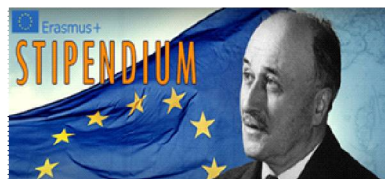




With the support of the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union



This research is fulfilled in framework of Jean Monnet educational module "State-international-public: European values and norms determining interdisciplinary university module (STIPENDIUM)" № 611217-EPP-1-2019-1-UAEPPJMO-MODULE with the support of the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union.

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication [communication] reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

DOI: 10.21847/1728-9343.2020.1(165).222715

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NEW STAKEHOLDERS CHANGING EUROPE

The article provides a comprehensive analysis of the stakeholders' impact on the development of the European Union and identifies prospects for the stakeholders' development and building out appropriate institutions for Ukraine. Globalization, transition of a number of Western countries to the initial stage of an information society, formation of the world economic system, formation of a "risk society" - all these and other factors have led to the transformation of stakeholders in the European Union. The new stakeholders, namely, the global civil society, the transnational capitalist class, the blurred middle class and the precariat, the knowledge-class, the under-class are changing the foundations of the modern world order. Against the background of globalization, the global economic crisis of 2008-2013, many countries are trying to avoid considerable shocks by deepening cooperation, participation in certain integration processes, coordination with other countries or international organizations to address issues of stabilizing their own socio-economic situation. Ukraine has also chosen this strategy by signing and ratifying the Association Agreement with the EU in 2014. For Ukraine, the example of the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 is a heuristic, because the mechanism of admission of new participants is still relevant today. The key components of the country's preparation algorithm were economic transformations, democratization of the country's governance, increase of energy efficiency, and synchronization of legal norms with the EU.

Key words: *European Union; stakeholders; megatrends; transformations; European integration; Ukraine.*

Introduction

Relevance of the research. The European integration processes taking place in modern Ukraine require the study of the experience of the formation and development of the European Union, implementation of the idea of Europe both in the EU member states and in Ukraine. Mega-tendencies and mega-trends of modern world development, especially such as globalization, formation of an information society, emergence of a risk society, cause the transformation of stakeholders, which have a direct impact on the further development of European society and the spread of the European idea in the countries the potentially can join the EU. The idea and experience of the stakeholders' influence on social transformations in the European Union continue to change modern life of the society, and in general affect the fate of mankind. The issue of further determination of the value orientations of Ukrainian society cannot be considered without taking into account the leading European social practices, their critical reflection and generalization of the acquired experience, which additionally actualizes the research topic.

The analysis of current research and publications that address this issue shows a lively interest in the origins of European unity. English researchers F.Cameron (1997), D. Dinan (2004), J. McCormick (2002), C. Marise (2005), C. Frazer (2005) in their works partially covered these issues. It is also necessary to note the works of ideologues of the concept of the "Third Way" E. Giddens (1999), D. Marquand (2004), T. Blair (1998), that formulated the principles of ideology and vision of its role in the development of EU countries. The question of the ideology content and its relevance to modern realities was studied by the British researcher M. Freeden (1999). The issue of implementation of the "Third Way" provisions in the policy of European countries has been studied by European researchers: S. Driver, L. Martell (2000), F. Arestis, M. Sawyer (2001). Russian scientific school of researchers is represented by scientific works of A. A. Gromyko (2006). The cohort of Ukrainian researchers is represented by the scientific works of V. Kopyika, T. Shynkarenko (2001), V. Pospel'sky (2002), O. Poltorakov (2004) and others. Studying the complex of the specified researches it is necessary to state fragmentary character of comprehension of features

of consolidation idea formation of the European states and driving forces of integration progress development.

The research purpose is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the stakeholders' impact on the European Union development.

Methodology and methods

In the article the systematic and structural-functional approaches are used to analyze the specificity of European stakeholders' transformation, the principle of unity of logical and historical in the study of the middle class genesis, a comparative analysis of European conditions and Ukrainian realities. The research is conducted with the usage of general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, generalization, specification, comparison, etc. This made it possible to consider the complex process of EU development and the specifics of Ukraine's European integration as a set of relevant practices.

Results and Discussion

In considering this issue, we can talk about both traditional stakeholders, which have undergone appropriate transformations, and new ones, which have been affected by the processes of globalization and the information society formation.

The main stakeholder in Europe has always been the middle class. The bourgeoisie, as the basis of the middle class, became one of the driving forces of political development in Europe after the Reformation and up to this day. The bourgeoisie promotes a new system of values and motivation for further enrichment on the basis of initiative in business, the minimal role of the religious factor in the life of the state. In addition to traditional values, the bourgeois doctrine of the realization of political ambitions adopts the values of educational ideology (since XVIII century) and largely advocates the combination of freedom of enterprise with globalization (the formation of international trade campaigns in XVII century).

The last third of XVIII century became the culmination of the processes that began with the Reformation era. Deviation from the scholastic orientation of science, the lively interest in the natural sciences, and the demand for knowledge on the part of the bourgeois economy greatly contributed to the development of a new understanding of the state role and society organization. The Enlightenment and the achievements of the humanities greatly contributed to the development of ideas to end hostilities between European states. The quintessence of the Enlightenment ideas in this direction was I. Kant's project on the formation of a pan-European union, formulated in the treatise "To Eternal Peace". Of course, the implementation of such ideas was not actually possible at that time. The urgency of such progress is extremely important as an ideological basis for future generations.

After the end of the Second World War, European countries faced difficult challenges: economic recovery, ensuring sustainable economic development, preventing military conflicts in Europe, and creating a security system. In addition, after the war, Europe was in a rather difficult geopolitical situation, which on the one hand was characterized by a threat from the bloc of communist states, on the other hand by the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The issue of European unity in order to prevent wars had again been considered at various levels. Thus, W. Churchill, in 1945, speaking at the University of Zurich, proposed the idea of creating the "United States of Europe." R. Kudenov-Kalergi played an important role in the preparation

of his speech. Simultaneously with the spread of the idea of Pan-Europeanism, active work was carried out to prepare practical steps for the "reconciliation" of the eternal enemies of France and Germany. The difficulty of implementing the idea of a united Europe was in the need to take into account the interests of both the supranational level and the satisfaction of the business community. In addition, an important direction was ensuring the quality of life and the creation of a powerful middle class, in order to prevent the spread of radical ideologies (Zavadskyi, 2018).

In the second half of XX century, theoretical and practical searches for ways to restructure the welfare state as a means of avoiding new global conflicts began in almost all ideological and political areas of public opinion.

West Germany, devastated by the war, underwent a period of accelerated socio-political rehabilitation and began to develop rapidly on the basis of traditional German values, which were based on the ethics of Protestantism. There was created such a social and economic order, which provided a high motivation to work, an impressive pace of production, technological recovery and an effective system of social protection.

