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OF PHILOSOPHY AND ARTS SLOVAK REPUBLIC



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**UKRAINE'S EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION IN THE POLITICAL
DIMENSION OF CENTRAL
AND EASTERN EUROPE**



TRNAVA 2021

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ISBN 978-80-568-0439-1

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INTRODUCTION

This research is an attempt to outline the conceptual principles and methodological aspects of studying European integration processes, to analyze civic activity and the effectiveness of the integration process, to outline the conditions that affect the speed and nature of Ukraine's European integration. The author develops proposals for specific measures to stimulate social change in the context of European integration processes in and Eastern Europe.

During the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, many areas of research were developed to serve the development and provision of its national interests. The concept of multi-vector at the beginning of the formation of the Ukrainian state, the attempt to implement a multifaceted strategic partnership did not contribute to the establishment of both internal stability and the consolidation of a special status in the international arena. Strategic miscalculations of the political elite, lack of clear understanding of the development path, changes in the geopolitical course, inconsistency of positions of the executive and legislative branches did not guarantee the effectiveness of this geostrategy and stimulated the search for a new one.

The relevance of the study is due to the complex political, socio-economic situation in the context of problems that have arisen in the process of European integration. The need for further scientific and theoretical development of the essence and content of integration processes of the modern world, the contradictory and inconsistent nature of the development and implementation of the European paradigm of Ukrainian geopolitics have determined the importance of scientific research.

Mostly the complexity and severity of the relevant issues in Ukraine are generated by the inertia, spontaneity and spontaneous nature of society. Also, leaders and institutions that make strategic decisions do not have a clear vision of the country's future. Speaking of the corresponding vision, we don't mean the utopian state of Ukrainian society, but some realistic and feasible measures of common good.

The effectiveness of participatory democracy has been shown as result of collaboration of two key actors: public authorities and civil society. Implementation of the policy of partnership, openness and accountability will improve the system of self-government, develop civil society, increase the level of local democracy, and activate the representatives of the local community. The system of effective management should be built starting from the lowest, basic level – the community level. It is the citizens who must determine the possibility of making decisions that affect their lives and implement these decisions through the power of community.

At the present stage of state formation, a form of social partnership comes to the fore – between the state (public authorities and local governments) and citizens (civil society organizations). The principles of solidarity in solving urgent social, economic and political problems of society with the participation of citizens should become the basis of reformed public administration bodies. Concrete steps should be made in cooperation between public authorities and civil society.

The effective implementation of European principles of good governance in Ukraine will be facilitated by the systematic reform of public authorities and local governments, overcoming corruption, and involving the public in the formation and implementation of public policy. The multicultural nature of Ukrainian society, which has a regional dimension, dictates the need to achieve the optimal relationship between the center and the community, the formation of balanced territorial development. Therefore, a unitary-decentralized model of territorial organization should become an imperative for the ruling political class. Because the intensification and popularization of the ideas of the federation, as well as the development of separatism in some regions indicate the ineffectiveness of public administration and determines the need to restructure the main state priorities in favor of establishing a dialogue between government and local community.

The monograph uses a comprehensive approach in outlining the conditions that determine the intensity and systemic properties of the European integration process in Ukraine. These include external and internal factors that lead to delays in Ukraine's European integration. External include geopolitical conditions; strategic principles; contradictions of European development. Among the internal factors, the

most relevant, in our opinion, is the nonlinearity of the democratization process; the necessity of forming functional civil society and the internal consolidation; features of political and economic modernization of the country.

Democratization is a key condition for successful European integration, that can be accelerated by civil society institutions. The criteria of democratic political regime proposed by Robert Skidelsky (free elections; freedom of speech, assembly and media; democratic nature of political leadership; constitutional restriction of democracy; decentralization of power), as well as data of ratings of the international organizations were used to analyze the process of democratization in Ukraine.

It is argued that the formal approach of political actors to the construction of a democratic political regime, falling voter turnout and declining public confidence in major political institutions, slow the rotation of the political elite. Among the large number of media outlets, many are biased, containing paid material that distorts reality, and political censorship. Cases of pressure on journalists, obstruction of their professional activity – up to physical influence – are quite common. This allows Freedom House to classify Ukraine as a country with partially restricted media freedom.

Analyzing the role of leadership in the formation of Ukrainian democracy, the absolute personification of the political process in Ukraine is proved. Sociological research shows citizens' willingness to vote for a leader, not an organization. There is a public demand for a new type of political leader, which will be characterized by such qualities as honesty, non-corruption and willingness to defend the interests of people.

As for the constitutional restriction of power, it must be ensured by an effective judicial system. The judicial system today is characterized by such negative features as selective justice, persecution of the opposition, non-compliance with the rules of treatment of detainees, and the use of torture. The situation with the reform of decentralization of power remains relevant.

Civil society institutions are able to help overcome obstacles in the process of building a real democracy. The experience of Eastern European countries shows that involving the public in solving social prob-

lems is highly effective. Quantitative design of civil society in Ukraine has already occurred. We note a high number of non-governmental organizations, volunteer organizations, social initiatives and movements etc. In countries in transition, such as Ukraine, civil society institutions perform vital social functions – they are intermediaries between government and the individual, contribute to the democratization of the country, reduce the risk of usurpation of power, contribute to filling the country's budget. Ukraine's problem remains the significant underfunding of public organizations, their imperfect image among the public, and the formal approach of the state to civil society development programs.

An important condition for the realization of Ukraine's European integration aspirations is the achievement of internal political consolidation. There are two interrelated trends. First, the data of sociological, expert polls and Euromaidan events show that the desire for European integration has become a powerful consolidating factor in society. Secondly, domestic political consolidation is also a condition for Ukraine's accession to the EU. The lack of internal political unity is interpreted as a systemic risk for further rapprochement with the EU, which has the same weight as the formation of an efficient economy and a democratic political regime.

