

## **Revolutionary and military crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding practices of social political activism (based on the Ukraine's example of 2014-2016)**

The article analyzes the experience of Ukraine in the use of social and political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding. These technologies are studied in the time period of 2013-2016 on the example of their application for the Revolution of Dignity and maintaining the country's defensive capacity in the course of the undeclared hybrid war with Russia. It is emphasized that it is through public initiatives that the vector of the state to its democratization and Euro-Atlantic cooperation has been modified. It is noted that the projects based on the "collective intellect" and popular investments have become an alternative to inefficient government activities to maintain the country's defensive capacity and support the military and internally displaced people.

*Keywords: social and political activism, crowd-sourcing, crowd-funding, Revolution of Dignity, hybrid warfare, anti-terrorist operation.*

## **Революційні та військові краудсорсингово-краудфандингові практики громадсько-політичного активізму (на прикладі України 2014-2016 років)**

У статті аналізується досвід України застосування ресурсу громадсько-політичного краудсорсингу та краудфандингу. Ці технології вивчаються на часовому проміжку 2013-2016 років на прикладі їх застосування під час Революції Гідності та для підтримки обороноздатності країни у ході неоголошеної гібридної війни з Російською Федерацією. Підкреслюється, що саме завдяки громадським ініціативам було змінено вектор розвитку держави до її демократизації та євроатлантичної співпраці. Наголошується, що проекти, засновані на «колективному розумі» та народному інвестуванні, стали альтернативою неефективній державній діяльності у забезпеченні обороноздатності країни та підтримки військових і внутрішньо переміщених осіб.

*Ключові слова: громадсько-політичний активізм, краудсорсинг, краудфандинг, Революція Гідності, гібридна війна, антитерористична операція.*

In 2013-2016 Ukraine faced numerous challenges caused by cruel coercion of Ukraine to Eurasian integration under Russian auspices and blocking Kiev's movement toward European and Euro-Atlantic cooperation. The revolution of dignity and further developments in the Crimea and Donbas were a response to the Russian expansionist policy in the post-Soviet area. The Russian armed aggression against Ukraine has been going on for three years; it is the third year of Ukraine's anti-terrorist operation in the Donbas. It has become a real challenge for a nation with a weakened, understrength and obsolete army, without the necessary resources to withstand the aggressor country. The crucial role in the fight for the future of Ukraine, in our opinion, at this critical time has been played by the activist public, which has undertaken many organizational functions to determine the future development of the nation, enhancing the country's defensive capacity and supporting those affected by the conflict (participants in the antiterrorist operation, internally displaced persons, families of soldiers killed in action and others).

The task of the research is to reveal the role and formats of Ukrainian public participation in organization of the protests, waging the struggle against those blocking Ukraine's movement toward European Community and her independence in decision making concerning the vector of the nation's development, violating her territorial integrity and sovereignty. This task will be fulfilled by analyzing the two innovative practices and techniques, used by the Ukrainians, i.e. crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding.

Crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding are relatively new technologies of fulfilling a task by public means. These collective initiative practices, brought about by the third millennium, were launched by the business in order to create and promote innovative products. But very soon the potential crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding practices were admitted and applied in politics and the public life. Today we can witness the appearance of an independent type of crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding – the social political one.

We believe that such generic name as "social political" (not just "political") is more correct for an analysis of social practices that are the subject of our study (revolutionary and military) because: crowd-sourcing as "the collective wisdom" represents the interest of a community of people sharing the same views in solving specific problems; crowd-funding as co-financing reflects the materialized willingness of the community to act in the common interests to implement public social and political projects.

Social political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding belong to those modern occupational technologies which underline a free exchange of resources (ideas, finance) between the participants interconnected through horizontal network links. In our opinion, the leading trend nowadays is revitalization of social and political discourse through its virtualization due to the latest information and communication technologies, while crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding underline this trend. Crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding are the formats of interaction, with

which the public interest is realized. Such network forms of interaction are the embodiment of modern philosophy of collaboration and solidarity.

Social political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding, unlike their business counterparts are characterized by a high motivational component, they are not intended to gain material benefits. Surely, among the public and political projects there are those that involve certain (usually symbolic) reward, however social (non-cash) practices prevail. In the Ukrainian format the vast majority of crowd-sourcing or crowd-funding socio-political projects imply absence of any material motivational incentives, while intangible reward is widely used, such as a public mention of the donor, etc. Many of the problems of the recent troubled years were solved by the Ukrainians using the two new methods - collective generation of ideas and their co-financing. This short but highly efficient experience requires a further study.

### **REVOLUTIONARY (PROTEST) CROWD-SOURCING AND CROWD-FUNDING**

The revolutionary (protest) movement is one of the best examples of the simultaneous combination of crowd-sourcing (as a collective popular initiative) and crowd-funding (as popular funding). Let us note that crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing as techniques to achieve collective goals are themselves a kind of revolution in the organizational approach to fulfilling the task. And these “revolutionary” (or more correctly “innovative”) techniques are quite appropriate to achieve the objectives of protest movements against the regime.