During this period, Ludwig Erhard (1897-1977) - the chief architect of the German "economic miracle", the first Minister of Economy and the second Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany put forward the concept of "social market economy", which was based on five principles:

1. The market economy is social in itself. The state, interested in the well-being of its citizens, has no more effective means to achieve this goal than the constant concern for the preservation and productivity of market mechanisms. They are the key to the efficiency of the entire economic system and, consequently, a source of social benefits.

2. The effectiveness of the state's social policy is not determined by the size of social charity and the scale of the state redistribution policy - to withdraw, then "socially dispose" and return in the form of assistance, subsidies and other social services. Most of the income should remain in the hands of the recipients, and not be taken as a tax and contributions for social needs.

3. The social policy of a state should focus on strengthening the positions of the individual - both at the start and during the competition. Accordingly, the ability to obtain an education, a profession, to acquire property, to achieve a high level of material well-being, to save money and to guarantee that it will not be destroyed by inflation is also a key area of social policy. Only by acquiring financial independence and maximum independence from the state's "social care", a citizen turns from a "social subject," according to L. Erhard, into a free man.

4. The size of the social security sphere should not expand, but, on the contrary, decrease with the growth of social wealth and well-being of citizens. The objects of social care on the part of the state should be only the poor, who are not able to provide for themselves (the richer the society, the fewer recipients of social benefits from the state).

5. One of the main postulates of the concept of "social market economy" says: economic freedom must be combined with "social equalization". In practice, this means that society has no right to eat more than it creates. According to this view, wage growth, for example, should never be higher than productivity growth. Tax policy should not deprive the entrepreneur of the incentive to invest and "punish" those who work harder and better. It is dangerous to link pension increases to wage growth.

Thus, L. Erhard's logic of solving social problems was aimed at not producing dependents, brought up from childhood in the belief that someone should always take care of them. Even with the redistribution of the public "pie", the state must seek to organize the entire system of social support on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity - assistance to promote self-help and private initiative (*Zaritskii, 1997: 164-168*).

For L. Erhard, the launch of market mechanisms (since June 20, 1948) meant something more than just an economic measure in the narrow sense of the word. In his conception of the "social market economy," freedom has become a fundamental precondition for the question of social justice. The market is the best of all existing tools for regulating economic processes.

The main task of the state is to establish "rules of the game" and control their observance by all participants in economic life. Of particular importance in this context is the obligation of the state to promote the conditions for unhindered development and competition and to prevent excessive concentration of "economic power" in the hands of large corporations and monopolies.

Thus, in the foundation of the welfare state there was laid a historical compromise between labour and capital, a corporate agreement between a state, business and trade unions.

The Swedish model found its special way in the social movement, the basic ideas of which were laid down by W. Palme in 1975. The main goal of the Swedish Social Democrats was formulated by E. Wigforss. It reflects the ideas of functional democratic socialism: "to change the economic organization of bourgeois society so that the right to decide on production is in the hands of all the people, so that the majority is freed from the power of a minority with capital and created a society based on cooperation of citizens on the principles of freedom and equality" (*Proyekt novoy programmy..., 1990: 10*).

In 1979, M. Thatcher became a new Prime Minister of England. She announced a new economic and social policy, called "neoliberalism", "ultraliberalism", "market fundamentalism" (G. Soros). To implement it, she set several tasks: the suppression of trade unions, privatization, dismantling of the welfare state, complete freedom of the market - without any interference from the side of the state.

The United States embarked on the path of England in 1980, when R. Reagan was elected the President. Neoliberalism in the United States took the form of Reaganomics. Other Western countries have followed the example of the United States. To some extent, the countries where the Social Democrats were in power (France, etc.) have embarked on the path of neoliberalism. The Social Democratic and Labor parties of some other countries - Australia, Spain, Portugal, and New Zealand - have undergone approximately the same evolution (*Silichev, 2005: 6-8*).

Many factors contributed to the weakening of the welfare state: excessive and ever-increasing military spending, spending on the environment, the energy crisis, competition of cheap goods from Japan, financial and economic mistakes, and so on. The economic downturn and falling profits prompted capital to reconsider the existing compromise, to conclude a new agreement in which the positions of trade unions and employees were significantly weakened.

Large-scale privatization of industrial enterprises left the state in charge mainly of energy, transport and communications, which sharply weakened the economic weight of the state, deprived it of important levers of

regulation. Globalization, internationalization of economic exchanges and the integration of financial markets and flows, and the emergence of supranational institutions and governance structures have also contributed to a significant weakening of the welfare state. Neoliberal transformations have added a new quality to capitalism. In the former model of the three main participants in production - managers, shareholders and employees - the main figure was the manager. Therefore, capitalism was often called managerial. Now such a figure is a shareholder. Accordingly, capitalism has become joint-stock, in which financial markets play a central role (*Silichev, 2005: 6-9*).

As a result of neoliberal reforms, the former welfare state was replaced by the "workfare state" model proposed by T. Blair, or the "enabling state" (*Silichev, 2005: 10*).

The modern period of development of the welfare state, on the one hand, reflects the growing role of civil society institutions and the strengthening of neoliberal ideas, and on the other - ended in the mid-1990s with the distinction between "welfare state" and "social state" (*Kalashnikov, 2002: 80*).

Changes in economic conditions in the Western world have led to the fact that from the mid-1990s of the XX century new ideas about the social state as a mechanism for "removing contradictions" between market laws and social goals arise. Unlike the welfare state, the modern social state seeks to abandon its paternalistic role, it focuses on eradicating alimony and aims to create favorable social conditions primarily through a socially oriented market economy. The essence of the social state is in its duty to promote the independence and responsibility of each individual, as well as to provide social assistance to those citizens who, through no fault of their own, are unable to take responsibility for their own well-being. Thus, in the social state, in contrast to the state of "general welfare", the emphasis is on the responsibility of the individual for their well-being. In the social state such as the "state of opportunity" (*Silenko, 2000*), social protection and assistance of the state is selective, and social policy is based on the principle of individualization and is targeted.

Globalization, transition of a number of Western countries to the initial stage of the information society, formation of the world economic system, domination of the unipolar world after the collapse of the USSR - all these and other factors led to a change in world order and new trends in social development:

- genesis of global civil society;
- formation of the global (transnational) capitalist class;
- erosion of the foundations of the middle class as a guarantor of social stability due to the deconstruction of the welfare state;
- emergence of the "knowledge-class";
- formation of under-class and others.