The launch of decentralization reform in 2014 has started systematic reform of local self-government in Ukraine. The reform established the formation of about 1,500 united territorial communities with the possibility of independent local development and the provision of affordable administrative services. The European Parliament praised Ukraine's achievements in the reform of decentralization and empowering local authorities, which is one of the most successful reforms today and is proof of Ukraine's fulfillment of its obligations to the EU.

The practical implementation of social transformation is rather complicated. However, without these reforms, Ukrainian society risks remaining in a state where numerous initiatives, even if implemented with the best intentions to achieve socially important goals, do not ensure sustainable improvement of the situation.

PART 1. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESSES

European integration is a ubiquitous, inclusive, rather temporal phenomenon, as it includes the whole spectrum of political processes and social relations, is relevant to everyday life and is present as a certain measure in formulating goals and objectives for the future. In terms of policy, the European integration case is a priority on the agenda and a strategy for reforming the key areas of state formation, specified in the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union.¹

The specificity of the subject of scientific research actualizes, first, the formation of methodological tools that will comprehensively analyze European integration as a process and phenomenon, in particular, in the context of their logical interdependence. Secondly, it is a synthesis of methods of different social sciences and interdisciplinarity of accentuated definitions, a new paradigm of research, when its subject and object are dynamic, subordinated to internal transformations, and challenges of external, global environment.

In the 1930s, the term “integration” was first used by Swedish and German scholars to explain the developmental aspect which is associated with the union in a whole different and disparate elements. The sphere of interstate relations at that time was mainly focused on the economic context of unification. The Oxford University Explanatory Dictionary clarifies that the condition for integration is the further possibility of the united parts to function as a whole.² A large explanatory

¹ Association Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part. Official Journal of the European Union, L 161, 29 May 2014 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ:L:2014:161:TOC>

² Oxford Advanced learner’s dictionary of current english. Sixth Edition. Oxford: University Press. 2000. 1540 p., p. 675

dictionary of the modern Ukrainian language defines the term “integration” as the union of any individual parts; combining and coordinating the actions of different parts of the whole system; the process of organizing, coordinating and combining structures and functions throughout the body.³ Integration can cover public life, education, economics, politics, monetary relations and other areas.

The European Union is rightly considered the most successful example of political and economic integration, due to the long qualitative and quantitative evolution of the union. That is why the phenomenon of European integration remains in the focus of current scientific research in the fields of political science, international law, globalism and political regionalism, sociology, economics and more. The dictionary “Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine” of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine states that European integration is a complex and contradictory socio-economic process of establishing close cooperation between European states; is one of the manifestations of the leading trend of modern historical development – strengthening the comprehensive interdependence of states, especially in the economic sphere, and the further civilizational convergence of civilized national communities.⁴ No science has established clear boundaries of the beginning, geographical dimension, stages and ultimate goal of European integration, as there is no consolidated position on this in the countries participating in the process.

The considered definitions lead to the fact that the study of European integration should be based on the whole range of methodological approaches – analysis, synthesis, synergetics, structural functionalism and system method, institutionalism, retrospective analysis, comparative studies and others. The separation of the European context from political integration took place on the border of such normative-explanatory models as federalism (S. Pistone, A. Spinelli), functionalism (D. Mitrani), neofunctionalism (K. Deutsch, A. Marshall, J. S. Nye, L. Lindberg, E. Haas, P. Schmitter), intergovernmental approach

³ *Великий тлумачний словник сучасної української мови*. Київ; Ірпінь: Перун. 2005. 1728 с. URL: <http://irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/cgi-bin/ua/elib.exe>

⁴ *Енциклопедія історії України*. Інститут історії України НАН України. III том. Київ: Наукова думка, 2005. 671 с., с. 95

(E. Moravcsik, S. Hoffmann) and subsequent theories that arose as the criticism of the previous ones.

The postulates of federalism emphasized the need to create supra-national institutions, with a political dominant. The key motivator was to overcome or even prevent confrontations in Europe through the merger (actually, integration) of national economies.⁵

Functionalist theorists (model cooperation) came from the fact that modern society due to the emergence of various problems requires constant cooperation, primarily professionals, not politicians, separated by borders, in order to solve functional problems.⁶ Thus, integration here is a technocratic process, only indirectly related to politics, and the forms of its implementation are the transnational institutions with a specific purpose.

Neofunctionalism has actualized the preconditions within the framework of integration processes – common economic and political interests, the similarity of economic systems and their evolution, the interdependence and similarity of values, in particular, among political elites.⁷ It was also about the constant expansion of the industries covered by the integration – from single connections to their multiplicity.

The intergovernmental approach, and then the liberal intergovernmental approach, linked European integration to purely international relations. It concerned exactly the interactions between states, due to the desire of countries to defend their own interests. National governments are recognized here as key actors in international relations. The approach provided for a distinction between “high policy” (foreign, defense and security policy) and “low” (economy, social sphere, humanitarian policy), which tends to be deeply integrated due to the parties’ interest in establishing common institutions of regulation and control. “High” policy, where the interests of states are of paramount

⁵ Spinelli A. *The growth of the European movement since the Second World War*. London: Penguin Books. 1972. P. 43–68.

⁶ Mitrany D. *The Functional Theory of Politics*. London: Martin Robertson, for the London School of Economics and Political Science. 1975. 294 p.

⁷ Haas E., Schmitter P. Economics and differential patterns of political integration: Project About Unity in Latin America. *International Organization*. 1964. Vol. XVIII, № 4. P. 705–737

importance, has low integration potential. Subsequently, the liberal version of the intergovernmental approach rejected allegations of national interests and instead focused on those that determine the specific policy of the state towards foreign policy partners.⁸

The theory of international relations conceptualizes the above models as certain methodological approaches that explain the goals, opportunities, potential and components of the integration process. These models also determine the status and authority roles of the participants in the integration process, the risks and possible precautionary measures against negative transformations that may accompany this process. Taking into account current trends, the formulated models cannot be considered exhaustive, as movements in the EU in the XXI century indicate instability of the organization and uncertain assessment of membership status in various crises (from economic to humanitarian).

