Orlov 2014]. It is the combination of opportunities to disseminate information quickly and to organize people through internet networking and, in fact, to stimulate youth activism, which still plays an important role in the reform and democratization of Arab society.

At the same time, it should be noted that at this time the information policy of the countries in which the events of the "Arab Spring" took place was aimed at maximally one-sided loyal to the ruling class. That is why social networks have become a mouthpiece that has made it possible to cover completely different perspectives. The newly formed English-speaking social groups within the Facebook network were aimed at communicating important events in the states to ordinary citizens as well as to the political and public elites of Western Europe.

Speaking about the importance of social networks in the events of the "Arab Spring", it is worth noting the theory put forward by the researcher Chen Di in his article "Social Networks and their Impact on Events in Arab Countries (2010-2013)" [Chjen 2013: 189-194]. The scientist points out that it is not social networks that have influenced the aforementioned events, namely due to the events of the "Arab Spring" the popularity of networks in Arab countries has increased [Chjen 2013: 189-194]. In our opinion, rather, it is a two-way mutual influence. To confirm, we provide statistics on the number of Internet users before and after the "Arab Spring". Thus, according to the website "trading economics", Egypt had about 25 million users in 2010, compared to about 35 million in 2012, according to these statistics, we can see a rapid rise in the number of network users[3].

---

[2] Cambridge dictionary. Social network [online]. Available at:
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/social-network
[3] Egypt - Internet users. [online]. Available at:
https://tradingeconomics.com/egypt/internet-users-wb-data.html

On the one hand, a sharp increase in network users may indicate an increase in people's need for free access to information and broadcast, free exchange of views, and real impact on political processes in the country. On the other hand, we return to the issue of value orientations and the issue of becoming an information society ideology. For modern people, free access to information, freedom statements, including those critical of the authorities, become a valuable benchmark that has displaced former traditions of trust in official media, state political leaders and undeniably belief in their authority.

A steady tendency of influence of social media on the development of various forms of political activity and self-organization of civil society is revealed by the events in Ukraine in the period 2013-2019. In particular, the influence of social networks was actively manifested during the Ukrainian Revolution, dubbed the "Dignity Revolution". Today we can say that these events have changed the geopolitical vector of Ukraine, from the direction of cooperation with Russia, which limited our economic, cultural and historical rights, to the European integration of Ukraine [cf. Modrzejewski 2018: 70-76]. The main reason for the withdrawal of people to the Maidan was the refusal of the Ukrainian authorities to sign an association on Ukraine's membership in the European Union. This event was a formal cause for protest, although the reasons for dissatisfaction with the current government were much greater – lack of reforms, widespread corruption and numerous abuses, low living standards of the majority of the population against the backdrop of enrichment of oligarchs and their control over economic and political processes and more.

In an interview with "Ukrayinska Pravda", describing civil society during the "Euromaidan", American scientist F. Fukuyama notes that, "First of all, i was surprised that civil society in Ukraine did not give up after the failure of the Orange Revolution. You have maintained and strengthened your ability to organize yourself and to exert pressure on the authorities" [Najem 2014]. Social media became an effective tool of such self-organization. Their ability to provide information quickly and freely played a key role in uniting and grouping people during the "Revolution of Dignity".

The impact of social networks, their ability to mobilize and unite the public is convincingly borne out by the fact that a single online publication made it possible to unite a huge number of people in the fight for the protection of their civic dignity. So, on November 21, 2013, after a brutal massacre in the center of Kyiv over protesting students protesting against the abolition of the course for European integration of Ukraine, MP of Ukraine Mustafa Nayyem published on his Facebook and Twitter pages: "We meet at 10:30 pm Independence Monument. Dress warmly, take umbrellas, tea, coffee and friends. Perfection is welcome in every way!" [Nayyem 2013]. Practically, from the aforementioned post, the mass actions of the Dignity Revolution began, and in the course of several months it took unfolded in front of millions of internet users. With live streaming online, for the first time in the world, millions of citizens of Ukraine and the world were able to watch and experience revolutionary events online. Many thousands of people left their homes and traveled to the Maidan to take part not only in virtual but also real revolution related events. It was in social networks that appeals for help were spread, thanks to which a powerful civil volunteer movement was self-organized and coordinated, which later demonstrated its high efficiency not only during the revolution of Dignity, but also

during the long military operations in the East of Ukraine, when operational nationwide assistance was provided to the wounded and families of fallen soldiers.