Global civil society. In the first approximation, global civil society is defined as "a civil society that has gone beyond nation-states and operates internationally, uniting representatives of different countries in its networks and organizations and directing its activities to the global public good. That is, to overcome the consequences of natural disasters, prevent humanitarian conflicts and catastrophes, fight the HIV / AIDS epidemic, solve environmental problems, protect human rights, form international democratic coalitions, etc. (*Stepanenko, 2005: 157*). The main structural unit of national civil societies - non-governmental organizations - is being transformed in a global format into international public organizations.

Characterizing the historical context of the emergence and active development of the phenomenon of global civil

society from the early 1990s, J. Keane identifies seven interdependent trends:

- revival of the concept of civil society by liberal intellectuals in Eastern and Central Europe after the violent suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968 and the actualization of this concept during the post-communist revolutions of the early 1990s;

- impact of the revolutionary effect of new satellite and computer technologies and communications;

- the formation under the influence of mass pacifist and environmental movements of a new global self-awareness of life in an unstable world that is potentially self-destructing;

- widespread ideas about the arrival of a new global political order after the collapse of the Soviet-style world communist system;

- significant increase in the influence of the neoliberal economic paradigm and the global growth of a market capitalist economy;

- the mood of mass frustration, and, above all, among the population of the "third world" countries, about the promised economic assistance to postcolonial countries;

- increasing anxiety due to the dangerous and economically unfavorable political vacuum, which was created by the collapse of empires and states and caused many civil wars in different parts of the world (Keane, 2003: 1-2).

The activity of global civil society in the spread of Western liberal values as universal, objectively contributes to the process of erasing the economic and cultural characteristics of different countries. And this, in its turn, clears the way for the expansion of global capital in local markets and the use of cheap labor in developing countries.

V. Stepanenko notes that the strategies of global civil society are quite different - from support and partnership in the system of global governance (partnership with UN structures, states and TNCs, in the field of humanitarian policy, etc.) to political movements and resistance to globalization (anti-globalization movements and anti-war protests, activities in the field of human rights protection and global ecology, etc.). To a large extent, the strategies of civil society actors depend on their position on the contradictory processes of globalization, as well as on the geopolitical context of representation. The geopolitical South is more clearly aware of the negative effects of globalization than the geopolitical North (Stepanenko, 2005: 164-165).

The examples of such international non-governmental organizations are: "Amnesty International", "Doctors Without Borders", "Reporters Without Borders", the powerful environmental organizations "Greenpeace" and "Friends of the Earth International", and the international anti-corruption organization "Transparency International", international human rights organizations such as "Amnesty International" and "Human Rights Watch", as well as the international humanitarian organization "Oxfam". International NGOs already have their own network and organizational "umbrellas", including the Union of International Associations and the World Alliance for Citizen Participation (CIVICUS) (Stepanenko, 2005). They actively cooperate with the United Nations, and some of them have consultative and observer status at the organization. The network of international NGOs and national non-governmental organizations focused on international activities is actively developing. XX century, and especially its last quarter - is a period of "tectonic growth" in the number and diversity of public organizations operating on a planetary level (Keane, 2003: 4). At the beginning of the XXI century there were up to 50 thousand such organizations (Anheier, Themudo, 2002: 194). Moreover, their number in the last 20 years of the XX century has increased almost 4 times (Anheier,

Themudo, 2002: 194). And although most of the main offices of these organizations with more than 100 thousand staff are located in Europe and the United States, they operate in almost all parts of the world. The scale of financial support for the activities of international non-governmental organizations is also impressive. In general, international non-governmental organizations operate in their activities with a stronger financial flow than the UN (without such structural units as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund); more than two thirds of the European Union's economic assistance fund is distributed through these organizations (Keane, 2003: 5), and in many developed countries there is a trend of increasing use of public funds in the implementation of targeted programs of international assistance through networks of national and international NGOs. Since the early 2000s, the annual amount of targeted funds for economic assistance programs distributed by international NGOs has been about 7 billion US dollars (Keane, 2003: 5).

The important role of INGOs (international non-governmental organizations) is manifested in the development of transnational values and norms through international moral dialogues (Kvitka, 2017). These norms, called "soft laws", not only contribute to the global normative synthesis, but also form a moral basis on which representatives of different peoples are able to come to an agreement (McKinney, Schoch, 2003).

The following example can be given (Kvitka, 2017). In the late XX century, INGOs came together to demand that the World Bank, the IMF, and the G7 write off the debt of underdeveloped countries. INGOs insisted on the need to forgive debts before the new millennium. Such activities were most active in Sweden, Denmark and the United Kingdom, whose governments, in turn, were the first to raise the issue at international meetings. As a result, the debt of 26 countries was written off, in particular - on US loans of almost half a billion dollars. It is impossible to attribute all the achievements to INGOs, but it is also important to note that they influenced the decisions of governments and international governmental organizations to address this issue. NGOs, which can be confidently attributed to global civil society organizations, do seek to address many issues, or at least make a significant contribution to their solutions (Barber, 2000).

Transnational capitalist class. The processes of globalization are changing the economic practices of separate countries. A characteristic feature of transnational economic practice is its going beyond national borders.

The author of the famous "Sociology of the Global System", British sociologist, professor at London School of Economics and Political Science L. Sklair, understands modern processes of globalization as follows (Sklair, 1999): the link between political transnational practice and the global capitalist system are thousands of international, regional, national, local, professional and other federations, associations, organizations, foundations that contribute to capitalist expansion on a global level. Most of them directly play the role of "pressure groups" ("lobby"). According to the principles of their creation, they are divided into sectional (for example, TNCs, trade unions, industrial and commercial associations) and contributing (jointly acting) (for example, charitable foundations, religious organizations, political parties and movements, public organizations). The interaction of these groups is of great importance in the dissemination of political transnational practices. L. Sklair notes that the activities of many of them are marginal, and in opposite cases there is a tendency to incline to the interests of TNCs.

Based on the realities of the world capitalist system

development and the practice of TNCs, the researcher proposes the concept of a *transnational capitalist class*. This concept is based on the recognition of one central transnational capitalist class that makes decisions. They apply to the entire capitalist system. It is this class that connects TNCs in each locality, region, country (Sklair, 1995).

According to L. Sklair, today neither the global capitalist class nor the global working class have transnational political parties or transnational trade unions, although such international groups already exist and, in some way, influence the political practice of TNCs. Whereas, TNCs directly or indirectly affect the content of these groups (Arseenko, 2003: 116).

Nowadays, the European Union is the most organized form of international cooperation. The EU is also one of the illustrative examples of TNCs' participation in regional integration processes. The process of Western European integration is conditioned by the development and deepening of the international division of labor from simple exchange of goods to sustainable international trade in goods and services, to international capital movement and the creation of new industries, to close industrial and scientific cooperation, to joint production and management. As already mentioned, the Unification of European countries was initiated by political decisions taken in the 50s of the XX century at the level of leadership of the leading states of the European continent.