As for the optimal model for the way of Ukrainian integration into the EU, it is impossible to choose the only option that would correspond to the real situation and projected prospects. Therefore, we propose to focus on the synthesis of neo-functionalism and a modern intergovernmental approach with a predominance of liberal principles. This approach assumes that the essence of European integration of Ukraine is based on a kind of transfer of economic functionality into the political sphere with the subsequent introduction of changes in national legislation. This vision also correlates with the norms laid down in the political and economic parts of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, which provides for the transition from partnership and cooperation to political association and economic integration.⁹

The application of the modeling method is justified not only in view of the analyzed normative-explanatory models of integration, but also due to the emergence of new integration concepts in Europe at the end of the XX century:

⁸ Стадник О., Р. Романюк. Міжурядовий підхід нового лібералізму у розвитку інтеграційних процесів. *Грані*. 2014. № 1 (105). С. 75–80, с. 76

⁹ Association Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part. Official Journal of the European Union, L 161, 29 May 2014 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ:L:2014:161:TOC>

- a model of partial membership – which provides for the countries associated with the European Union participation of in certain EU activities initiated mainly by international organizations;
- «Multi-speed Europe» or «two-speed Europe» – a model derived from the term that appeared in « The *Tindemans report*» (1975), and means different degrees (speed) of both the integration of states and the desire to integrate. It was, in particular, about the obligation to agree on the intentions of EU enlargement with the member states of the community. The Belgian government official and MEP L. Tindemans justified the possibility of completing the creation of the EU by 1980, along with the formation of economic and monetary union, reform of existing institutions, the implementation of a common foreign policy, regional and social policy. At that time, L. Tindemans' plan was rejected, but its provisions remain relevant for the analysis of the prospects of the European Union. In 2017, the President of Poland A. Duda during the 27th Economic Forum said that the initiative of Multi-speed Europe destroys the foundations of the European Union, and called this idea a threat to the EU, because it undermines the principle of equality and opportunities for their citizens;¹⁰
- Flexible Europe model (proposed by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom D. Major) is focused on giving the EU member state the right to independently choose the degree and areas of involvement in integration projects. It means the integration not by time, but by subject (in terms of industry, sphere, direction of mutually beneficial cooperation)¹¹;
- Europe of Concentric Circles model (proposed by French Prime Minister Édouard Balladur) provides three «circles» of integration: economic organization of all EU members (main internal circle), much higher degree of integration in different areas with a limited number of participants (middle circle), unification of all European

¹⁰ EU Risks Ruin If Some States Turn Second Class, Poland Warns, 2017, BloombergQuint, URL: <https://www.bloombergquint.com/politics/poland-says-multi-speed-cu-would-be-less-attractive-risks-ruin>

¹¹ Щедрова Г., Тиркус Ю. Концептуалізація наукових підходів до аналізу політичного євроінтеграційного процесу. *Політологічні записки*. 2014. № 2(10). С. 5–21., с. 16

states together with the members of the European Union (external circle);

- «core Europe» model or the *Schäuble -Lamers plan*. Christian Democrats W. Schäuble and K. Lamers in 1994 developed the theory of core which consists of Germany, France, the Benelux countries and others. These states according to the German politician and diplomat J. Fischer, are most interested in closer integration.¹² These countries could be the driving force behind the involvement of other participants in the process, already adhering to the established principles of «core» consolidation. Increased requirements for these states were comprehensively regulated, related to security and domestic policy and supplemented by the Rome and Maastricht treaties. It should be noted that the example of the harmonization of the German-French partnership was seen as a way to unite the whole Europe and prevent internal destructive disputes.

The close relationship between politics and economics in the formation of the European integration paradigm has led to a comprehensive study of the economic-theoretical approach (B. Balassa, W. Molle, F. Machlup). This approach was formed under the influence of the active development of economic policy of the European Communities in the direction of creating a common market, economic and monetary unions within the European Union.

The American economist B. Balassa in his research “Theory of Economic Integration” (1961) defined it as «process and state of affairs»: the process of applying state regulatory measures to avoid discrimination in the markets and the state of affairs when discrimination between national economies is completely absent¹³. In 1977, the Austrian and American economist F. Machlup interpreted economic integration as the process of merging individual economies into a larger economic region.¹⁴ Such integration, according to the researcher, was associated

¹² Fischer fordert europäische Föderation. *Die Welt*. 2000. URL: <https://www.welt.de/print-welt/article543875/Fischer-fordert-europaeische-Foederation.html>

¹³ Balassa B. *The Theory of Economic Integration*. Homewood, Illinois: R.D. Irwin. 1961. 318 p., c. 174

¹⁴ Machlup F. *A History of Thought on Economic Integration*. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd. 1977. 330 p.

with the involvement of all opportunities for effective labor division. Over time, the essence of the definition was simplified and the content was likened to the goal. For example, Professor of Economics W. Molle in the late twentieth century described economic integration as a process of gradual elimination of economic borders between countries¹⁵. The established tradition of political integration is based on a common economic need. This may be the need for either unification or the multiplication of various resources, which has been transformed into a kind of axiom – economic will is subject to political will and legal regulation. However, this does not mean a further secondary role of policy, but only describes the starting point of the integration impulse.