The revolutionary crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing, unlike other (i.e., peaceful, non-protest) varieties of these technologies have a number of specific features, especially when it comes to their use under anti-democratic regimes which the people’s energy is intended to change. Because of the repressive character of the government, the people’s creative formats can not have an open, public form. For example, the classical method of raising funds by crowd-funding is: among Internet users; on special crowd-funding platforms; as money transfers and not as any other material or immaterial assistance. However, in our opinion, in the case of protests aimed at overthrowing the regime, the government will try to quickly cut off the channels of revenue and technologically counteract the opposition on the Internet. Therefore, even though it does not comply with the theory of crowd-funding, we regard all formats of micro-investing as the revolutionary crowd-funding.

In the revolutionary (protest) crowd-funding those small investments by a large number of people to support a public project can have, in our opinion, not only financial characteristics. According to I. Kosulia, the concept of crowd-sourcing “combines the activities, such as “brainstorming”, volunteering, charity, etc.”<sup>1</sup>. In this context, we agree with the definition of political crowd-funding by A. Sokolov: “collecting funds for various political projects”<sup>2</sup>; the

<sup>1</sup> I. Косуля, Краудсорсинг та краудфандинг: нові поняття чи нові феномени, „Методологія, теорія та практика соціологічного аналізу сучасного суспільства”, 2014 nr. 20, s. 268.

<sup>2</sup> А. Соколов, Особенности возникновения политического краудфандинга в российской политической практике, „Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия Политология” 2014 nr. 2, s. 33.

nature of these tools is rightly not specified by the researcher, probably due to their diverse nature. We agree that the definition of the essence of “tools” is inappropriate in this situation, they can take a variety of forms - both materialized (e.g. mobile phones prepaid cards, heating equipment, tents, fuel, medicines, etc.), and conditionally materialized (e.g. removal of the password to private or corporate wi-fi near the places of protest that will allow the protesters broader communication capabilities, donating blood to save the wounded, transporting heating equipment for the protesters, etc.).

The Ukrainian experience has demonstrated that nowadays mass movements can raise funds domestically even without external funding sources, though foreign support (e.g. diasporas and the public sector of other countries) can be a tangible addition to the budget of the revolution. The government cannot completely control the process of accumulation of finance by the protesters, because the financial system is generally apolitical.

Nowadays it is possible to collect the required amount through e-money systems, coordinating the process through social networks. Both the former and the latter operate beyond the government control (though non-democratic states are trying to bar this format). Therefore, both the citizens of the country and people from abroad, members of the diaspora and the like, can support any social and political action. Thus, the area of financial support is greatly expanded. For example, today about 15 million Ukrainian and their descendants live outside Ukraine. Such basis for crowd-funding can accumulate a huge capital.

*In our opinion, the use of crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding opportunities for support of the protests in Ukraine has undergone at least two evolutionary stages. The first stage is connected with the events of the “Orange Revolution” of 2004. Then crowd-funding was largely the transfer of money, clothes, food and the like for the needs of the Maidan. The then President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko said about “millions of creditors, answering questions on the financing of the Maidan in 2004: “I think, millions. Millions of people”. At the same time, crowd-sourcing as association, coordination of participants was poor, as the global social networks were not developed sufficiently: the number of Facebook users among the Ukrainians was very low (created in February 2004), and Twitter as a platform did not exist at all (created in 2006).*

Thus, the method of social organization and communication in 2004 was fundamentally different from the subsequent revolution of 2013-2014. During the “Orange Revolution” the number of regular Internet users was relatively small, about 4 million people. However, even in 2004, the online media provided the most accurate and most expeditious information, the feeble online community formed “night patrols” of citizens who watched the polling stations, and shadowed the police vehicle movements through publications on forums.

However, during the second stage of evolution of crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding practices in Ukraine (Revolution of Dignity, 2013-2014) due to the advanced information and communication technologies (the number of regular Internet users in 2014 increased to almost 19 million people) the online communication offered new ways to enhance public and mobilize

their capital. Crowd-funding as a mechanism has been known in this period in Ukraine, national crowd-funding platforms existed already, but we recorded only isolated instances of using these platforms for revolutionary (protest) tasks; resource mobilization avoided these specialized platforms. Instead, we note the rapid evolution of crowd-sourcing practices as a result of the rapid expansion of Internet communication.

Therefore, comparing the two Ukrainian revolution as two evolutionary stages of crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding practices in the protest movement, we can state: 1) the revolutionary crowd-sourcing developed indeed, suggesting many new formats; 2) the revolutionary crowd-funding, because of its opposition, anti-government orientation which despite the relatively apolitical character of the financial system makes it impossible to collect funds openly without the threat of losing contributions, has retained the virtually unchanged format, i.e., was not consolidated in the form of specialized crowd-funding platforms.