After the end of World War II, European countries, whose economies had been virtually destroyed, were forced to cooperate in order to survive in conditions of international competition. From 1946 to 1958, 40% of foreign branches of foreign TNCs were concentrated in Europe, which created an extensive network of macroeconomic relations (Borchard, 1995: 32). At the same time, a strong argument for European integration was the need to counteract the complete dominance of the United States in the world economy (Akopiants, 2008).

In the 1990s, a new stage in the development of European TNCs began, which further deepened the economic aspect of European integration. It is characterized by two important phenomena: 1) the emergence of post-industrial, European TNCs, such as Nokia and Vodafone. These corporations have established branches in many European countries for 10 years. In 2000, they were included in the list of 100 largest TNCs in the world, despite the fact that only in 1999 they placed their shares on the stock markets (BIKI, 2001: 11); 2) since the early 1990s there has been a consistent process of mergers and acquisitions of small regional European companies by large TNCs, which leads to the emergence of trans-European industrial groups (Akopiants, 2008).

Thus, multinational corporations have also had a huge impact on integration processes. The activities of such giants as "Royal Dutch / Shell", "BP Amoko", "Daimler-Chrysler", "Nestle", "Nokia", "Siemens", had and still have a strong influence on the development of the European Union economies. Moreover, it should be noted that their growing role was both a consequence and a cause of these processes (Rakovskii, 2001).

The enlargement of the EU to the East has become an important aspect of European integration. With the entry into new markets of countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), Western European companies needed to reduce tariff barriers and improve trade conditions with these countries, which ultimately became one of the reasons for the merger. After the integration of the new CEE countries into the European Union in 2004, most

analysts talked about the expansion of Western European corporations into a new market for them. CEE had its own TNCs with a fairly solid capitalization. However, it is not even a question of the volume of foreign assets or the index of transnationalization, according to which CEE TNCs are significantly inferior to Western European TNCs. The fact is that in CEE TNCs were mainly engaged in electricity, transport and, at best, pharmaceuticals. Examples are Hrvatska Electropriroda (Croatia), Petrol Group (Slovenia), Petrom KG HM Polska Miedz (Poland), which were engaged in oil production and refining, coal mining and electricity, as well as the Latvian shipping company, Hungarian Airlines (Malev Hungarian) (UNCTAD, 2003: 41). Experts hoped that the arrival of Western European TNCs would be able to diversify the economies of new countries and raise the level of economic development to Central Europe (Akopiants, 2008).

TNCs form the basis of the Western European economy, determine the vector of development and are one of the main levers of economic influence of the EU abroad. Transnational corporations form the backbone of the EU's industrial production, services and international trade, they are leaders in R&D (research and development) and play a leading role in foreign direct investments.

The activities of transnational corporations are inextricably linked with the processes of liberalization of industrial, trade and financial relations. By opening foreign branches, corporations naturally contribute to the convergence of national economies, the formation of a regional economic complex with a structure and proportions that address the needs of the region as a whole. Due to the above and many other circumstances, transnational corporations have gained increasing influence in interstate relations. Trade between branches occupies a significant place in the activities of transnational corporations, and therefore they actively advocate the elimination of customs barriers, the free movement of goods and services, the introduction of a single transport and information policy in the group, a single European currency (Rakovskii, 2001).

Transnational corporations play an important role not only in the economy of the home country, but also actively influence the political, social, scientific, cultural life of other countries, regions and the world. Today, there is no significant process in the world economy and politics that would take place without their active participation. TNCs have become a ubiquitous force that shapes the present and future world (Tymofieieva, 2019).

At the beginning of the XXI century, there are about 80,000 TNCs and 850,000 branches in the world. Parent companies are located mainly in developed countries (50.2 thousand). More branches are in developing countries (495 thousand). TNCs account for about half of world industrial production and more than two-thirds of foreign trade. They control about 80% of patents and licenses for inventions, new technologies and know-how. TNCs control certain commodity markets: 90% of the world market for wheat, coffee, corn, timber, tobacco, jute, iron ore, 85% of the copper and bauxite market, 80% of the tea and tin market, and 75% of the crude oil market, natural rubber and bananas. Up to half of US export operations are carried out by American and foreign TNCs, in the United Kingdom similar operations are carried out by up to 80% of TNCs, in Singapore - up to 90%. TNCs employ more than 70 million people, who annually produce products for more than 1 trillion dollars. Taking into account the various infrastructure and related industries, TNCs have employed more than 150 million people, engaged in modern industrial production and services. The largest TNCs are

usually concentrated in developed countries. Thus, the twenty largest companies in terms of turnover include TNCs in the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, the Netherlands (Adam, 2017).

"Erosion" of the middle class. Today, there is a decline in the living standards of workers in the industrial sector and much of the service sector and its growth in those employed in knowledge-intensive production, which previously also belonged to the middle class. The erosion of this once fairly homogeneous mass of the population continues, and, without a doubt, much of it has the potential to join the ranks of the lower class, which inevitably provokes social protest. The catalyst for new manifestations of class confrontation may be the collapse of the existing social security system.

During the last decades of the XX and the beginning of the XXI century there is a rapid "erosion" of the "middle class", which for a long time remained the mainstay of industrial society. In this situation, according to V. Inozemtsev, the lower class ceases to be a narrow group consisting of declassed elements, and becomes a significant social force that opposes the "class of intellectuals" as the most important component of modern social structure (Inozemtsev, 2000: 20). Furthermore, the issue of precariat formation is relevant today.

The process of emergence of this new class - precariat began in the second half of the XX century due to the active development of globalization in conjunction with the neoliberal policies of Western countries. The spread of the principles of neoliberalism in a rapidly globalized world has led to the precariat becoming a global phenomenon, not just a sign of the West. British economist and analyst Guy Standing in "Precariat: a new dangerous class" (Standing, 2014) argues that this new class is rapidly becoming a threat and a fundamentally new challenge for the whole modern world due to the fact that precariat people have four main feelings, namely: constant dissatisfaction with their situation and life in general; anomie, i.e. loss of landmarks in everyday life; anxiety and alienation from society. The main characteristic of the representatives of this class is the status of "permanently" temporarily employed. That is, such people can become unemployed at any time, and the lack of a steady income or stable income makes their situation chronically uncertain. In the West, for this type of employment, there was even a special term "Mc Jobs" - job at McDonald's" (Hrabovska, 2019).

Thus, in a post-industrial society, the middle class is eroding, a smaller part of it is joining the ranks of the upper "knowledge-class", and a larger part - the ranks of the underclass.