European integration demonstrates the internal component through the prism of the application of the structural-functional method. Ever since the statements of the American sociologist A. Etzioni, integration presupposed the ability of an integrated system to support itself with its own internal resources, to respond to internal and external changes. The components of integration as a certain property are control over the use of coercive measures, the center responsible for decision-making and their implementation, and an alternative center of political consolidation with a link directly to the active part of society.¹⁶

The European approach to the essence of integration, formulated by the Dutch expert on sustainable development D. Corby, identifies this concept as a process that allows the transfer of some of their sovereign rights by individual states in favor of a new single institutional structure to ensure and realize their common interests.¹⁷ Accordingly, here the integration process itself appears as a functional unit in the field of international relations and global politics. Structural functionalism is the basis for the formation of models of European integration, such as the models of “circles” and “core”.

¹⁵ Molle W. *The Economics of European Integration: The Economics of European Integration*. Ashgate Pub Ltd. 2001. 548 p.

¹⁶ Etzioni A. *Political unification: a comparative study of leaders and forces*. New York: Rinehart. 1965. 346 p., p. 329–330

¹⁷ Corbey D. Dialectical functionalism: stagnation as a booster of European integration. *International organization*. 1995. Vol. 49. № 2. P. 253–284, p. 255

The synthesis of comparative and institutional methods allowed intergovernmentalists to distinguish institutional levels of policy and determine the potential of each of them to integrate and consolidate goals. In essence, it means the ability and possibility to cede or suppress their own interests in favor of external, joint centralized management.

The institutional approach to European integration was formulated in the late twentieth century by K. Armstrong, a law professor, who substantiated the integrative properties of the new system – the so-called “Single Europe”. This approach gives to the law the exclusive opportunities to influence the process of European integration. As an institutionalized, ie normatively regulated unit, European integration determines the features of interstate interaction at the formal and informal levels, makes binding decisions for participants, analyzes their results and consequences.¹⁸ Of course, the attempt to “institutionalize the process”, which is, first of all, European integration, is contradictory. However, it is undeniable that the rules and norms produced by it in the future are subject to the laws and principles of domestic policy of many states. These circumstances, in a sense, led to the phenomenon of the European monopoly on integration – political, economic, legal, institutional and so on.

The holistic institutional structure of the European Union has become a testing ground for the use of neo-institutionalism as a scientific approach (J. March, J.P. Olsen)Its founders emphasized that the political development of society determines not only the state of the economy and the existing social conditions, but also the “composition of political institutions” with a relative level of autonomy.¹⁹ The new institutionalism makes the success of integration dependent on the effective operation of supranational institutions and during the 1990s formed three separate directions:

¹⁸ Armstrong K., Bulmer S. *The Governance of the Single European Market*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1998. 340 p., p. 225

¹⁹ March J. G., Olsen J. P. The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life. *American Political Science Review*. 1984. Vol. 78. P. 210–233, p. 211

- institutionalism of rational choice – based on the theory of social action, which assumes that individuals are rational agents who defend their own interests by the most effective means. It explains how and for what purpose institutions are formed and how they change over time;
- sociological institutionalism is based on the fact that in their behavior people are guided by ideas about what they think is right. Relevant ideas are formed under the influence of social norms and institutions, which determine the type of individual behavior in a particular situation. Actors of supranational European institutions are socialized by these institutions, which influences their behavior, way of thinking, articulation and achievement of goals;
- historical institutionalism occupies an intermediate link between the above types of institutionalism and determines how institutions change over time, as well as how they affect the behavior of individuals who found them²⁰.

In Ukraine, the process of European integration due to the contradictions and instability of its implementation at the present stage requires the simultaneous formation of an institutional superstructure with the appropriate level of development. It is also necessary to implement democratic principles and conduct large-scale information and educational campaigns for the population in order to neutralize manipulative influences and convey the truth of the intentions and goals of the constitutionalized European integration course.

Ukrainian researcher O. Orzhel updates a comparative study of the phenomena of European integration and Europeanization. The use of historical and comparative methods for the analysis of the manifestations of Europeanization is justified by the need to research the recent events on the European continent. It is important to identify causal relationships between certain decisions, legal and regulatory rules adopted at EU level, and changes, reforms, transition in administrative and legal or political developments in domestic politics, socio-economic life and other areas of national levels. O. Orzhel describes comparative aspects in her study through the prism of differences in the manifestations of Eu-

²⁰ Трегуб О. Теоретичні засади європейської інтеграції. *Грані*. 2013. № 9(101). С. 148–153., с. 152

ropeanization in different EU member states. The scientist emphasizes that this process does not mean unification of changes, because they are influenced by the same regulations but occur differently in each country.²¹

O. Orzhel reveals the essential features of Europeanization as a factor in the creation of European government and the unity of the EU. The researcher emphasizes that the daily intensive interaction of all participants in the European integration process, especially the member states, forces them to implement changes at the national level. States are encouraged to create institutions to promote European integration and coordinate cooperation with European partners; to train specialists for the above institutions; to adapt the national legislation to the European one; introduce new production standards. In this way, in parallel with European integration, Europeanization process is unfolding, which involves changes, transformations, reforms at the national level, taking place in all spheres of life under the influence of European integration. The author argues that the effectiveness and efficiency of interaction with European partners depends on the willingness of its participants to respect to certain rules and norms, share common values and be guided by common principles that develop and formalize European governance standards, facilitate interaction between participants in European integration processes.²²

The comparative method allowed to correctly emphasize the key principles and definitions of European integration – cohesion instead of unification, adaptation instead of replacement or assimilation, supplemented by the principles of subsidiarity in defining the powers of the European Union, proportionality in achieving its goals, rationality in international law.

