



§2.2 UKRAINE AND CENTRAL EUROPE: ETHICAL HORIZONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY (Bilous A., National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine)

Introduction. The concept of civil society, which plays a key role in contemporary political and social theories, acquires special significance in the Ukrainian context. Its development did not occur through the gradual evolution of liberal democracy, but rather emerged from dramatic political ruptures, postcolonial transformations, and the prolonged influence of a totalitarian system. During the Soviet era, the very notion of civil society was excluded from official academic discourse, and any attempts to conceptualize it were perceived as a threat to the existing political model.

Since the late 1980s, the idea of civil society began to penetrate Ukrainian public discourse, becoming a reference point for intellectual and civic initiatives. At the same time, the first informal organizations emerged in Ukraine, seeking to represent societal interests outside the framework of state structures. However, this process proved highly contradictory: alongside a wave of national awakening and moral re-evaluation, there came a realization of the deep distortions in the everyday world of the individual, the absence of stable institutions, a low level of political culture, and the dominance of clientelist practices.

The aim of this monograph is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the formation, transformation, and crises in the development of civil society in Ukraine, with particular emphasis on its moral and ethical dimensions, as well as a comparative analysis with the countries of Central Europe. The focus is not only on institutional shifts, but also on mental structures, discursive practices, and cultural codes that have either facilitated or hindered the development of civic consciousness.



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The study adopts a broad interdisciplinary approach, drawing on historical, philosophical, sociological, and political tools of analysis. Special attention is devoted to the transformation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the relationship between the state and society, mechanisms of power legitimation, and the issue of moral revitalization of the individual's lifeworld.

Outline of the main material. By the late 1980s, the concept of civil society had become a unifying principle for opposition forces in post-socialist states. During the Soviet period, the term "civil society" was absent from the official theoretical vocabulary allowed for analyzing social phenomena. Only in 1988 did Ukrainian media begin publishing articles reprinted from the party journal *Kommunist*, which mentioned "independent informal initiatives" for the first time. These articles attempted to integrate the idea of civil society into the framework of "socialist pluralism" and to justify the need for a political model capable of reflecting the actual social structure and the plurality of group and individual interests. This was a belated response to the growing influence of unofficial civic initiatives, which the state sought to bring under its control.

At that time, Ukraine had virtually no established institutions of civil society. The first serious steps in this direction were taken by the *Lion Society* and the *Ukrainian Culturological Club*. Their efforts were aimed at uniting Ukrainian society around values that were antithetical to Soviet ideology – such as freedom, national identity, individual rights, and emancipation from totalitarian control.

As in the countries of Central Europe, these early initiatives were not political in nature but rather moral and cultural, directed toward national awakening. The intelligentsia, especially writers, played a leading role. Between 1987 and 1988, at the initiative of the Writers' Union, a process began to rehabilitate cultural figures who had been repressed in the 1930s. The restoration of their reputations not only served to correct historical injustices but also drew attention to the deep moral degradation of society caused by totalitarianism.



Another important catalyst for the renewal of civic consciousness was the revival of the 1925–1928 literary debate at the end of the 1980s. This discourse focused on the relationship between Ukrainian and Russian cultures and the orientation of Ukraine's intellectual space toward European values. The debate raised ethical and national issues that directly undermined the foundations of Soviet identity.

A turning point in the development of civil society in Ukraine was the formation of the *People's Movement* (Rukh) in 1989. Like similar movements in Central European countries, Rukh initially sought to coexist with the existing political regime. By uniting a number of informal national-democratic initiatives, it was compelled to work within the constraints of the Soviet system, and its initial demands were limited to democratization and cultural revival. At the same time, the Soviet state had already lost the capacity to suppress the emerging civic sector and was forced to engage in public dialogue. This shift was clearly reflected in televised debates between Communist Party leaders and Rukh representatives.