"Knowledge-class". "If industrial society - as D. Bell wrote - is defined by the number of goods, which indicate the standard of living, then post-industrial society - by quality of life, measured by services and various amenities - health, education, recreation and culture..." (Bell, 1999: 171). If in the past the dominant figures in society were entrepreneurs, businessmen and industrial leaders, nowadays, according to the researchers, they are replaced by professionals and creators of intellectual technologies. The principle of meritocracy, which has become the main criterion of social advancement, contributes to the erasure of relatively stable previously class differences, which are steadily replaced by professional differences, and the conflict between labor and capital - the conflict between professionalism and dilettantism (Luhvin, 2006: 111).

According to V. Inozemtsev, in the conditions of post-industrial society the picture of class confrontation is radically transformed. First, members of the "knowledge-

class" increasingly profess intangible values, while most citizens still sell their labor, primarily for material gain, guided by purely materialistic in nature incentives. Secondly, the ruling class now not only owns the means of production, which are either non-reproducible (land) or created by the labor of the oppressed class (capital), but also independently manufactures these means of production, providing within its own process of formation and self-growth of information values. So, the lower class is no longer so necessary to ensure the wealth of the social elite. Its claims to a part of the national product, which were previously more than well-founded, are now less substantiated, which, to some extent, explains the growing material inequality of the representatives of the higher and lower social strata. Thus, the modern class conflict no longer unfolds around the ownership of the means of production, but is formed as a result of unequal distribution of human capabilities, which creates tension that exceeds the severity of any previous form of class confrontation (Inozemtsev, 2000b: 72).

With the emergence of the "knowledge-class" immaterial goals become the engine of social progress and that part of society (majority of it!), that is unable to absorb them, objectively loses its significance in public life than any other class in agrarian or industrial societies. Intellectual stratification gradually becomes the basis of any other social stratification, because it is on this foundation that huge social groups, whose participation in social production was previously a necessary condition for social progress, are practically unnecessary for the development of production processes (Inozemtsev, 2000b: 73).

Underclass. The well-known economist G. Myrdal in 1963 defined the underclass as "a class limited in its interests, consisting of unemployed, incapable and part-time persons who, with a greater or lesser degree of hopelessness, are separated from the society as a whole and do not participate in it. life and do not share his aspirations and successes" (Myrdal, 1963: 10). With this approach, V. Inozemtsev is convinced, this category of persons should include at least a third of the population of developed post-industrial countries. Underclass is not something excluded from public life; on the contrary, it is the consolidation and formation of underclass self-consciousness that can in the future become factors of growing social conflict (Inozemtsev, 2000a: 21-22). The following possible underclass' perspectives are distinguished (Inozemtsev, 2000a: 25-26):

1. The processes of property and social stratification are mostly caused by the technological revolution of recent decades, accelerated technological progress has sharply devalued unskilled labor.

2. The problem of poverty in modern conditions is not limited to the issues of physical survival or some forms of pauperism, this problem is caused by the natural development of modern economy.

3. The modern system of social security in favor of low-paid segments of the population can only maintain the current level of their consumption and prevent a sharp decline, but any efforts of the state cannot lead to a qualitative change in the proportions of social wealth as a whole.

The author of the article "Social movements, the European Crisis, and the EU political opportunities" (Della Porta, Parks, 2016). Donatella della Porta on the Internet portal Social Europe points out: "The financial crisis, and especially the EU's response to austerity - Greece's treatment, and less and less attention to the "Europe for citizens" - have certainly ruined hopes for a social Europe ... Recent progressive movements - from those mobilizing

against austerity to those mobilizing in solidarity with refugees - have changed the vision and practice of "another Europe". In particular, protesters against austerity aimed at what they perceived as a conspiracy of economic and political elites. Civil society organizations that mobilized in solidarity with migrants viewed the European institutions as a betrayal of fundamental rights. Protesters in these countries have been hit hardest by the economic crisis, cuts in public spending and the associated rise in inequality, and tend to have the lowest trust in the EU institutions. As for their repertoire of protests, the counter-summits at European Council meetings have been replaced by the occupation of public squares - that is, at the local level, where protesters are making some progress in restoring democracy" (*Della Porta, 2019*).

Migration processes have a significant impact on modern Europe. The European Union pursues a liberal policy of protecting the democratic rights and freedoms of citizens, including members of religious, ethnic and sexual minorities. However, this may carry certain risks of social instability. For example, the number of Muslims in Europe is growing rapidly. The number of factors should be also taken into account: high birth rate in Muslim families, the low level of integration of Muslim migrants into European society, in contrast to the behavior of other national minorities (Indian, Chinese, Eastern Europeans), which retain their cultural identity and gradually integrate into society they live in. To this should be added the low, sometimes negative growth rates of the local population (Christians), as well as the adoption of the Islamic religion by the local population of Europe (mostly women). As a result, such multi-religious and ethnic diversity against the background of migration complications becomes the basis for social contradictions and conflicts.

2015 was a turning point in migration processes in Europe. UN refugee agency reports that more than half a million refugees from the Middle East and North Africa arrived in the EU in 2015 (*BBS News, 2015*).

In 2019 there were over 141 thousand illegal border crossings detected at the borders of the European Union, with the Eastern Mediterranean detecting the highest number of crossings at over 83.3 thousand (*Clark, 2020*).

At the end of 2019, there were 26.0 million refugees and 45.7 million internally displaced persons worldwide. 10% of all refugees and only a fraction of internally displaced persons was living in the EU. The share of refugees in the EU is 0.6% compared to the total population (*European Commission, 2019*).

Globalization, formation of the information society has led to the genesis of a risk society. An important but controversial achievement of U. Beck's "concept of risk society" (*Beck, 2000*) is also the question of the socio-class nature of risks, which, in his opinion, although concentrated in weak, socially vulnerable layers, but spread independently of power and prosperity. On the one hand, U. Beck writes that the history of risk distribution shows: risks, as well as wealth, are distributed according to the class scheme, only in reverse order: wealth is concentrated in the upper layers, risks in the lower - and adds - risks do not eliminate, but strengthen class society. Vulnerable groups are more insecure and more likely to be at risk. On the contrary, those with high incomes, power and education can buy both security and freedom from risk. On the other hand, U. Beck appeals to the fact that the methods, patterns and means of communication of risk distribution are radically different from the methods, patterns and means of wealth distribution. In particular, in the process of spreading modernization risks, social

differences and boundaries become relative. Based on this, U. Beck believes that risk societies are not class societies. Dangerous situations that arise in them cannot be perceived as class situations, their contradictions are not class contradictions. Thus, a significant role in the concept of risk society is given to political factors, the impact of public policy on key components of risk society in the process of reflective modernization (*Demchuk, 2014*).