²¹ Оржель О. Європейська інтеграція та європеїзація: тотожність та відмінність. *Державне управління та місцеве самоврядування: Збірник наукових праць*. 2011. № 2(9). URL: [http://www.dridu.dp.ua/vidavnictvo/2011/2011_02\(9\)/11ooyetv.pdf](http://www.dridu.dp.ua/vidavnictvo/2011/2011_02(9)/11ooyetv.pdf)

²² Оржель О. *Управлінський вимір згуртування Європейського Союзу: теоретико-методологічні засади*. Автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ст. доктора наук з держ. управління. Київ: Національна академія державного управління при Президентіві України. 2013. 39 с., с. 15

The tools of the system approach are in demand due to the following factors and starting points:

- European integration is a system of consistent State action to adapt and develop a strategy for joining the economic, financial, trade and economic system of a united Europe, the European Union;
- The European Union is a complex set of institutions and partnerships between countries, an extensive system of governance and coordination of actions to achieve common goals of the participating countries. The formation of the EU was also systematized into a constant evolutionary movement of various sectoral international organizations, starting with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. The development of the EU includes efforts to turn it into a source of universally recognized values and a center for consolidating European political identity. This is required by the already established and rooted brand «European values»;
- one of the unifying goals of the European Community is to create a system of global security that will guarantee the international order today and meet the future challenges of a controversial globalized world. In the modern world, «hot» and «cold» wars have been replaced by customs and trade wars, uncontrolled cyber attacks and threats;
- the European integration process includes systematic actions to streamline the legislation of the candidate countries for accession to the EU, reform the system of state power, its relations with society and foreign policy partners. An important place in this structural interaction is occupied by communication as a key mediator of intergovernmental agreements.

Information policy and the establishment of the system of inter-institutional communications between Ukraine and the European Union are a priority on the agenda of European integration of Ukraine. Since 2014, the EU-Ukraine Association Council has been operating, replacing the EU-Ukraine Cooperation Council, which acted in accordance with the provisions of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. Seven meetings of the Council have already taken place, the purpose of which is to control and monitor the application and implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union

and its Member States, to periodically review the functioning of the Agreement according to its objectives²³. In February 2021, despite the coronavirus pandemic, the meeting of members of the EU-Ukraine Association Council took place offline, which, according to diplomats, was a manifestation of “a demonstration of the special importance of Ukraine.”²⁴ Therefore, there are grounds to assert the strengthening of the Ukrainian issue in the system of European official communications.

The effectiveness and current communication needs for European integration, the results of relevant sociological and expert surveys are the subject of professional discussions, in particular, in the framework of the EU Project “Support to the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU. Phase II “and a round table of diplomats on the topic:” Urgent tasks of communication of European integration in Ukraine”²⁵. Communication allows to adhere to the European integration course, adapting its course to the whole spectrum of domestic and foreign policy changes, influences, challenges, public opinion etc. Public opinion actualizes the application of empirical methods, such as expert assessments set out in analytical reports of leading scientific institutions of Ukraine (Diplomatic Academy, National Institute for Strategic Studies, Ukrainian Independent Center for Political Studies, I.F. Kuras Institute for Political and Ethnonational Studies of NAS of Ukraine, etc.), analysis of documents and ratings from international human rights organizations (Transparency International, Freedom House, Human Rights Watch, Economist Intelligence Unit etc), analysis of authoritative sociological agencies of Ukraine (Razumkov Center, Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives, Gorshenin Institute, Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, Sofia Center for Social Research, Socis Center for

²³ Рада асоціації. *Представництво України при Європейському Союзі: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://ukraine-eu.mfa.gov.ua/posolstvo/politichnij-dialog/rada-asociaciyi>

²⁴ EU-Ukraine Association Council, Council of the European Union (Council), 11 February 2021 URL: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-ministerial-meetings/2021/02/11/>

²⁵ Нагальні завдання комунікації європейської інтеграції в Україні. *Українформ*. 2021. URL: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-presshall/3195678-nagalni-zavdanna-komunikacii-evropejskoi-integracii-v-ukraini.html>

Social and Marketing Research, etc.). Statistical data and indicators can prove theoretical conclusions.

The process of European integration can be explored through the use of comparison methods in the research methodology. The mechanism of determining the institutional and political-legal potential of Ukraine in relation to the requirements and conditions of accession to the European Union is based on this method. It is an analysis of current Ukrainian legislation, the principles of social, economic, humanitarian policy, financial and industrial capacity to comply with EU rules and standards. On Ukraine's European path, the eligibility criteria are listed in the Association Agreement, but also in the Copenhagen criteria for membership in the European Union, which include an assessment of the stability of democratic institutions, the efficiency of a market economy and the ability to withstand competitive pressure within the EU.²⁶

The process of adapting of the national legislation to the EU legal system requires constant research included in regulatory approach. It is used for a comprehensive analysis of the legal conditions and grounds for EU integration and forms a holistic system of legal identity of different groups of actors – EU member states, partner countries, associate members and etc. The limits of the approach are not limited to jurisprudence or international law, as the cultural and value components of interstate cooperation and the achievement of conformity of legislative and cultural landscapes are also important.

The social component and the individual dimension of European integration belong to the sociological approach. On the one hand, it is focused on the issues of relations and activities of individuals, elites, groups that determined the attitude to the European integration process. On the other hand, there are individual and collective motives for unification and coordination. Sociologist K. Deutsch linked them to the security factor, and characterized the integration itself as the creation of a security society, whose members are really convinced that they will not have a reason to fight each other, but will resolve disputes in

²⁶ European Council in Copenhagen, Conclusions of the Presidency, (21-22 June 1993, SN 180/1/93) 12. URL: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/ec/pdf/cop_en.pdf

other ways²⁷. K. Deutsch identified three basic conditions for the formation of a “pluralistic security society”:

- comparability of values related to the political decision-making process;
- the ability of members of the secure society to respond in a timely and adequate manner to each other’s problems and needs;
- predictability of behavior of community members for each other.²⁸

Conceptualized by Deutsch secure society resonates with the principles of the European community, although it excludes the existence of centralized governing bodies. The modern search by the world community for means of regulation and security guarantees intensified with the beginning of the Russian military aggression in eastern Ukraine. It turned out that international formal treaties are not always an effective mechanism to prevent the use of force by other states, as was the case with the Budapest Memorandum.