Social media has become a versatile platform where you could both get information about events and provide the necessary messages to rally people to protect protesters. A Ukrainian scientist A. Samus believes that, "social networks have contributed to the viral dissemination of information about protests, so they are often the first source of information for Ukrainians" [Samus 2016: 123]. Such information spread so quickly that not everyone could even process it, let alone feedback.

J. Tucker, a professor of political science at New York University, shares the same opinion. He analyzed the above phenomenon for the authoritative newspaper "Washington post" and noted that: "from a more personal point of view, if you want to follow the developments in Ukraine in the coming days, just keep an open channel on Twitter. The #Euromaidan hashtag will give you more information than you can process" [Tucker 2014]. This quote may indicate how strongly at that time a person was creating content for the media mentioned.

It can also be stated that thanks to the creation of public English-language pages on Facebook and hashtags on Twitter, instant information has spread to the global political and public space, which gave great hope to the protesters and their fast response from foreign politicians.

The Ukrainian media researcher O. Kosova notes in this regard that, "in January 2014, the Ukrainian hashtag #digitalmaidan was first among the world leaders of Twitter trends" [Kosova 2015: 25]. By the way, Twitter became the platform for ideas to develop the square during the most difficult times, and especially, a place where famous public figures, musicians, athletes could briefly activate protest actions, become informal leaders for every protester. Thus, social networks provided an opportunity to support civil protest in Ukraine by world politicians and public institutions. While on the international arena, the largest amount of information about Ukrainian revolutionary events was broadcast via Twitter, then in Ukraine, a very powerful informational influence went through the Facebook network. Scientist Y. Zakalskaya writes that in the years of the revolution, "Social networks came out on top among agents of information influence, with the Facebook network being the leader, in which Euromaidan actually began" [Zakalska 2016: 86].

One of the reasons that Facebook became the leader of information influence could be that the trust in the Russian resource VKontakte has significantly decreased. This social network, which was a leader among Ukrainian users before the revolutionary events, lost its popularity and, most importantly, its influence on Ukrainian citizens during the events of 2013-2014. After the revolutionary events due to the powerful information influence of Russia through all its information resources, in fact, launched the propaganda war against Ukraine, the Vkontakte network was generally blocked in accordance with the decision of the National Security and Defense Council of April 28, 2017[4].

This blocking is carried out in the framework of Ukraine's sanctions against Russia imposed as a result of annexation of Crimea and aggression in the Donbas. It is aimed at ensuring information security of Ukraine. From the perspective of today, it can be

---

[4] Rishennya Rady nacionalnoyi bezpeky i oborony Ukrayiny [online]. [Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/storage/j-files-storage/00/40/30/6f76b8df9d0716da74bb4ae6a900d483_1494864914.pdf

stated that thanks to this decision, Ukrainians have become better protected against Russian propaganda, but this is only a partial information protection that Ukraine has received by following its user majority on the Facebook network.

Researchers O. Onishchenko, V. Gorovy, V. Popik in the monograph "Social Networks as a Factor of Civil Society Development" write about social networks in revolutionary events not only as a lever of information protection, but also about a strong tool for call to action, as well as protection against physical violence. Scientists say that, "...opportunity download videos from the protests across smartphones in most cases hinders the opposite side from the use of direct violence" [Onyshhenko, Gorovyj, Popyk 2013: 88].

In this case, you can not quite agree with the scientists, because uploading videos of scenes of violence did not stop the mass shootings of protesters on the Maidan and the adjacent streets of Kyiv. In the subsequent revolutionary events, which were accompanied by constant photo and video coverage, unfortunately, we observed violent actions by law enforcement agencies against protesters. That is, it may indicate that social networks were a medium among people, aided their activation, provided moral support, but could not always protect protesters from physical violence.

Another problematic aspect of the use of social networks in protest events was the inability to control fake information, which constantly came to the network from Euromaidan opponents, in particular, from the ruling authorities. This fake news or yellow journalism, such as information about fascists, Nazis, as well as people who want to organize a coup in the country, were systematic and aimed at suppressing and subsequently destroying revolutionary sentiments. In support of this thesis, it is worth citing the opinion of researcher Khoma N., who in his article "Role of social networks in coordination protests", writes that social media changes the mechanisms of collective action in society. They demonstrate instant responsiveness (for example, broadcasts streaming), but are not safe from fiction and biasses [Homa 2014: 66-72]. The propaganda and mentioned fake information was dangerous enough, because apart from the usual political talk shows, this information was mostly found on social networks on public pages of politicians, public figures, journalists, bloggers and anyone with access to the Internet.