The response to globalization challenges, modernization of stakeholders, and the uncertainty of the risk society was the establishment of an appropriate system of governance in the European Union.

The EU governance system uses stabilization mechanisms through its main institutions:

- **European Council**, which outlines the EU's political priorities. It comprises the Heads of States and Governments of the EU Member States, as well as the President of the European Commission;

- **Council of the European Union** - coordinates the economic policy of the European Union and plays a leading role in the external relations and security policy of the European Union. The Council of the EU consists of one minister from each of the 28 EU member states;

- **European Commission**, the executive body that represents the interests of the EU as a whole, including in the international arena.

- **European Parliament**, which protects interests of the citizens of the European Union and together with the Council of the EU performs legislative functions. Parliament consists of 750 members and 1 chairman. It monitors the activities of the European Commission through regular reporting.

Along with European and national authorities and institutions, the system of European governance consists of local governments and the public, which in one form or another on a permanent basis is fully involved in the decision-making process. The European Commission introduced its concept of governance in the so-called European Commission's White Paper on Governance (*European Governance, 2001*), which was adopted by the European Commission in July 2001. Among other things, the Book contains numerous recommendations in the context of strengthening European democracy, increasing the level of responsibility of EU executive bodies, and introducing decision-making procedures in the EU in order to enable citizens to participate in decisions that directly affect citizens. The White Paper proposes principles for good governance, such as openness, cooperation, accountability, consistency, and so on. In this context, special attention should be paid to the principle of accountability, which is based on the principles of the right of EU citizens to good governance, which also implies the obligation of government institutions to respond to the needs of citizens. Local state administrations in EU countries have a fairly high degree of freedom in financial, administrative and legal matters (*Kharchenko, 2016*).

Considering the next level of understanding of the processes that underlie the current stage of European integration, and the role of stakeholders in it, we should pay attention to "human capital", the capitalization of political systems. Functioning of the EU, which is based primarily on a common economy and three "freedoms", largely takes into account the interests and needs of the population, becoming a high standard. The very idea of European integration is an attempt to create a prosperous society with broad rights and opportunities, with the maximum number of people with average wealth, as opposed to a communist society with significant state

influence. The "human dimension" of the EU is not only one of the elements of the Communities, it is a space of personality formation with a progressive system of values, high mobility and skills relevant to the modern world.

The idea of the "Third Way" of EU development formulated in the joint declaration of G. Schroeder and E. Blair "Third Way / New Center" demonstrated a systematic vision of the common EU policy aimed at comprehensive support of the social component, support for small and medium business, modern education, unemployment prevention, fair taxation and a moderate level of state intervention in the economy. Analyzing the content of the Declaration, the thesis of supporting the impetus for the development of the economies of the EU member states at the expense of internal human resources, which in conditions of free competition and state support should be the basis of prosperity, is clearly traced (Zavadskyi, 2017).

The abovementioned theses correlate with the ideas of modern ideologues of the theory of the "Third Way", presented in the works of British Scholars D. Marquand and A. Giddens, who are supporters of social democratic ideology. The concepts of "citizenship" voiced in the early 2000s by A. Giddens, which involves the importance of the civic component of the existence of a developed state, are the ideological basis for the policy of the "new labourists". Developing the idea of the "Third Way", in his work "Progressive Manifesto" he promotes the idea of "embedded market", which should be integrated into the social, cultural, legal matrix of society. The sustainable functioning of the market must be ensured by the "guarantor state", which controls and coordinates business, ensuring the sustainable development of society. The state, in the concept of the "Third Way" must ensure equal access of every citizen to resources, health care, education, social services and guarantee high standards of service provision (Giddens, 1999: 117).

The basic conceptual foundations of the "Third Way" were projected in the policies of the leading EU states until the early 2010s and largely demonstrated their relevance and effectiveness, contributing to the economic growth of the first decade of the XXI century. The implementation of elements of this concept has been clearly traced in the strategies of overcoming the economic crisis of 2008 of many European governments.

The challenges, the European Communities are facing currently, call for a coordinated policy between Germany and France. Considering the attempts of systemic reforms in the EU, related to the failure of the European constitution, incomplete implementation of the Lisbon Strategy, incompleteness of the reforms declared by the Nice Agreement, it becomes clear that deepening integration towards stronger "supranationalism" encounters quite serious resistance. In addition, Britain's withdrawal from the EU requires the search for instruments in the field of common financial policy. Going back to 2017, this year was a turning point not only for the European Union as a subject of world politics, but also called into question the very idea of consolidation in a supranational entity.

Almost simultaneously, visions of EU reform were voiced by the political leaders of Germany and France. A. Merkel's idea of "Europe of two speeds" is aimed at differentiation of approaches to the management of the European Union. The position of French President E. Macron is more moderate, he calls for strengthening the security bloc of the Communities, proposing the organization of armed forces and a joint intelligence service. The French leader did not miss the complex of transformations, which largely echoes the concept of the "Third Way". In particular,

proposals were voiced on the unification of taxes in the EU, the formation of common social legislation, integration of educational processes, solving the refugee problem. It is clear that politicians of the level of A. Merkel and E. Macron, in their public discourse, are unlikely to openly appeal to the term "Third Way", addressing their predecessors, but the use of ideas and further logic of intentions to implement them suggests the relevance of this ideology (Zavadskyi, 2017).

Thus, the "Merkel-Macron Era", which began in 2017, largely continues to use elements of the "Third Way" concept and has brought new challenges to most EU citizens. For the vast majority of EU citizens, the global dimension of integration with deepening economic cooperation and giving the "center" broader political powers is not entirely clear. This thesis is supported by examples of pan-European referendums, where the population showed a significant amount of skepticism (for example, referendums on the EU Constitution, the referendum in Britain). This is not about ordinary populism and socialist slogans, the concept of the "Third Way" is to some extent an instrument of the EU's global model with a leading role of human capital (Zavadskyi, 2017).

Lessons and forecasts for Ukraine. Against the background of globalization, the global economic crisis of 2008-2013, many countries are trying to avoid significant shocks by deepening cooperation, participation in certain integration processes, coordination with other countries or international organizations to address issues of stabilizing their own socio-economic situation. Ukraine has also chosen this strategy by signing and ratifying the Association Agreement with the EU in 2014 and planning foreign policy steps aimed at further rapprochement with the European Union. The future membership of the Ukrainian state in the European Union will provide an opportunity to strengthen foreign policy positions on the world stage, accelerate economic development, raise social living standards, reform the education system, overcome corruption and more.

For Ukraine, the example of the European Union enlargement in 2004 has been heuristic, because the mechanism of admission of new participants is still relevant today. The key components of the country's preparation algorithm were economic transformations, democratization of the country's governance, increase of energy efficiency, and synchronization of legal norms with the EU.