Recently, in the framework of European integration research, a new methodological direction has been updated – open coordination approach.²⁹ It involves the formation of collective goals, monitoring tools towards a common goal based on mutual evaluation and the use of best practices. This method requires changes in administrative management, which is called “comitology” and is successfully implemented for the development of the European research area.³⁰ In the context of European integration practices, this method assumes that instead of integration through the adoption of relevant laws, there will be integration through voluntary coordination.

²⁷ Deutsch Karl W. *The Analysis of International Relations*. New York, 1964. 236 p.

²⁸ Deutsch Karl W. et al. *Political community and the North Atlantic area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1957. 228 p., p. 66–67

²⁹ *The Open Method of Coordination*. European Parliament. 2014. URL: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/EPRS/EPRS-AaG-542142-Open-Method-of-CoordinationFINAL.pdf>

³⁰ Шевченко А. *Аналіз трендів розвитку Європейського дослідницького та інноваційного простору (стислий виклад)*. Проєкт «Посилення впливу громадськості на євроінтеграційні процеси у сфері науково-технічного та інноваційного розвитку України». 2017. 45 с., с. 3

In addition to methodological approaches, our study outlines the wide system principles on which European integration is based:

1. The triad of principles that were formulated in the 50s of the twentieth century by the French economist Jean Monnet:
 - integration is a mean, not an end, ie it is mutually beneficial and is not a universal solution to all problems;³¹
 - the integration movement requires restraint: from regional to large-scale integration, from customs and market unions to a single market with free movement of goods and capital, and eventually to a political union, implemented in the evolutionary model of European integration by the “Monet method”;
 - the existence of an adequate mechanism of European integration, where contradictions are perceived as a source of further development of integration processes, and balanced decisions are made regarding the interests of different parties³². These principles justify why a united Europe cannot be created immediately and according to a single plan.
2. The principle of democracy as a priority of rights, freedoms, interests of citizens in all spheres of socio-political relations (both in domestic and foreign policy of the EU).
3. The principle of international solidarity, which provides support and assistance to developing countries (mainly countries in democratic transition), which are members of the EU or adhere to the European integration.
4. The principle of five degrees of freedom of movement of goods, services, labor, capital and knowledge.
5. The principle of formal equality as an international foundation of law, which provides even greater protection of the legal capacity of the subject through both national and European legal means.³³

³¹ *The Schuman Declaration – 9 May 1950*. URL: http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration/index_en.htm

³² Сокур О. Основні принципи та ідейні засади європейських інтеграційних процесів другої половини ХХ ст. *Науковий вісник Міжнародного гуманітарного університету*. 2015. № 10. С. 155–159., с. 156

³³ Сокур, с. 158.

6. The principle of protection of economic freedoms and private property as a measure of civilizational choice of an independent state.
7. The principle of pluralism – national, cultural, ideological as a safeguard against monopoly tendencies.

Along with the above principles, we emphasize the typology of European methods of policy implementation, which was summarized and presented by the British researcher H. Wallace:

- community method;
- regulatory method;
- intensive transgovernmental method;
- multilevel management method;
- coordination policy and benchmarking (improvement of activity, increase of efficiency of institute by use of the best experience in the concrete (similar) sphere)³⁴.

The aim of this concept is to cover the full range of forms and methods of policy formulation and implementation in the European Union, in order to avoid the narrow confines of the dichotomy of community and intergovernmental management methods. The described methods are based on EU regulations and legal norms that have been ratified and accepted for implementation by member states.

The methodology of studying the process of European integration is a combination of research approaches of political science, sociology, law, economics, psychology, geography, history, international relations, globalism and regionalism, public administration, which from different points of view explain the nature of the emergence and evolution of states consolidation of own resources and opportunities. Similarly, the conceptual and categorical apparatus of research was formed, in which, in addition to the concept of “integration” and its derivatives, we use the terms “globalization”, “regionalization”, “political modernization”, “democratization”, “consolidation”, “geopolitics” and others.

Complex European integration progress excludes such a principle as unification, so each component of the process, in particular, taking

³⁴ Wallace H., Pollack M., Alasdair Young R. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2015. URL: <https://www.bbk.ac.uk/politics/our-staff/academic/HodsonPMEU.pdf>

into account the specifics of national policies, is a self-sufficient part of the scientific research.

European integration determines the vector of systemic reforms and transformations, acts as a criterion for assessing the effectiveness of all branches of government and the principles of public administration, determines the choice of foreign policy for Ukraine. Such a deep correlation of socio-political processes with the European paradigm of development is stated in the Constitution of Ukraine, where in 2019 a norm on the European identity of the Ukrainian people and the irreversibility of the European and Euro-Atlantic course of Ukraine was introduced³⁵. Further deepening of theoretical and methodological studies of European integration processes at the border of economics, politics and law with the dominant aspect of testing national legislation on the path to membership in the European Union is expected.

³⁵ *Про внесення змін до Конституції України (щодо стратегічного курсу держави на набуття повноправного членства України в Європейському Союзі та в Організації Північноатлантичного договору)*. Закон України № 2680-VIII від 07.02.2019 р. Верховна Рада України: Законодавство України. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2680-19#n6>

PART 2. EUROPEAN INTEGRATION EXPERIENCE OF EAST AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN STATES

The accession of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to the European Union is an important factor in the transformation of international political, economic and cultural life of the late XX – early XXI century. We do not consider the eastern enlargement of the EU as an independent phenomenon of the world economy and politics. It is the result of the end of the Cold War, the development of globalization and the spread of integration ideas and other social transformations.

The Eastern enlargement of the European Union has significantly affected both the international position of the interstate organization itself and the foreign policy of its old and new members.