Therefore, despite their democratic nature, social networks can also be used for political manipulation. British researcher Neil Ferguson in his work, "Square and Towers. Social Relations From Freemasons to Facebook" says that social networks were to become a platform for free expression of opinion, and became a powerful mechanism in political games [Ferguson 2018: 592]. You can agree with the researcher, but in turn, it is noted that the internet network is a product of the evolution of other media – such as television, radio, photography and more. These traditional technologies have always had an impact on political processes and protests. A. Toffler, already mentioned by us, has been focusing on the role of the media in overcoming the Ceausescu dictatorship in Romania. He says that, if Ceausescu studied the role played by the new global media system, such as the overthrow of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, he would have realized that media control in his country could no longer keep the people in the dark ... [Toffler 1991: 425].

In this case, it is advisable to draw parallels with the situation in Ukraine during the "Revolution of Dignity", since the then President of Ukraine V. Yanukovych and his political environment also did not foresee the situation that might occur in the event

of the use of armed force against protesters. The Yanukovych team underestimated the role of the internet and, in particular, social networks, in society.

But the President of Russia V. Putin made the relevant conclusions on the analysis of the Ukrainian experience. In August 2019, Moscow was swept up by protests against opposition candidates' admission to city council elections. Information about protests and calls for support was immediately spread by social networks, to which the authorities responded by blocking internet and social networks in Moscow. This information is confirmed by Elizabeth Fokht of the Russian service BBC News. She noted that: "Disruptions to the Internet network began shortly before the official launch of the actions. After that, most of the numbers of the main operators operating in Moscow could only make voice calls" [Fokht 2019].

It is worth noting that the events described in both Ukraine and the Arab countries clearly showed the level of influence of internet communications on civil society. As M. Castels rightly pointed out: ...the Internet is also turning into a lever of social transformation through the tools of business organization and communication... [Castells 2002: 91]. Such social transformations, in turn, created a new "Generation of Facebook" (a term that was introduced into the scientific circulation of J. Lanier) [Lanier 2010: 43-44]. Today, the community of users of this network is gaining an outline of a kind of social movement that can quickly organize itself and counter the threat to the national, political and cultural security of its country and its people.

The significant influence of social networks on political processes, and in particular on the political activity of a large number of citizens, is particularly pronounced during the presidential election campaigns. So, in Ukraine during the 2019 presidential election, where the experienced politician and fifth President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko and well-known actor of the humorous genre V. Zelensky met in the second round of elections, we could observe a new phenomenon when social media became almost the main tool, by which V. Zelensky, who had no previous political experience, won the presidential race. Sociologist E. Golovakha, in an interview with "Ukrayinska pravda", calls Zelensky's victory, which gained 73.22% of the vote, an "elektoralnyj Majdan" [Rudenko 2019].

Let's try to analyze how strongly social networks have influenced the choice of Ukrainians and how social media is served after the elections in Ukraine's political and civil life. It is worth noting that most of the presidential candidates have been and still are active users of social media and are covering their activities on social networks. A specific feature of the campaign, organized by the team of V. Zelensky, was its complete transfer to the internet space in the form of daily dynamic interactive communication with the public on the networks Instagram, Facebook and YouTube. Official statements, successful implementation of the idea of involvement of a large number of citizens in the process of writing a political program of the Servant of the Party, video speeches after public events - all this was posted on the official Instagram channel and distributed to millions of subscribers. The main task was to get the votes of the traditionally least active segment of voters – the youth.

To better understand the technology of using social networks and internet technology in general in the 2019 election campaign, let's analyze the official web pages, profile of Facebook and YouTube of the current President of Ukraine V. Zelensky and his predecessor and main contender in the election of P. Poroshenko. Based on the analysis done by Yuriy Alyabyev, a Google Analytics and Google AdWords specialist in online marketing [Alyabyev 2019].