The Revolution of Dignity, in our opinion, can be analyzed as an expression of social and political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding of the Ukrainians, their collective energy. This is expressed by one of the revolutionary symbols and messages – a drop – with the words “I am a drop in the ocean, which will change the Ukraine”. The drop falling into the blue and yellow ocean has become a symbol of the protest (along with the barricades, burning tires, etc.). We understand this drop as a symbol of small individual contributions - financial, organizational, intellectual, etc. - in a joint state-building cause. The revolutionary (protest) crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding is based on the belief that one thing the government fears is a people united for a common purpose.

In order to organize a long-term protest a material and financial support is necessary. It is difficult to calculate “a day on the Euro-Maidan” in financial and material terms, but reports were voiced of not less than 300 thousand UAH/day – to feed the activists, rent the stage and the House of Trade Unions, transport costs, communications, medicine and so on. After the start of the bloody confrontations these needs increased dramatically. Their provision was possible due to the collective energy of the participants of the Revolution of Dignity, manifested in many formats of socio-political crowd-funding. Let us analyze the major ones.

1. *Financial revolutionary crowd-funding proper* - a direct cash assistance to satisfy the needs of the Maidan. Since the government at the time of the Euro-Maidan tracked and blocked the card accounts of activists, they were often changed. It was necessary to provide continuous information about the change of bank details. Also collection of cash among the public of the cities was organized. An example is the initiative of the public organization “Kyiv residents for the reform”, which launched in the domestic crowd-funding platform “The Great Idea” the campaign “Warm and feed Maidan” (<https://biggggidea.com/project/385/>) to raise funds to support protesters. Specifically within this campaign efforts of 1060 benefactors brought nearly 262 thousand UAH. Let us note that according to the crowd-funding rules, funds are provided only after they have been collected within a certain time period, but in the time of emergency

the administration of the “The Great Idea” made the conditions of the project flexible, i.e. daily transfers of cash receipts.

However, it should be noted that not every crowd-funding initiative during the Euro-Maidan was successful. For example, the campaign “Voice of the Street at the Euro-Maidan” (<https://bigggidea.com/project/383/>) failed (only 24 benefactors supported the project with the amount of 2,725 UAH). We assume that the former project (“Warm and feed Maidan”) was supported, because it was about the food, medicines, and the latter, extremely significant but not vital, was about information support of the Maidan (filming video addresses of citizens in the global community in different languages and their translation).

2. *Material (logistical) revolutionary crowd-funding* – provision of housing for Maidan participants (for example, Kiev citizens letting their apartments to protesters to have a rest); transport support (e.g. transportation of the participants to (from) Kyiv and within the city, evacuation of the wounded from the capital, because after 19.01.2014 when turning to Kyiv hospitals the victims were often kidnapped); collecting food, clothes, protection means, medicines; lending wi-fi from homes or offices located in the vicinity of the protests - by removing the password to private (corporate) networks.

3. *Media crowd-funding* - for example, during Euro-Maidan nearly 4,000 benefactors gathered 1,243,381 UAH by crowd-funding through the “Great Idea” site to support the multimedia project “Public television”. At the same time “Public Radio” was created; for its operation the Ukrainians collected nearly 200 thousand UAH. Another large-scale project in the media industry in 2013 was implemented through crowd-funding - “Vavylon’13”, a set of Ukrainian short films that tell of the civic protests in Ukraine and further developments in different languages to deliver the essence of the events in Ukraine to the foreign public. 31 thousand 650 UAH were raised by more than a hundred benefactors.

Let us single out the types of revolutionary social and political crowd-sourcing.

1. *Coordination crowd-sourcing* (establishing various “hot lines” (IP-telephony) such as “Housing for Maidan” and “Euro-Hostel” services or KyivHost group at the Facebook and so on. That is, organizational support of housing provision (mentioned when describing the material format crowd-funding (free housing), but in terms of organization we are dealing precisely with crowd-sourcing of the organizers of this communication). Coordination crowd-sourcing was used to find missing people, lost documents and belongings of the protesters, monitoring the persecution of activists, the movement of security forces and their equipment, providing certain provisions and means of heating, disinfecting places of mass gatherings, etc., coordination of numerous groups of self-defense.

2. *Consulting crowd-sourcing*, i. e. organization of social and psychological services directly in situ and online; legal counselling and representation of protest participants at courts.