By the late 1980s, social and political transformations had led to a realization in Ukrainian society that the genuine development of autonomous civic initiatives – those that emerge and interact independently of state mediation – was practically impossible under the prevailing political structure [5, p. 214]. The need to dismantle the imperial totalitarian state became one of the central imperatives of the time. However, Ukraine's fragmented society, its weak institutional foundations, lack of democratic traditions, and low political culture posed serious barriers. Overcoming these obstacles required learning from the Central European experience, where civil society was closely intertwined with national identity.

An important intellectual platform for reflecting on Ukraine's place in the European context was the journal *Ī* (Yi). It hosted an active discussion on Ukraine's European affiliation, with particular attention to the historical continuity



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of Galicia within the Austro-Hungarian cultural space. In response to Milan Kundera's essay, Ukrainian poet Natalka Bilotserkivets proposed the idea of Ukraine's distinct path to Europe – one that would preserve its uniqueness and avoid cultural merging with other nations [2, p. 32]. This perspective resonated with the pursuit of national dignity common to Central European countries. However, Bohdana Berdykhovska warned that such isolationism might be an illusion, noting that the belief in Ukraine's ability to occupy a unique space between Russia and Europe may be overly optimistic [1, p. 8].

More broadly, this ambivalence – a desire to belong to the European cultural sphere while simultaneously emphasizing one's uniqueness – is typical not only for Ukraine but also for many Central European nations, including Poles, Czechs, Slovenes, and Romanians.

A central lens through which to understand Ukraine's civic transformation is the East–West dichotomy, which became particularly visible in Ukrainian intellectuals' engagement with Milan Kundera's texts. His assertion that “the war communism declared on Western culture is total, and threatens to annihilate the cultural identity of Central European states through Soviet expansion” struck a powerful chord [6, p. 64].

These ideas laid the intellectual groundwork for the discourse on civil society in Ukraine at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. Some Ukrainian thinkers, such as Yaroslav Dashkevych and Roman Kis, argued that discussions of Ukraine's integration into Europe were premature as long as the nation had not overcome its internal divisions – ethnic, cultural, historical, and civilizational [3, p. 47].

Ivan Dziuba, a prominent figure in the Ukrainian intellectual milieu, highlighted a deep structural crisis within the country's cultural and social life. He argued that without a full-fledged network of institutions that constitute civil society – particularly those ensuring dialogue between the private and public spheres – further development would be impossible.



This view was further developed by Mykola Ryabchuk in his article *The Time of Great Expectations*, where he emphasized that intellectual efforts alone would not suffice for the creation of a genuine civil society. According to Ryabchuk, the state must abandon its imperial legacy and totalitarian mindset [7, p. 127].

Mykhailo Ryabchuk also raised the issue of moral responsibility facing society: the delay in rehabilitating cultural figures and the lack of public condemnation of totalitarian values continue to hinder democratization. In this context, the position of Yevhen Sverstiuk is also significant. He emphasized the common religious and cultural roots shared by Ukraine and Central Europe, which contradict the Marxist-Leninist dogmas imposed by Soviet ideology.

Attention should also be paid to the concept of “cultural decentralization,” which entails restoring the importance of traditional centers of Ukrainian cultural life and forming new cultural hubs [8, p. 74]. In particular, the phenomena of Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk are highlighted as playing a key role in shaping the sociocultural foundation for the development of Ukrainian civil society.

However, despite the notable achievements of the intelligentsia, it became clear that civil society in Ukraine lacked proper institutional foundations. A temporary convergence of interests between national-democratic circles and the local nomenklatura elite helped to reduce social tensions and channel public energy into the creation of a new statehood. This was perceived as the beginning of a new historical stage, similar to the national revival in Central Europe. However, such heightened expectations inevitably gave way to disappointment.

This disappointment intensified due to deep manifestations of social injustice that accompanied the phase of initial capital accumulation: the unequal distribution of resources, the loss of the state’s social functions, and the absence of support from legal and cultural mechanisms. The reform of the social structure – the emergence of new interest groups, private property owners, and business elites –



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took place without adequate normative support from civil society institutions. This sphere remained informal, weakly regulated, and largely excluded from the country's moral renewal.