Thus, on the official website of V. Zelensky, the overall average traffic rate was 673.9 thousand visits, shortly after the site's appearance there was a sharp rise in popularity – up to 2.65 million visits a day, but subsequently this figure decreased. For comparison, the traffic of P. Poroshenko was far behind in quantitative terms and amounted to only 53.9 thousand visits [Alyabyev 2019]. After the announcement of the official information about the nomination of V. Zelensky, the attention and activity to his person increased greatly, everyone tried to get the maximum information about the candidate, his program and further actions. For many people, he was seen as a completely new political figure, unrelated to the old system. This candidacy has been linked to hopes for real political and social change, updates to the governance system, ending the war, removing social and political tensions, and more.

V. Zelensky's official social networking site Facebook during the election campaign had 349 205 subscribers, P. Poroshenko – 2 404 047, but V. Zelensky's YouTube profile during the election period had 222 704 subscribers and 11 478 425 views, P. Poroshenko on Youtube had 22 841 subscribers and 31 750 622 views, it should also be noted that V. Zelensky's pages were created in January and March 2019, while P. Poroshenko's pages were in March and April 2014 [Alyabyev 2019]. From this information, we can conclude that despite the fact that the official website, pages on Facebook and YouTube of V. Zelensky were created five years later than P. Poroshenko, the coverage area, the number of visitors and subscribers several times larger than Facebook. P. Poroshenko had the advantage of the number of subscribers on the social network Facebook, but this network was used more by candidates for informing on the course of the campaign than for direct communication with people, which was the main focus of V. Zelensky.

His main task was to reach the most troubled voter, who rarely goes to the polling stations – the youth. That is why the most popular social networks – Instagram and YouTube – were used among the youth audience, because it was these two platforms that gave the Zelensky team the opportunity to interact effectively with potential voters. Short videos of your workday, everyday life and family leisure, appeals to a wide audience to write slogans for campaigning, collective drafting of the election program – these and other well-thought out and well-implemented original techniques gave the feeling that it would not only be a victory for V. Zelensky, but also every one of those who responded to these calls and took an active virtual part in the activities of the networking community of the so-called "Ze Team". Features of his presidential campaign also included minimizing communication with journalists and professional politicians and experts, and possibly avoiding large-scale interviews, and if they did, they were largely thought-out and complementary.

This kind of approach to campaigning is described in the article: "What a TV box set may tell us about the future" written by Jonah Fisher for BBC News. He says about V. Zelensky: "His chosen method of communication has been social media, where he posts a steady stream of upbeat videos – a mix of him working out in the gym, joking with friends, and getting briefed by a team of advisers" [Fisher 2019]. Thus, the current President of Ukraine wanted to show that he is radically different from the old political elite as a native of the people, as a modern and creative personality. Social media has become a tool to help everyone get as close as possible and make it clear to a person that he or she is directly involved in a dialogue with the candidate, without the traditional mediation that other politicians already familiar with television, radio and advertising portraits (so-called billboards).

Today it can be stated that the techniques of coverage of political activity through social network accounts instead of the usual television, radio and newspapers were used by the Zelensky team not only during the election period, but also after the official inauguration for the post of President. First of all, this is well evident in the work with journalists – representatives of traditional media, whose role as an important medium between people and politicians is gradually being leveled. The journalist Ian Bateson writes about it for the site "The Atlantic", talking about V. Zelensky's team that, – "they have openly said they do not need journalists in their efforts to communicate with the public, opting instead for social media and slickly produced "interviews" carried out in-house" [Bateson 2019].

The active use of internet communications and, in particular, social internet networks, helps to accelerate the process of socialization of society and the development of various forms of e-democracy. According to "Oxfordlearners Dictionaries", digitization is the process of changing data into a digital form that can be easily read and processed by a computer [5].

As it is known, e-government is an important structural element of e-democracy (it provides network interaction of state bodies with citizens and various non-governmental organizations, increases efficiency and ease of access to public services); e-Parliament (realizes networking between parliamentarians and citizens on the basis of the principles of accessibility, openness and effective public scrutiny of discussion and decision-making); system of electronic petitions (ensures prompt collectivity of citizens to state bodies of all levels) and so on.

New information and communication technologies enable different forms of electronic participation of the public in political processes, provide new opportunities for expanding citizens' participation in the formation and implementation of state, regional policy, and solving issues of local importance. Through social networks, calls for e-petitions are widespread, public organizations (NGOs) raise funds for the implementation of social-cultural projects (crowd-fonding/crowdsorsing), important political initiatives are formulated and discussed and a heated debate is unfolding between supporters of a political leader movements, etc. Compared to traditional media (TV, radio, press), the internet space of social networks offers much wider opportunities for interactive communication between civil society actors.