The fifth enlargement of the EU differed from the previous ones not only in quantitative parameters, but also in qualitative ones. For the first time, the number of EU member states increased by ten at the same time. The countries that became full members in 2004 lagged behind the EU average in terms of economic and social development. The most successful of the 2004 accession countries, the Czech Republic, showed a GDP level of 73% of the EU average. Latvia had the lowest GDP, only 43% of the EU level (Zavadskyi et al, 2019).

According to the structure of economies, socio-demographic sphere, level of democratic transformations, it is possible to make a conditional division of the countries that joined the EU in 2004 into three groups (Zavadskyi et al, 2019).

The first group of "Central and Eastern European countries" - the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia, Hungary (GDP - 29-37 thousand US dollars), among the "newcomers" in the EU are characterized by stable economic growth. Integration into the EU market and a high level of value-added production combined with investment contribute to stable development. It is possible to state a

positive effect on the economy of the countries from EU membership. In demographic terms, this group is characterized by slow population growth and a significant outflow of the working population to the "old" EU countries.

The second group of "Baltic countries" - Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia (GDP - 27-34 thousand US dollars), gaining full membership in the EU have taken a transport niche in the European economy. Most industrial enterprises have ceased operations due to unprofitability and non-competitiveness in the European market. Services and transport became the key sectors of the economy. In addition, these countries have created liberal tax systems and a favorable investment climate (*Lukiyanova et al., 2018*). Since the mid-1990s, there has been a rapid outflow of the working population. In addition, the demographic characteristics of these countries include rapid "aging" and population decline (*Donaj, Zavadskyi, 2018*). One of the threats to these countries is the informational influence of the Russian Federation, which is trying to regain its position in the post-Soviet space. This, in its turn, is a latent factor in slowing down the socio-economic development of these countries, reducing its investment attractiveness, unbalancing the region in the EU structure (*Murinska et al., 2018; Dodonov, Aleksandrova, 2019*).

The third group of countries "Mediterranean countries" - Cyprus, Malta (GDP - 37-44 thousand US dollars), demonstrating the highest achievements in the economic sphere, received the greatest effect from EU membership. Both countries have a strong tourism industry, significant investment attractiveness and a loyal tax system that facilitates the inflow of financial flows from around the world. Similarly, these states are characterized by slow population growth. Economic efficiency and a small population greatly contribute to rapid economic growth.

It is worth recalling that at the beginning of 2016, the EU included 28 countries united by common values and approaches to achieve stability, prosperity and security. About 500 million citizens of different nationalities lived in the European Union. Over the last 50 years of its existence, the European Union has become an influential group that plays a leading role in world politics, social sphere, economy and culture. Today, the EU is, so far, the only economic and humanitarian group in which the participants have abandoned internal borders to ensure the free movement of capital, products, services and people.

Regarding democratization processes, the forecasts for Ukraine are as follows.

American political scientist S. Huntington identified the following waves of democratization:

1. Long-term (1828-1926) and the rollback wave (1922-1942);
2. Short (1943-1962) and the rollback wave (1958-1975);
3. The wave of democratization - since 1997 (*Huntington, 1991*).

The first and second waves of democratization, according to S. Huntington's classification, ended with the formation of classical models of democratic development in Western European countries, as well as in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The third wave of democratization, which dates back to the 1970s, has experienced some difficulties in Latin America, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Practice shows that the majority of the former USSR countries are characterized by the alienation of the elite from the people and its transformation into the only source of power in society, despite, for example, the norm in the Constitution of Ukraine that "The bearer of sovereignty and

the only source of power in Ukraine is the people. The people exercise power directly and through public authorities and local governments" (*Constitution of Ukraine, 2006*).

Statistics indicate the alienation of power from the people and the further development of clan-oligarchic capitalism in the Ukrainian state.

The annual rating of the 100 richest Ukrainians (2019) showed that the total weight of the Golden Hundred of Ukraine is \$ 34.8 billion (\$ 2.7 billion less than in 2018), with \$ 30.6 billion of them in the first 50 lines.¹

Oligarch Rinat Akhmetov remains the undisputed leader of the rating. He owns more than a quarter of all the wealth of the 100 richest Ukrainians. Akhmetov's capital is 189 times larger than that of businessman Alexander Tabalov, who is in 100th place.

The first six participants in the ranking are billionaires. Their total wealth is \$ 17.8 billion, which is only \$ 1 billion more than the other 94 multimillionaires in the ranking combined.

Top ten rankings:

1. Rinat Akhmetov - \$ 9.629 billion (for the year the wealth decreased by 21%);
2. Viktor Pinchuk - \$ 2.310 billion (-14%);
3. Vadym Novinsky - \$ 1.767 billion (-22%);
4. Ihor Kolomoisky - \$ 1.480 billion (-8%);
5. Hennady Boholiubov - \$ 1.376 billion (-16%);
6. Petro Poroshenko - \$ 1.253 billion (+ 12%);
7. Oleksandr and Halyna Hereha - \$ 930 million (+ 10%);
8. Dmytro Firtash - \$ 792 million (+ 62%);
9. Konstantyn Zhevago - \$ 744 million (+ 30%);
10. Mykola Zlochevskyi - \$ 686 million (+ 8%).

The value of the assets of the 100 richest Ukrainians is equivalent to 23% of Ukraine's GDP. This proportion is slightly lower than in 2018 - 28%, and far from the figure in 2013 - 40%.

Ukrainian oligarchs in the Forbes 2020 ranking

Rank	Name	Net Worth
875	Rinat Akhmetov	\$ 2.4 B
1613	Victor Pinchuk	\$ 1.3 B
1730	Henadiy Boholyubov	\$ 1.2 B
1851	Yuriy Kosiuk	\$ 1.1 B
1990	Ihor Kolomoyskyy	\$ 1 B
1990	Kostyantyn Zhevago	\$ 1 B

Based on the research of the American political scientist A. Leiphart, we can assume that the most optimal political regime is characteristic of individual European states co-social democracy [from Eng. - consociational], whose main task is to create a system of restrictions and counterbalances for a large number of political elites. This explains the political stability in the countries such as Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland (*Leiphart, 1992*).

A systematic analysis of the current development of European countries shows that the European Union is currently trying to embody a single citizenship as a transitional step from national to supranational (global, cosmopolitan) citizenship. The basis for this was the Maastricht Treaty (1992), which provided for "the status of a European Union citizen." "The introduction of the legal status of EU

¹ Golden hundred. Top 100 richest Ukrainians - the rating of NV and Dragon Capital. <https://nv.ua/ukr/biz/markets/top-100-naybagatshih-ukrajinciv-reyting-nv-i-dragon-capital-novini-ukrajini-50050784.html> (31.10.2019)

citizenship makes the achievement of world citizenship potentially possible" (Cohen, 1999: 251) as J. Cohen emphasized. U. Beck (1997) and R. Pierik (2006) insisted on cosmopolitan Europe. D. Archibugi pointed out the conditions and possibilities of cosmopolitan democracy as voluntary alliances between governmental and meta-governmental institutions. The integration of non-democratic states into cosmopolitan democracy can act as an incentive for their internal democratization (Archibugi, 2004: 464).