3. *Information and communication crowd-sourcing*, i.e. stream broadcasts and organization of online TV: <http://euro-online.kiev.ua>, <http://dozor.tv>, [www.Hromadske.TV](http://www.Hromadske.TV), [www.spilno.tv](http://www.spilno.tv),

AronetsLIVE, GromTV, “Public radio” and so on. This was also organization of offline street actions using the site [www.diyaty.org](http://www.diyaty.org), initiating international anti-government online petitions, recording the events (photos, video) for international agencies. An important manifestation of this type of crowd-sourcing was the organization of an international information support for international mass media, translating news for international media. Communities like “Euro-Maidan SOS”, “Euro-Maidan” were news aggregators. The same type of crowd-sourcing includes hash-tagging of information, organization of virtual flash mobs and tweeter storms and so on. This also can include the creation of interactive online maps at the public opposition self-support site [Galas.org.ua](http://Galas.org.ua), which could report an emergency, ask for help, find prisoners and wounded, offer assistance. Site visitors put a mark on the interactive map of Kyiv, tagging the events.

4. *Security crowd-sourcing*, manifested primarily in the voluntary grouping of townspeople to patrol the city quarters by self-defence detachments, because in order to counter the street protests the Yanukovich regime used criminals (the so-called “titushky”). After the “Nights of wrath” (seizure of administrative buildings that embodied the regime in the cities of Lviv, Ternopil, Lutsk on the night of 19.02.2014), those who were conscious of the threat of anarchy organized themselves through social networks to ensure the public order in their cities: the temporary self-defence detachments replaced the police and effectively ensured the public order. Also, after the pogroms, the volunteers organized volunteer actions to clean the cities. All the actions were aimed at preventing riots, wherefore thousands of volunteers were organized in foot, automobile and bicycle patrols. An important role in the coordination of human resources in these spontaneous dynamic processes was played by social networks as coordinating centers.

5. *Cyber-crowd-sourcing*, when online communities (such as “Cybercompany” on the Facebook) were created that thoroughly used computer networks for political purposes (a kind of hacktivism): a) counteracting “ITtushky”<sup>3</sup> who hacked the sites and accounts, blogs, e-mail of the opposition in social networks; b) preventing attacks on mobile phone numbers of Maidan hot lines; c) blocking sites and account of bots and Ukrainophobes in social networks that clogged hashtag #euromaidan stream, misinforming the public and spreading lies. Even a simple click “report for spam” was also a manifestation of social and political crowd-sourcing.

6. *Artistic crowd-sourcing*, a collective creativity that illustrated and occasionally formed the agenda of the Maidan. In the spirit of the “culture of non-violence”, it was manifested as a versatile energy: painting ornaments on helmets, pianists before police cordons and on the barricades, the revolutionary installations and street art, literary reading, “Open University”, a library and lecture hall in the “Ukrainian House”, posters, stickers, cartoons, etc.

<sup>3</sup> ITtushky – a political neologism that emerged during the Revolution of Dignity to describe hackers, hacking sites and accounts of the opposition in social networks or clogged them with misinformation. The word is formed by merging the words IT (Information Technology) and purely Ukrainian coined slang “titushky” – young people of strong build, often athletes who were were paid to illegally prevent the constitutional manifestations of organized civil resistance. Note that the word “titushky” and “EuroMaidan” in 2013 led the ranking of the most popular words in Ukraine.

## **MILITARY CROWD-SOURCING AND CROWD-FUNDING**

One of the types of social and political crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing is the military one. Since the beginning of anti-Ukrainian aggression, including the annexation by the Russian Federation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, serious problems in the country's defense came out. Ukrainian army actually had to recover to be on war footing. At the beginning of 2014 only 4% of the Ukrainian troops were provided with necessary things (such as helmets and body armor), this is the information of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

The necessity to help the Army was caused by the following reasons: lack of resources (clothes, personal protection, medicines, food); lack of battle-ready equipment; insufficient logistic basis, etc. The government was unprepared to respond effectively to the challenges and to operate in extreme conditions of territorial annexation and occupation of Ukrainian territory. Therefore, with the beginning of active hostilities public initiatives emerged aimed at providing the military, first, with basic protective means, and then, with the necessary equipment for combat. At this point, the Ukrainian civil society demonstrated an impressive ability to consolidate and mobilize, managing to create an effective network of social initiatives and organizations that undertook to solve urgent problems. The community was filled with the spirit of the proverb: "He who does not feed the army of his own, sooner or later will feed the army of the others".

Crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding are unrestricted in creative variations. For example, one may speak about the military artistic social and political crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing. For example, Ukrainian artists through Kickstarter and other platforms collected money to release pin up calendars, dedicated to the Ukrainian military. Part of the proceeds from the sales went to support the army. Such actions can be considered as crowd-sourcing because they are intellectual contribution to the fight against the aggressor; on the other hand, it is crowd-funding, as the products was specifically prepared and implemented as a fundraiser for specific military purposes.

Crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing are such new social practices to Ukraine, that they have not yet been legally registered. Since there is no regulatory legislation, the support recipients have problems with taxation. In this regard, A. Fomenko notes that "the funds collected are often referred to as investment, sponsorship, charity or donations"<sup>4</sup>.