The team of the sixth President of Ukraine V. Zelensky is planning to further accelerate the processes of socialization of the society, in particular, it was announced the implementation of the large-scale program "Country in a smartphone", which provides digitization of ID-cards, diverse data in the fields of medicine, taxes and business, as well as electronic system A "social elevator" that will focus on attracting creative people to the President's team through an open online competition system [Ukrayinska Pravda 2019].

This reformatting of the country's management is aimed at the gradual displacement of the old over-centralized bureaucratic system rooted in the Soviet heritage. Instead, it should create a new decentralized, democratic system of efficient horizontal management, with a structured model of a computer network.

But this, in turn, will have both positive and negative consequences. The positive thing will be that older people will learn to work not with paperwork, but with

---

[5] Oxford learnersdictionaries.Digitization. [online]. Available at:
https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/digitization

electronic using the latest technical means, the Internet and the same social media. In this way, the development of the people will take place and the system of providing services to public and private bodies will be simplified. Although it is worth noting the unwillingness of some older people to move from the usual paperwork to electronic, as well as their unwillingness to master the necessary skills to use the latest technological means.

Mass involvement of broad sections in the creation of information content has certain negative points – not always a sufficient level of quality of this content, both in terms of its content and form of submission, and in terms of limited ability to verify it. American writer and media communications researcher Clay Shirky even introduces special term – amateurization. In his book Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing Without Organizations, he says that today every amateur becomes a photographer, journalist or reporter, resulting in a lack of professionalism and overall quality of information [Shirky 2008: 327]. Thus, instead of content and truthfulness of news or analytical material, we obtain speed and superficiality.

CONCLUSIONS

Having studied the problem of influence of social networks on the development of civil society in Ukraine, we can draw a number of generalizations and conclusions.

The problem of becoming a civil society today is especially urgent for Ukraine, which faces many contemporary challenges, including – the presence of socio-political conflicts within the country and Russian aggression from outside, difficult economic situation, inhibition of reforms due to partial preservation of the old bureaucratic system of governance, insufficient the middle class, the strong influence of the oligarchs on politicians and the media, the growing influence of populist ideology and the manipulation of the consciousness of the general population tions, etc. But, in spite of unfavorable conditions, civil society in Ukraine continues its progressive development in effectively counteracting these negative trends.

The effectiveness of new forms of social communication practices and strategies of civil society depends to a large extent on the use of modern information technologies and, above all, public media and social networks, as well as the modernization of state media policy. The emergence and widespread adoption of new information and communication technologies have contributed to the development of new forms of citizen participation in political processes. Compared to traditional media (TV, radio, press), the internet space of social networks offers much wider opportunities for interactive communication between civil society actors.

As the world and Ukrainian experience has shown, the latest information and communication technologies allow different forms of remote electronic participation of the public in political processes, provide new opportunities for real influence of citizens and public organizations (NGOs) on the formation and implementation of state policy at all levels. In today's Ukraine, along with traditional forms of political governance, there is an intensive development of various forms of e-democracy, the emergence of which is linked to the emergence of a network society. The media become a universal mediator in the interaction between politicians and voters. An important task of media politics at the present stage is to create optimal conditions for the development of information democracy as a perfect model of political interaction that meets the needs of the digital age. In this context, we can talk about the emergence of a new type of civil society, which is based on a new kind of political

communication and interaction based on the free access of citizens to online computer media technologies.

At the same time, one must be aware that media virtualization of socio-political interaction opens the space for simulation (in the sense of J. Baudrillard), increasing the possibilities for manipulation of mass and individual consciousness in the interests of certain political forces and oligarchic groups, whose interests they represent [Tökölyová, Modrzejewski 2013: 37-47]. These forces seek to control not only the traditional media (press, radio, television), but also modern social computer networks: either through direct bans and censorship (mostly in undemocratic countries), or through manipulation through a dedicated staff of hired "bots" , fake pages, news sites, blogs and more. Therefore, the effectiveness of e-democracy depends not only on the level of informatization of society, the qualitative parameters of media technologies, but also on the level of development of citizens' consciousness and culture, their education and civic activity, critical thinking, recognition of the priority of democratic values.