Thus, the EU has created appropriate conditions for the mobility of its citizens, changes in stereotypical thinking, the spread of tolerance, respect for human rights, the value of individual and citizen freedom. Ukraine still has to go through this path, overcoming internal contradictions, including in the process of forming a national identity. If the formation of a so-called European identity in the future is relevant in a united Europe, when EU citizens consider themselves EU citizens, it is currently difficult to predict the readiness of future new EU member states to "switch" from a national philosophy to a "single European development philosophy". On the other hand, as V. Kharchenko points out, socio-economic and security issues can in some way "accelerate" the process of rapprochement with the European Union. Examples of such developments are the collapse of the USSR, the withdrawal of Eastern European states from the sphere of influence of the USSR and the gradual inclusion of these countries in the sphere of influence of the EU with the subsequent acquisition of membership (Kharchenko, 2016).

In the Strategy of Ukraine's integration into the European Union, regional integration is one of the most important areas. The main point in this issue is the European Charter of Local Self-Government (1985), other legal documents of the EU, the Council of Europe. Ukraine has undertaken to adhere to the principles and approaches set out in this Charter, which guarantee the legal, administrative and financial autonomy of the territorial communities and their bodies. Despite the decentralization reform launched in 2015, which provides for the transfer of significant powers and budgets from state bodies to local governments, the process of implementing the European Charter of Local Self-Government, which entered into force for Ukraine on 01.01.1998, is slow.

In 2000, Ukraine adopted the Law "On State Social Standards and State Social Guarantees" (On State Social Standards..., 2000). In order to ensure the constitutional right of citizens to a sufficient standard of living in Ukraine, basic state social guarantees have been established. These are, in particular: the minimum wage, the minimum old-age pension, the non-taxable minimum income, the amount of state social assistance and other social benefits. Basic state social guarantees cannot be lower than the subsistence level (Matiash, 2013).

In 2006, Ukraine ratified the European Social Charter. In accordance with the provisions of the Charter, the member states of the Council of Europe have agreed to ensure certain social rights for their population in order to improve the living standards and social well-being of their populations. The Charter states, inter alia, that everyone has the right to enjoy measures that enable him or her to achieve the best possible state of health; every low-income person has the right to social and medical assistance; everyone has the right to use the services of social services; people with disabilities have the right to independence, social integration and participation in society; family, as the principal unit of society, has the right to adequate social, legal and economic protection to ensure its full development (European Social Charter, 1996).

However, according to Ukrainian society, it should be remembered that high European living standards are ensured not only by institutions, but also by the activity of Europeans themselves, because there is no decent standard of living without economic growth.

Further European integration steps of Ukraine are the creation of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, the National Agency for Higher Education Quality Assurance, further reform of the local self-government system, etc.

The National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine is a new body in the law enforcement system of Ukraine, created after the Revolution of Dignity to cleanse the government of corruption in order to build and develop a successful society and an effective state². The establishment and launch of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine was one of the requirements of the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission for visa liberalization between Ukraine and the European Union. On October 14, 2014, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the Law "On the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine".

Ensuring the quality of higher education is a requirement of modernity, a key principle of the Bologna Declaration and an indisputable priority for the academic community and public educational policy of Europe and other developed countries. Unfortunately, according to the website of the National Agency, Ukraine is not a leader in ensuring the quality of higher education, the country is experiencing processes of degradation of certain higher education institutions, manifestations of academic dishonesty, poor quality educational services, lack of interaction and trust between stakeholders³.

The Law of Ukraine "On Higher Education" of 2014 provided for the establishment of the National Agency for Higher Education Quality Assurance, which is an independent permanent collegial body. Today, the National Agency acquires the ability to implement state policy in the field of higher education, to meet modern challenges and to become a catalyst for change in higher education in Ukraine in order to form the culture of its quality⁴.

Conclusions

Thus, Ukraine's European choice requires a new understanding of the European integration process and the role of stakeholders in it. This involves proper political support, further development of civil society, abandonment of paternalistic expectations of the population, overcoming right-wing nihilism, and others. The implementation of the EU's strategic guidelines in Ukraine is possible only if it creates a value space, awareness of the dualism of freedom and responsibility, further development of "human capital" and a competitive economy.

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² National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine. <https://nabu.gov.ua/istoriya-stanovlennya>

³ National Agency for Higher Education Quality Assurance. <https://naqa.gov.ua>

⁴ National Agency for Higher Education Quality Assurance. <https://naqa.gov.ua>

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НОВІ СТЕЙКХОЛДЕРИ ЗМІНЮЮТЬ ЄВРОПУ

У статті виконано комплексний аналіз впливу стейкхолдерів на розвиток Європейського Союзу та визначено перспективи розвитку стейкхолдерів та побудови відповідних інституцій для України. Глобалізація, перехід ряду країн Заходу на початковий стадію інформаційного суспільства, формування світової системи економіки, становлення "суспільства ризику" - усі ці та інші чинники призвели до трансформації стейкхолдерів в Європейському Союзі. Нові стейкхолдери - глобальне громадянське суспільство, транснаціональний капіталістичний клас, розмитий середній клас та прекаріат, клас інтелектуалів (knowledge-class), андеклас (underclass) змінюють основи сучасного світового порядку. На тлі процесів глобалізації, світової економічної кризи 2008-2013 рр., багато держав намагаються уникнути значних потрясінь шляхом поглиблення співпраці, участі у певних інтеграційних процесах, координації зусиль з іншими країнами або міжнародними організаціями задля вирішення питань стабілізації власної соціально-економічної ситуації. Таку стратегію обрала й Україна, шляхом підписання і ратифікації у 2014 р. угоди про асоціацію з ЄС. Для України, евристичним є приклад розширення Європейського Союзу у 2004 році, бо напрацьований механізм прийняття нових учасників є актуальним і на сьогодні. Ключовими складовими частинами алгоритму підготовки країни ставали економічні перетворення, демократизація управління країною, підвищення енергоефективності, синхронізація правових норм з ЄС.

Ключові слова: Європейський Союз; стейкхолдери; мегатенденції; трансформації; євроінтеграція; Україна.

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Надійшла до редакції: 22.01.2020

Прийнята до друку: 07.02.2020