On 15.03.2014 the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine announced fundraising by sending text messages costing 5 UAH to the short number 565. Cell-phone benefactors are the people of advanced technologies and operational decisions. Most of these transfers were made impulsively, as an instantaneous response to the request of help. By the end of December 2014 37 million UAH were transferred, and by mid-2015, they had already collected more than 40 million

<sup>4</sup> А. Фоменко, Сучасні умови розвитку краудфандингу в Україні, "Вісник Бердянського університету менеджменту і бізнесу", 2013, № 3 (23), с. 95.



UAH. But six months after the start of fundraising questions were asked concerning the usage of the funds raised and the likelihood of corruption.

If we look back at the historical experience of collective funding of the army by concerned citizens, we recall that the Kaiser's Germany a wooden statue was erected in each city, where they sold nails of three denominations - from the most expensive gold ones, to the cheap iron ones. The driven-in nails converted the statue into the "Iron Man" and the money went to finance soldiers on the fronts of World War I. A similar example was recorded in 1916 in Lviv. The artists carved in wood and painted the patron of the city, George the Conqueror; into his shield anyone willing to donate money to the army hammered in a metal plate, thereby making a symbolic knight's armor. In this way the residents supported the defense of the city, promoting the purchase of weapons for the Austrian army. This crowd-funding format was restored in 2014 by the townspeople of Lviv to raise funds for the Ukrainian army. For the modern knight army to be strong, everyone who contributed at least 100 hryvnias drove in a nail capped with an engraved trident into the knight's shield. Only after a month of fund-raising in the summer of 2014 the Knight collected nearly 400 thousand UAH for the needs of the Ukrainian army.

The main types of the public support of the army have been: material assistance (food, ammunition, drugs and their delivery destinations), support of the wounded, military hospitals; support of the families of the antiterrorist operation participants (psychological, rehabilitation, humanitarian aid); technical support (refurbishment, repair, upgrading and armoring of combat vehicles).

The fundraising for the army and the accumulation of ideas have been maintained primarily through online communication, which is the most expeditious way to mobilize the public. An example of effective crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding is the national project "Peoples project" (<http://www.peoplesproject.com/>). It draws attention to a particular issue, organizes discussions, accumulates ideas and finances for its solution. The main directions in 2014-2016 were: biotech-rehabilitation of the wounded; establishment of the "skin bank" (regeneration of the skin after burns using cellular technology); organization of military everyday life (mobile laundries and sleeping facilities); providing the military with collapsible quadcopters for reconnaissance and monitoring the enemy; repair and restoration of damaged equipment; purchase of easy to install fortified dugouts with residential and accommodation space, etc. Also, "Peoples project" organized a crowd-funding campaign to raise funds for the development and commissioning of serial production of drones, which could be used for reconnaissance, photo and video filming and even firing at targets. Only for individual kits for soldiers the "Peoples project" collected over 4.4 million in 2015-2016.

A novel format of fundraising is crowd-funding flash mob. One of the most original flash mobs that came from the West, being somewhat re-formatted in Ukraine, was the "Ice Bucket Challenge", but unlike channeling funds to research diseases of the central nervous system (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis), the Ukrainians poured cold water over themselves handing the

relay baton to three other contributors to raise funds, including for the army. This flash mob (despite its somewhat frivolous form) involved not only the youth, as the ice-cold relay was first promoted by rectors of universities, mayors, top managers, politicians, artists, clergy, diplomats of some nations... Through this unusual forms of mobilization millions were collected and many lives saved. So, in our opinion, flash mobs despite being still rejected by a part of the public, is one of the fastest growing methods of community cohesion, and its “bonding” in order to solve common problems. After this flash mob gained popularity, in order to enhance the fundraising it was organized not just in the traditional individual form but as a collective one, particularly in parks where facilities for changing cloths were organized, providing hairdryers, buckets and water, and of course - donation boxes for the needs of the army. The relay was caught and passed by the ultras, educational institutions, various labor groups ... This action seemed strange to many, because one can simply transfer funds. But for socially active people it was a challenge.

Another creative approach to fundraising was the “dating auction”. Its mechanism is simple: on the Facebook page pictures of girls as auction lots were placed that could go on a date. Bidding was in the comments. There were lots in form of meeting celebrities for a cup of coffee, selling things with their autograph. Only the Facebook has hundreds of pages and groups like “charity auction dates”. A specific feature of crowd-funding through auctions is that when transferring money to the army the person receives as a reminder of the donation not a cheque or invoice but a souvenir (for example, a calendar for the next year, the memory of meeting with an interesting person, etc.).

In Ukraine for several years national crowd-funding platforms have been operating: “Na-Starte” (<http://na-starte.com/>), “Spilnokosht” (BigIdea) (<https://biggggidea.com>), “Seven stars” (<https://simzirok.com/>), “JQStar” (<http://jqstar.com/>) and others. Many of these platforms are useful for individuals who, for example, seek loans for business development; thanks to them funds for start-ups, environmental and social action work of new media, organizing festivals and performances, shooting videos and the like were accumulated. But projects related to support of the army were initially not numerous on those platforms (2014), and later on only a few of them (for example, “Ukrainian Philanthropic Marketplace”) developed this type of national investment. Our analysis shows that the fundraising campaigns were launched not so much on crowd-funding platforms, but on individual web resources, such as [narodniy.org.ua](http://narodniy.org.ua).