In the 1990s, the concept of “Central Europe” served to unite potential candidates for EU membership and separate them from the CIS countries. However, in the late 90’s, according to Csaba Dupcsik, this concept was significantly transformed. Csaba Dupcsik identifies three main factors that contributed to the surge of international interest in Central Europe in the 1980s. First, a new course in the foreign policy of Germany, which, on the one hand, strengthened integration into the capitalist West, and on the other, demonstratively established relations with eastern neighbours, making it clear that the ruling elite did not allow the continuation of the division of Germany. Secondly, interest in the history and historical heritage of the Habsburg monarchy has increased in scientific and public circles. An interest in the Habsburg monarchy is being formed as a kind of prototype of an integrating Europe Third, in the 1980s, there was an increase in anti-Soviet movements in the countries of the Eastern Bloc. The main emphasis in journalism is placed on the fact that this space is Central, not Eastern Europe (i.e. not the Soviet Union), and since communism is an ideol-

ogy adapted to the peculiarities of Russia, it has no place in Central European countries.³⁶

Among the scientific approaches, a narrow and broad understanding of the boundaries of the CEE region can be distinguished. In a narrow sense, the region of Central and Eastern Europe is limited to only 4 countries: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. British professor Adrian Hyde-Price outlines that these states form a common regional identity, which distinguishes them from the countries of Western Central Europe (Germany and Austria), former members of the USSR (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and the Baltic States), Southeast Europe and the Balkans (Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova, Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Albania, Greece). Researcher notes that the new democracies of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia undoubtedly share certain characteristics and problems with other post-socialist countries, but nevertheless they form a special group of countries due to the uniqueness of their culture and history, successful economic and political reforms and close relations with the West.³⁷

A similar view is held by Attila Ágh considering as East-Central Europe Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia – countries in the process of democratization. He singles out the Balkan region (Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and the eastern republics of the former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina)), although he notes that Byzantine-Christian culture and religion is a strong chain that connects the Balkans with the majority of former post-socialist countries. A special group, according to the researcher, are Baltics countries, which have more in common with the Central European countries.³⁸

³⁶ Dupcsik Cs. Az európai régiók és a Közép-Európa-vita a nyolcvanas években // 2000. – Budapest, 1997. – 9. évf. – 8. sz. – 8–20. old.

³⁷ Hyde-Price, Adrian *The International Politics of East Central Europe*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996, xviii, 300 pp.

³⁸ Ágh, A. (1998b) *Emerging Democracies in East Central Europe and the Balkans*.

According to a broad understanding, the concept of Central and Eastern Europe integrates all the above regions, thus forming an intellectual structure that includes the following countries: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Greece and Turkey. These countries are connected, on the one hand, by the fact of placement in a kind of triangle between the three seas: Black, Baltic and Adriatic, on the other – the fact that they are located between Russia as a Eurasian state and Germany as a Western European country.

Since 2004, the CEE region has been institutionally integrated into the European political space as a result of the “eastern” stage of the enlargement of the European Union. For the first time, 10 states joined the EU, 8 of which are post-socialist: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Malta and Cyprus. The integration of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU, which took place on 1 January 2007, is also considered as part of the fifth wave of enlargement. Thus, the European Union has developed and implemented a new model of integration with regional specifics – for the CEE countries. The development of the Copenhagen criteria can be considered a timely initiative in the context of EU membership in the early 1990s to become an attractive and desirable goal for many countries, not only in CEE.

EU membership can be seen as a “return to Europe” of historically separated countries. This underscores the important emotional desire of Central and Eastern European countries to integrate and strengthen their identity. According to the Polish philosopher W. Kaute, return to Europe means, in fact, the use and implementation of standards of Western European cultural tradition, which is associated with humanism, human rights, rejection of all forms of totalitarianism, recognition of the sovereign rights of every people, market economy principles. It should be noted that not all researchers agree with the need to include the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the process of European integration. These countries are often considered within the concept of a «third way». As the Polish historian Kaute under the “first way” refers to Western liberalism, which does

not take root in the Central Eastern European soil that does not accept unfettered liberty, unregulated market, commercialization of the totality of social life, individualism.³⁹

In our opinion, the peculiarities of the model of integration of Central and Eastern European countries are:

- political and economic relations between Western and Eastern Europe officially have been built since 1989 but they have a base and a long history, even under a bloc system;
- each CEE country has chosen its own way in terms of democratic market reforms, but earlier entry into the path of reforms, as a result, did not guarantee their successful implementation in the future;
- each country of Western Europe formed its own position on the accession to the EU of CEE countries, but Germany was one of the most interested in the enlargement of the European Union;
- the movement of CEE towards the EU took place in parallel with the participation of CEE countries in regional blocs and associations with Western European countries. This issue further ensured softer integration into the EU;
- the success of reforming the economies of CEE countries has become a key component of their investment attractiveness;
- of the many economic parameters, CEE countries did not meet the EU level at the time of accession: enlargement was more political than economic.

Comparing the integration models of the CEE countries in terms of EU motivation for enlargement, it should be noted that political reasons prevailed other issues: support for political reforms and the democratization process, the predominance of the long-term political interests of the core of Europe vis-à-vis the new member states. Among the tools that have been used in the implementation of enlargement policy, we can highlight the establishment of associated relations with the applicant country, a long transition period, generous financial support. We can predict the use of the same universal instruments in the

³⁹ Kaute, Wojciech, *Europa Zachodnia a problemy integracji krajów Europy Środkowej. Refleksje nad sferą kultury*, [in:] *Czynniki integrujące i dezintegrujące Europą Środkową*, Katowice, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1994

event of a new enlargement of the European Union with the accession of transitional countries, such as Ukraine. By including in its membership countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the EU has started to play a more active role in global decision-making and strengthen its political position. To some extent, this can be seen as a long-term investment by the EU. This can be seen as a long-term investment by the EU.