The period of active development of civil society in Ukraine coincided with the widespread spread of the Internet and, in particular, social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, etc. In addition to its diverse socio-cultural and communication functions, social networks have been a catalyst for political change, a platform for active civic engagement, through which it is possible to unite, coordinate, act, and see the total number of people who support change.

The social and political influence of social internet networks first became apparent in the events of the 2010 "Arab Spring". In 2013, public statements by politicians and information on the course of events catalyzed a powerful civil protest movement in defense of Ukraine's European choice and its own civic and national dignity, known as the "Dignity Revolution", which can be seen as a continuation of a trend that began in Arab countries. replacements of the internal political elite, as well as geopolitical changes. The events of the "Dignity Revolution" have demonstrated that Ukrainian civil society is progressing in its further development and practical implementation of the drive for democratic change.

Of particular note is the role of social networks such as Facebook and Twitter in Ukrainian political events. For the most part, Facebook has captured the intra-Ukrainian segment of users, becoming a space for free communication, discussion and online distribution of events. Twitter, in turn, has become a forum for defending the aspirations of Ukrainian civil society abroad; through this network, information about Ukrainian political events was instantly disseminated in the European and global public space.

The impact of Internet technologies and, in particular, of social networks on the further development of civil society in Ukraine in the post-revolutionary period does not lose its intensity. A striking example was the election campaign, organized and successfully conducted by the team of Presidential Candidate of Ukraine V.Zelensky. In the course of this campaign, it was demonstrated that a person without political experience, without even presenting his election program, won a 50% victory over the experienced politician – former President P. Poroshenko, through social media networks without large investments.

Therefore, we can state the limiting level of influence of social networks on the course of political processes, which was manifested in the active promotion of new practices of public participation, consolidation and self-organization of Ukrainian civil society

in the events of the "Revolution of Dignity" and further democratic changes in internal and foreign policy. We can assume that under the conditions of democratic media politics, the role of social networks as an important factor in the development of civil society will increase.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

REFERENCES

Castells, M., (2002) The Internet Galaxy: Reflections on the Internet, Business, and Society. illustrated, reprint. OUP Oxford, 2002.

Di, Chjen.,(2013). Socialnye Seti i ih vlijanie na sobytija v arabskih gosudarstvah (2010–2013 gg.). Vestnik SPbGU. No. 9. 2013. Vol. 4, pp. 189-194 [online]. Available at: http://jf.spbu.ru/upload/files/file_1431593535_6157.pdf [Accessed October 27, 2019].

Ferguson, N., (2018). The Square and the Tower: Networks and Power, from the Freemasons to Facebook. Penguin Press, 2018.

Homa, N., (2014). Rol socialnych merezh u koordynaciyi protestnych akcij. In: Naukovyj chasopys NPU imeni M. P. Dragomanova. No. 22: Politychni nauky ta metodyka vykladannya socialno-politychnyx dyscyplin. Vol. 15, pp. 66-72.

Gumenyuk, N., (2015) Majdan Tachrir. U poshukach vtrachenoyi revolyuciyi. Kyiv, Politychna krytyka.

Kosova, O., (2015). Funkcionuvannya socialnoyi merezhi twitter pid chas revolyucijnych podij v ukrayini 2013-2014 rokiv, Naukovi doslidzhennya ukrayinskogo medijnogo kontentu: socialnyj vymir. K.: Instytut zhurnalistyky KNU imeni Tarasa Shevchenka. No. 3. 2015 [online]. Available at: http://journ.knu.ua/periodyka/images/scien_res/ndumk_3_2015.pdf [Accessed October 27, 2019].

Lanier, J., (2010). You Are Not a Gadget: A Manifesto. New York, Alfred A. Knopf. pp. 43-44.

Modrzejewski, A., (2018). European Identity of the Orthodox World in the Historiosophical Thought of Karol Wojtyla – John Paul II. In Southeast Europe: History, Culture, Politics, and Economy. Proceedings of International Conference, Filodritto, Bologna, pp. 70-76.

Onyshhenko. O., Gorovyj. V., Popyk V., (2013). Socialni merezhi yak chynnyk rozvytku gromadyanskogo suspilstva: [monografiya], NAN Ukrayiny, Nacz. b-ka Ukrayiny im. V. I. Vernadskogo. Kyiv.