One of the national platforms which develops social and political segment of microfinancing is “Ukrainian Philanthropic Marketplace” (<https://ubb.org.ua/>); here thematic projects “HELP\_UA” are being developed. On this platform funds are accumulated for: 1) restoring infrastructure facilities in areas liberated by the Ukrainian troops during the antiterrorist operation in the Donbas (primarily reconstruction of destroyed schools, orphanages, hospitals, kindergartens); 2) raising funds for the purchase of important things for internally displaced persons (medicines, clothes, shoes, food, hygiene); 3) the technical needs of the military (optical devices, lighting generators); 4) the treatment and rehabilitation of the antiterrorist operation

participants (for example, the first in Ukraine specialized intensive care unit for severely wounded comatose soldiers at the Main Military Clinical Hospital) and others. For example: Project “Medical Battalion 2” enabled 350 doctors in the area of the anti-terrorist operation to be issued NATO standard medical bags; project “Light for the Warriors of Light” was implemented for the purchase of power generators for lighting and charging the signal equipment for the military.

The unique character of military crowd-funding is that: 1) anyone willing can help at any time, regardless of location or health status (when talking about money transfers); it made possible diverse forms of money contribution: cash payments in the bank, payments from bank cards, e-money transfer, payments from cell phones, terminals, ATMs, cash contributions, etc; 2) the help can be not only financial, but also: a) informational by posting a link about the project at a social network account, sending a link in any other convenient way. Because of this, the chances of attracting new members to the project increase; b) moral, for example, writing a letter to a soldier, recording a video, drawing a picture, propagating a hash tag, etc.

Those who wish to support the army can use social networks, primarily, Facebook, where various auctions are held and calls for help placed. Charity Flea Markets and fairs are organized for offline fundraising. There were touching facts when athletes sold their medals and donated the receivings, and low-income pensioners brought home-canned food to send to the combat zone. In food-catering facilities visitors were asked to add a hryvnia to the account for its subsequent transfer for the army needs.

In some projects, the funds are collected “for the army” (no specifics), in others for certain army units or specific soldiers (bullet-proof vest, helmet, goggles, payment of medical treatment). People’s initiative and people’s money in Ukraine became the basis of the supplies of personal safety means, clothing (uniform), winter equipment, food, signal equipment, transport, legal assistance, exchange of prisoners and so on for the military from abroad.

Ukrainian crowd-funding initiatives are studied by Ukrainian sociologists. According to a study conducted by the “Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Fund” jointly with the Kiev International Institute of Sociology, 32.5% Ukrainians only in May-September 2014 transferred funds to the Ukrainian army. Another 23% of respondents used the help of charitable and volunteer organizations, donating money, clothes and food through these public institutions. 9% of citizens took part in promotions in shops, buying goods on the list for the army and handing them in to volunteers. 7% of Ukrainians personally helped IDPs with things and money. 3% were involved in direct collecting of money, medicines, goods, delivering them in the antiterrorist operation area.

Ukrainians were asked: “Recently, residents of Ukraine have provided assistance to the military and the people who suffer from the hostilities in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions. Did you personally provide such assistance during May-September this year? If so, what was this assistance?” 60% of Ukrainian provided help to the military and the people who suffer from the

hostilities in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions in at least one way, 11% did not provide such assistance, 29% - hesitated with their answer or refused to answer this question.

The most common type of aid to Ukrainian military was money transfer to accounts of the Ukrainian army - practiced almost by every third Ukrainian (32.5%). In addition, 23% transferred money, things, food to charitable foundations and volunteer organizations. Almost one in ten (9%) participated in promotion campaigns (buying goods at the recommended list and put them in the box for the needs of the army). 7% of Ukrainian aided IDPs with personal belongings and money, 3% - collected or brought their own funds, medicines, other items, etc, were volunteers, and 1% - provided housing to IDPs<sup>5</sup>.

The results of the research have shown differences in macro-regions of Ukraine: the farther to the east of Ukraine, the smaller the proportion of the population that in some way helped the military or IDPs in general. Money transfers to the accounts of the Ukrainian army were most active in Western Ukrainian macro-region (52%); 38% in the Central, 27% in the Southern and 8% in the Eastern macro-regions. Similar breakdown is observed with transfers of money, goods, food to charitable foundations and volunteer organizations: in the Western macro-region, 43% provided the money, in the Central - 26%, in the Southern - 12% and in the Eastern 6%. Donations were collected in shops mostly in the Central region - 15%, Western - 11%, Southern - 5%, and Eastern - 1%. The residents of the eastern regions have the lowest share of those who practiced at least one form of charitable aid - only 34%, that is, one in three. Instead, in the western region at least in one way 82% of the population provided help, in the Central - 71%, in the South - 49%. In general, about the same proportion of the rural and urban population helped the military or refugees at least in one way - 70% and 65%, respectively. 46% of rural population and only 12% of urban population transferred money, clothes and food to charitable funds. 40% of rural population and 28% transferred money to accounts of the Ukrainian army. By contrast, 12% of urban population and only 3% of rural population participated in promotion campaigns in shops (probably because such campaigns were carried out mainly in the cities by network hypermarkets)<sup>6</sup>.