At the beginning of independence, there were reasonable expectations that with the support of new civic structures, citizens would become more proactive and the attitudes shaped by Soviet-style dependence and paternalistic thinking would change. However, these hopes did not materialize. As Jürgen Habermas argued, the “system” failed to liberate the individual from the constraints imposed by Soviet reality. As a result, the individual remained oppressed and incapable of autonomous action in the social space.

Totalitarian mechanisms continued to exist under new names. Although state symbols changed externally, the essence of the ruling bureaucracy remained the same. It acquired new tools of influence over society and retained centralized control over the “lifeworld” of the individual. As R. Derhachov and V. Polokhalo observed, the old nomenklatura never voluntarily gave up power, and the system it created still exists today [4, pp. 21–23].

Instead of a revolutionary transformation similar to the “velvet” scenarios in other post-socialist countries, Ukraine underwent a “carpet” or nomenklatura revolution. The process of privatizing former state property led to the fragmentation of the previously unified administrative system into corporatist-bureaucratic factions. The economic sphere turned into a battlefield of clan rivalry. The link between property and power became decisive: political power provided access to economic resources, and economic resources, in turn, enabled control over the state.

Social processes have demonstrated that Ukraine has failed to implement the principle of democratic distribution of power and property. Instead of the state acting as an impartial arbiter between various social groups – as is typical in



democratic civil societies – a symbiosis of economic and political power emerged. In the new context, the state effectively became an instrument serving the interests of specific clans. This gave rise to a new type of political reality – a clan-bureaucratic state, in which the original unity of state property and authority transformed into an alliance between private capital and political leverage.

Under such conditions, the government increasingly distances itself from society. Key positions are held by leaders of corporate groups who seek control over public authorities, the media, and social institutions as a whole. A new political discourse is forming – one that reproduces a system of signs and values that benefits these groups. Their leaders establish vertical relations within the state and social structure, while horizontal connections between social groups remain weak, formal, and ineffective.

In a context of social instability and blurred societal structures, the active development of market mechanisms and genuine trust among citizens is unlikely – especially when their level of personal freedom remains low. A society based on clientelist relationships cannot be built on solidarity or mutual support. The only cohesive factor in such conditions becomes the clan-corporate hierarchy, within which corruption functions as a regulator of social processes.

Despite the official rhetoric about building a market economy and civil society voiced by state authorities, these declarations often remain more symbolic than practical. Progress in this direction is obstructed by the prevailing discourse of paternalism and clientelism, as well as the lack of internal personal resources that could serve as a foundation for alternative models of social development.

The facts indicate that neither the political events associated with the Orange Revolution nor the adoption of a new Constitution provided the necessary conditions for the free activity of civic associations and professional communities. One of the main barriers remains the urgent need for deep modernization of the



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state apparatus. As international experience shows, only a systemic transformation of public administration can address crises of legitimacy, public participation, decision-making, and conflict resolution.

The current crisis of legitimacy of state power in Ukraine points to society's lack of trust in the government's ability to ensure the effective functioning of public institutions. This is largely due to the nature of the political system itself, which bears the features of a shadow bureaucratic structure with a poorly developed system of checks and balances, and to the deep disappointment of citizens in the state's role as a servant of public interests.

Nevertheless, even under conditions of crisis, several possible scenarios for future development can be envisioned. One scenario involves a state-dominated model of governance, where social processes are regulated from above – a model characteristic of countries like Spain or Poland. Another scenario envisions state institutions that fail to meet societal expectations and operate as alien structures imposing vertical relations – a model often seen in many postcolonial countries in Africa and Asia.

Finally, a third possibility is the formation of the state as a result of the society's own development, its civic maturity, and national consciousness. This path is characteristic of countries such as the United States, Canada, or Finland.