Samus, A., (2016). Specyfika vysvitlennya revolyuciyi gidnosti u blogach amerykanskych ta ukrayinskych zhurnalistiv, Molodyj vchenyj, Vol. 1 (28), No. 2, 2016, [online]. Available at: http://molodyvcheny.in.ua/files/journal/2016/1/74.pdf [Accessed October 27, 2019].

Shirky, C., (2008). Here comes everybody the power of organizing without organizations. First published in the United States of America by The Penguin Press, a member of Penguin Group (USA).

Toffler, A., (1991) Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth, and Violence at the Edge of the 21st Century Mass Market Paperback. November 1, 1991, pp. 423-424.

Tökölyová, T., Dêd, M., (2019). On a State of Democratic Emergency, in European Journal of Transformation Studies. Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 9-20.

Tökölyová, T., Modrzejewski, A. (2013). Role of Mass Media in Foreign Policy Deciosn-Making, in European Journal of Transformation Studies. Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 37-47.

Zakalska, Ya., (2016). Internetlor Revolyuciyi gidnosti: tradyciya ta novatorstvo. Science and Education a New Dimension. Philology, Vol. 4(20), Issue: 85, 2016, [online]. Available at: https://seanewdim.com/uploads/3/4/5/1/34511564/zakalska_y._internetlore_of_the_revolution_of_dignity_tradition_and_innovation.pdf [Accessed October 27, 2019].

INTERNET SOURCES

Alyabyev, Y., (2019). Analysis of the Popularity of Ukraine's 2019 Presidential Candidates According to Their Internet-Marketing Campaigns. [online]. Available at: https://www.plerdy.com/blog/ukraine-elections-2019-analysis/[Accessed October 27, 2019].

Bateson, I., (2019) Volodymyr Zelensky Plays Himself [online]. Available at: https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/09/ukraine-volodymyr-zelensky-ubiquity-transparency/598774/ [Accessed August 25, 2019].

Cambridge dictionary. Social network [online]. Available at: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/social-network [Accessed October 27, 2019].

Fisher, J., (2019) Ukraine election: What a TV box set may tell us about the future [online]. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-47980484 [Accessed April 19, 2019].

Foht, E., (2019). Internet vo vremja mitingov v Moskve mogli glushit po trebovaniju silovikov [online]. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-49255791 [Accessed August 6, 2019].

Najem, M., (2014). Frensis Fukuyama: Putin robyt rivno te same, shho robyv Gitler [online]. Available at: https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/08/27/7035903/ [Accessed August 27, 2014].

Nayyem, M., (2013) [online]. Available at: https://twitter.com/mefimus/status/403599728904241153 [Accessed November 21, 2013] [in Russian]

Orlov, S., (2014). Rol socialnyh setej v organizacii protestnyh vystuplenij naselenija v hode "arabskoj vesny" [online]. Available at: http://factmil.com/publ/strana/egipet/rol_socialnykh_setej_v_organizacii_protestnykh_vystuplenij_naselenija_v_khode_arabskoj_vesny_2014/97-1-0-584 [Accessed October 27, 2019].

Oxford learnersdictionaries.Digitization. [online]. Available at: https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/digitization [Accessed October 27, 2019].

Rishennya Rady nacionalnoyi bezpeky i oborony Ukrayiny [online]. [Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/storage/j-files-storage/00/40/30/6f76b8df9d0716da74bb4ae6a900d483_1494864914.pdf [Accessed October 27, 2019].

Rudenko, Y., (2019). Yevgen Golovaxa: Fenomen Zelenskogo – svoyeridnyj "elektoralnyj Majdan". [online]. Available at: https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2019/04/18/7212520/ [Accessed April 18, 2019].

Trading economics. Egypt – Internet users. [online]. Available at: https://tradingeconomics.com/egypt/internet-users-wb-data.html [Accessed October 27, 2019]

Ukrayinska Pravda. Komanda Zelenskogo. Xto ci lyudy, (2019). [online]. Available at: https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2019/04/19/7212658/[Accessed April 19, 2019].

United Nations. Civil Society [online]. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/sections/resources-different-audiences/civil-society/index.html [Accessed October 27, 2019].

We Are Social and Hootsuite's Digital 2019 [online]. Available at: https://wearesocial.com/uk/digital-2019 [Accessed October 27, 2019].

Tucker, J., (2014). What you need to know about Ukraine [online]. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/02/18/what-you-need-to-know-about-ukraine