According to the results of another nationwide poll - "Opinions and attitudes of the population of Ukraine: December 2014", conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology 04-19.12.2014 g., the most common form of the aid to the army in late 2014 was money transfers for the military (36.9% of respondents). The collection and dispatch of medicines and warm clothes, as well as material support for families of the wounded, the dead, care for the wounded is much less popular with voluntary assistants to the Ukrainian army. 21.2% of respondents find any help the Army unnecessary on principle (explained this as a direct responsibility of the state), and another 11.2% ignore such a process without explanation. Thus, a third of the

<sup>5</sup> Ругонова Д. Благодійна допомога, яку надавали українці військовим та вимушеним переселенцям у травні-вересні 2014 року. [http://kiis.com.ua/materials/KMIS-Review/08\(02-2015\)/ds.php?file=08\\_KR\\_3\\_SocEkon1.pdf](http://kiis.com.ua/materials/KMIS-Review/08(02-2015)/ds.php?file=08_KR_3_SocEkon1.pdf) [18.04.2017].

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem.

population does not support the army in any way. Among them, most residents of Donbas (57%) and Donetsk region in particular (67.5%), where the attitude of the population to the Ukrainian military is not always positive.

A similar survey was conducted by the “Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives” and the Razumkov Centre on 14-22.11.2015. In the course of 2015 41% of Ukrainians provided various financial support, often in order to help the Ukrainian army. The highest activity was observed among the residents of the West (88.9%) and Center (81.6%), the lowest - among residents of Donbass (56.2%).

In 2015-2016 (compared with 2014) because of the crisis, the deteriorating economic situation, despite the persisting acute problems of financing the army, some “burnout” among the donors has been observed. An average citizen income declined and, therefore, somewhat fewer resources were allocated for the needs of the army. It has become more complicated to attract charitable funds which led to the emergence of new fundraising formats, such as charitable sporting events (marathons), involvement of large business companies, etc.

Unfortunately, fundraising for the needs of the army led to a number of frauds with funds collected. In Ukraine, a separate category of criminal scammers who, concealing behind the good intentions to help the army, created fake fundraising sites on the internet or cloned the sites of famous structures (such as “Army SOS”, “People’s rear service”, etc), unauthorized persons collected funds in the streets and food in supermarkets. Under these conditions, another focus of the active public is the struggle against hundreds of street and Internet swindlers. The public has repeatedly stressed that the government authorities (fiscal, for example) should establish and maintain a Web inventory of all structures that collect donations and publish online their monthly reports.

While the military crowd-funding is aimed primarily at raising money, food, medicines, etc., the military crowd-sourcing, in our opinion, is to unite the collective power of people to support the troops. And that energy is embodied in a particular construction of a certain mechanism with collective intellect - be it technical, or operational.

An example of military crowd-sourcing can be the organization of military ammunition being carried across the border by the residents of border areas in the spring and summer of 2014 (used and discarded bullet-proof vests and Kevlar helmets), in particular through the pedestrian border crossing point “Shehyni - Medica”. They were quite risky nightly raids under the auspices of public organizations (“Self-defense of Lviv”, “People’s Control”), because the participants were not guaranteed against sanctions (e.g. canceling a Schengen visa at the border with the use of additional administrative sanctions (long-term ban on entering the country, recording the information on the offender in Schengen Information System, administrative arrest with the use of penalty (financial sanctions), expulsion, deportation). Volunteers (they were called “ants”, “armor-clads”) understood their mission as “one night raid = one bulletproof vest = one saved the life at the frontline”. This example (and they were numerous) shows the collective intellect, self-organization and initiative of the Ukrainians.

The public is involved in organization and practical manufacturing of the equipment (make clothes, weave camouflage nets, assemble drones for military intelligence), evacuates people from the antiterrorist operation area, provides professional psychological assistance to the military suffering from post-traumatic syndrome, the families of the fallen, takes care of the wounded in hospitals, etc.

Almost a quarter of all the Ukrainians is somehow involved in military crowd-sourcing or crowd-funding, because they produce ideas, spend their free time in important interactions, contribute money or various things for the needs of the army or for solving other problems associated with counterterrorist operation and its devastating consequences.