For Ukraine, however, the second model remains the most relevant – one in which power exists independently of actual societal needs and is rooted in the post-Soviet tradition of authoritarian governance. This type of political culture, based on paternalistic and clientelist practices, does not correspond to the nature of Ukrainian social space, particularly its Ukrainian-speaking segment. Due to the rollback of the state's social obligations, a middle class – the traditional foundation of civil society – has failed to emerge.



The intellectual elite has proven unable to play the role of a catalyst for societal transformation, remaining passive and detached from pressing social issues. Ukrainian society, in turn, has failed to generate new meanings or assert itself as an active participant or opponent of the inefficient administrative system. The ideas of civil society remain marginalized in political life – a striking contrast with Central European countries, where, despite difficulties, a strategic orientation toward democratic values and institutions persists.

In summary, it can be argued that the moral foundations of civil society in Ukraine remain largely underdeveloped due to the long-standing impact of imperial cultural assimilation and the systematic displacement of ethical and civic practices. Russia's incorporation of the Ukrainian cultural space, along with the decline of both private and public spheres of life, gradually led to an erosion of the values necessary for sustainable civic development. As a result, a form of sociality emerged that lacked trust, moral autonomy, and a genuine civic dimension.

The colonization of the lifeworld – affecting both urban and rural areas – transformed the consciousness of broad social strata, including the intelligentsia, which ought to have become the driving force of civic renewal. Postcolonial patterns of thinking, absorbed over decades, were based on an imperial narrative in which the idea of Ukrainian self-sufficiency was systematically devalued. Authoritarian power structures penetrated all areas of life, imposing habits of subordination, personal loyalty, and disregard for moral responsibility and autonomy.

As a result, a peculiar form of “socialist Platonism” took root in society – a belief in the omnipotence of the state and its right to dictate the terms of all dimensions of social existence. This mindset destroyed the foundations of independent civic action and made institutional self-realization of society impossible. The ethical orientations essential to civil society – which could serve



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as the basis for the emergence of an active and influential middle class — were never formed.

In the post-Soviet period, instead of a revival of social solidarity, we observe growing alienation, moral disorientation, and social anomie. Citizens are often left alone to face challenges without effective mechanisms for protection or participation. Under such conditions, the basic principles of civil society – human rights, dignity, and personal freedom – remain more of an ideal than a lived social norm. Until these values take on real meaning in the everyday lives of citizens, Ukrainian society will not be able to fully realize its potential for democratic development.

Conclusions. The conducted research allows us to conclude that the formation of civil society in Ukraine is a complex, multidimensional, and deeply contradictory process. In the context of post-totalitarian and postcolonial realities, this process has been neither linear nor stable. Despite some positive examples of civic engagement, attempts at institutionalizing civil practices, and the creation of civil organizations and initiatives, Ukrainian civil society as a whole has not yet acquired the structural and ethical characteristics that ensure its influence in democratic states.

The key obstacles include:

- the totalitarian legacy, which deeply distorted the ethical foundations of the lifeworld;
- the inertia of clientelism and paternalism, which fostered dependence on the state rather than autonomous public thinking;
- the absence of a strong middle class, which typically underpins stable civic institutions;
- the passivity of the intellectual elite, which failed to become a driver of value-based renewal;



- the weakness of horizontal ties between social groups and the lack of mechanisms for solidarity.

The ethical dimension – the foundation of any civil society – remains largely underdeveloped in the Ukrainian context. Values such as human dignity, responsibility, trust, solidarity, and mutual support – which should form the moral framework of civil society – remain more of an ideal than a lived social practice. Human rights, individual freedom, respect for others, and active civic engagement have yet to become the norm of social behavior.

In conclusion, it can be stated that civil society in Ukraine is still in the process of formation – a process that largely depends on the modernization of the political system, reform of state institutions, restoration of the moral dimension of social life, and, above all, the creation of new cultural meanings that must emerge from within society itself. Without this, no external or internal political reform will be able to ensure sustainable democratic development.

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