Other crowd-sourcing activities include: helping those who can not leave the area affected by hostilities on their own (the elderly, disabled and children); animal protection related to evacuating and finding shelter for the homeless pets; activities to free hostages; planning the evacuation of citizens from the area of antiterrorist operation; organization of professional psychological assistance to the military with post-traumatic syndrome; information crowd-sourcing like prompt notification of the urgent needs of the army and the servicemen, attracting attention to the poor quality of military administrative agencies, instances of corruption, etc.

Another type is the "IT-crowd-sourcing": programmers, engineers and volunteers developing electronic firing charts for artillerymen, automating the military communication systems, designing drones. A whole culture of hacktivism is being created in Ukraine which should be distinguished from, for example, cyber-terrorism - the ideological motivation is the main difference between hacktivists and cybercriminals. Ukrainian cybertroops hacked the sites of the separatists to deliver accurate information or blocking dissemination of false rumours, tracked the correspondence of the militants, obtained lists of Ukrainian prisoners, searched for missing persons.

Having analyzed the manifestations of military crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing, we would like to draw attention to another of its types, related to the problems of those suffering from the hostilities. There has already formed a separate social group in Ukraine, i. e. internally displaced persons; according to official data it includes 1.3 million people, while unofficially this number is much larger (2 million people). It would be more correct to speak about crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding practices aimed at supporting internally displaced persons, singling out a particular type of social practices - migration crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding. But given the short format of the article, we will describe the problems of supporting the internally displaced persons in Ukraine within the framework of military crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding.

The vast majority of those who were forced to leave their homes because of hostilities and occupation have become totally defenseless: their homes, property, jobs remained in the occupied territory and they are uncertain about the prospects of a return home soon. The government slogans of help remain declarative, the support is symbolic, almost each of IDPs experienced discrimination regarding employment, housing, participation in elections and so on.

Ukraine has a number of regulations that protect IDPs, but the implementation of the proposed mechanism of protection is hindered by bureaucratic red tape, many possibilities provided by the law remain declarative. Therefore many issues have been taken over by the public, from providing humanitarian aid to assistance in finding jobs.

Crowd-sourcing was manifested in the creation and maintenance by the community of hotlines for the needs of internally displaced persons: departure from the antiterrorist operation area, receiving humanitarian aid, registering permits, certificates, assistance for persons in captivity or released from captivity, representation and protection of the interests of the inhabitants of the conflict area in state institutions, assistance in finding temporary housing, organization of retraining, work with immigrants to overcome post-traumatic syndrome, social adaptation projects for internally displaced persons. For example, in June 2014 Donbas SOS was launched (<http://donbasssos.org/uk/>). These “hot line” is a social psychological support (overcoming the stress, overcoming isolation, involvement in the network relationships, etc.).

The activists and volunteers created a number of electronic channels in social networks. For example, at the Facebook resources, community and groups to support internally displaced persons in Ukraine were created. At these forums they exchange views, announce specific needs in helping concrete internally displaced persons.

Regarding migration crowd-funding, its tasks in the first days after the onset of problems (we will call it “initial crowd-funding”) and after some stabilization (“consequent crowd-funding”) are different. “Initial crowd-funding” was manifested in financial assistance to leave homes (evacuation), carrying the basic belongings, getting temporary housing with minimum necessary facilities, food packages, clothing, household chemicals, medicines, etc. “Consequent crowd-funding” is an assistance by creating opportunities (model of “involvement” or “open opportunity”) rather than continuing “compassion”: raising money for special counseling centers, payment of legal support and so on. This type of crowd-funding is also evident in fundraising for the construction of modular camps.

The support for internally displaced Ukrainians is an activity of two crowd-funding platforms - “Spilnokosht” (“Big Idea”) and “Ukrainian Philanthropic Exchange”. “Spilnokosht” raises funds for the project “Ticket to Success” for the teens from the annexed Crimea, to run the Office of Employment of internally displaced persons in the regions, etc. “Ukrainian Philanthropic Exchange” has a number of projects under symbolic names “Misfortune happens to anyone” “Give childhood back to children”, “Restore school after the war”, “Medicines for immigrants” and others.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Ukrainian crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing of 2014-2016 by its scale has become an unprecedented manifestation of public self-organization. The crisis in the country and external influences have jeopardized the existence of Ukraine as a sovereign state, which was seen

by citizens as a personal challenge, a threat to their identity. The patriotic enthusiasm in the society resulted in a large number of creative initiatives.

The recent three years have witnessed a sharp increase of Ukrainian public activism, including such advanced formats as social and political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding. Flexible forms of public activity in practice were the most productive, for bypassing bureaucratic red tape in such extraordinary circumstances saves time and lives. In Ukraine crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing have become the operational mechanisms that helped the public to take on the solution of vital problems of the army and internally displaced persons along with the government, or even ahead of it.

Nowadays, an image of Ukrainian society with an unprecedented self-organization and solidarity has been formed in the world. On the one hand, it is a society with numerous differences, but due to the collective idea it is becoming a cohesive community.