Thus, Eastern European enlargement has become a large-scale process for the European Union. Prior to that, the EU negotiated integration with one, two, or at least three candidates at the same time, and if previously the processes of enlargement and deepening alternated, now they took place in parallel.

The integration of CEE countries and their entry into the European space takes place simultaneously in the following main areas:

- historically formed differences in the levels of development of the productive forces of individual European countries are overcome;
- the levels of development and the degree of maturity of industrial relations in different European countries are equalized;
- the conditions of material and cultural life of the peoples of Europe are converging;
- a single European market is being formed.

PART 3. CIVIC ACTIVITY AS AN INDICATOR OF PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

The main challenges for transition state are the revival of democratic traditions and the need to increase the level of civic participation, without which society remains inert and paternalistic. Modernization of Ukrainian society requires systematic and purposeful work on the development and formation of active citizens. A person who has no experience of active public behavior, experience in the manifestation of civic initiative, will not be able to solve key political and social problems. Accordingly, the formation of a new type of active person is possible only through a civic democratic vision of the world, through the assessment of everything that happens around, from the standpoint of their own participation and responsibility for the processes taking place in society. Transformational processes in the state require not only overcoming skepticism, despair and political alienation, not only the formation of principles of new thinking, but readiness to act, to effectively involve citizens in the processes of socio-political life, and thus significantly increase civic activity.

The strengthening of the public demand for personal participation in the implementation of public policy became apparent after the events of the Revolution of Dignity and the signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union. Until recently, relations between public authorities were formed on the principle of “domination and subordination”, which was a deterrent to political dialogue and European integration progress. So such conditions of reforming the mechanism of raising the level of the public as a key subject require an appropriate ratio of trends in democratic transformations of the state⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ Pineda, J. R. E. T. & Schwartz, S. D. (2006), Protein dynamics and catalysis: The problems of transition state theory and the subtlety of dynamic control. *Philos. Trans. R. Soc. B Biol. Sci.* 361, 1433–1438. URL:<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1647311/>

Citizens' participation in the social and political life of society should cover all components of the political system and civil society, on the one hand, it should set, through the inquiries of various groups and sections of the population, the basic priorities of social development, on the other. Therefore, we can state the actualization of the principles of openness and responsibility of the government, and also the need for decentralization and building a balanced internal policy.

In developed European societies, the concept of "participation" often contributes to the formation of horizontal social ties and social capital, trust and a sense of solidarity. It is worth paying attention to the work "A Ladder of Citizen Participation", which was published by Sherry R. Arnstein in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (July 1969). Ms. Arnstein drew on her considerable experience with federal social programs – urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities, for example. Arnstein's ladder consists of eight rungs—two levels of nonparticipation (Manipulation and Therapy), three degrees of tokenism (Informing, Consultation, and Placation) and three degrees of citizen power (Partnership, Delegated Power and Citizen Control). The author identifies that there are types and forms of public participation that are purely declarative. Using them, the government only formally shows its interest in interacting with the population, in involving it in the decision-making process. The use of these forms does not bring anything useful for the government or for the public and the usefulness of the decisions taken⁴¹.

In the broadest sense, participation is characterized today as a "situational practice" implemented within a certain territorial and social space with inherent (this space) political, social, cultural and historical features. Participation is carried out by uniting individuals in communities of varying degrees of formalization. According to modern theorists of civil society, "participation is supposed to depend on the mobilization process, upon the realization amongst participants that high levels of involvement are for their own good. It is assumed that people will calculate that it is sensible to participate; due to the assurance of individual benefits to ensue (particularly in relation to `pro-

⁴¹ Arnstein S. (1969) A ladder of citizen participation in the USA // *Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute*. – Vol. 57, №. 4. P. 176–182.

ductive ‘projects) or, to a much lesser extent, because this is socially responsible and in the interests of community development as a whole (particularly in relation to public goods projects)’⁴².

In the traditional theory of democracy, participation is interpreted as a civic duty, as the best method of ensuring that individual interests are taken into account in the political process. This tradition embodies the ideal model of the “political man” – a man who acts as a citizen in the public interest.⁴³

In a participatory democracy, the main distinguishing feature is that a person’s participation in social processes must be direct, that is, a community member (citizen) participates in the management of the community (state) not through someone (another authorized person or body), but personally through the appropriate mechanisms of participation. Accordingly, there is a clear line between participatory democracy and representative democracy, where citizens, through their participation in elections, delegate to someone (a person or body) the power to govern on their behalf.

The development of participatory democracy mechanisms is in fact a recognition of the inadequacy of representative democracy mechanisms, the need to supplement and expand them in order to better take into account the interests of each member of the community. At the same time, participatory democracy cannot and should not replace representative democracy, because effective governance is possible only if these two types of democratic mechanisms are balanced.

Obviously, a complete form of “participatory democracy” does not exist in nature, in all so-called countries with stable democracies, a significant part of the population does not participate in decision-making processes. In society, the role of institutions that promote participatory democracy is played by various structures of civil society. It is within

⁴² Cleaver, F. (1999) Paradoxes of participation: Questioning participatory approaches to development. *Journal of International Development*, 11 (4), pp. 597-612. URL: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/%28SICI%291099-1328%28199906%2911%3A4%3C597%3A%3AAID-JID610%3E3.0.CO%3B2-Q>

⁴³ Cohen, J. and A. Arato. (1992). *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. P.28-29.

these institutions that various forms of public activity and participation are most easily implemented.

In the scientific literature distinguish the concepts of “citizen engagement” and “public (citizen) participation”. For instance, cities tap into their citizens’ wisdom through citizen engagement initiatives. The idea behind citizen engagement is that citizens should have some powers over the decisions that affect their lives. And even though the terms are often used interchangeably, citizen engagement is not entirely the same as citizen participation. Both concepts might seem similar, but they have differing views of the role that citizens should play. The key difference is that citizen engagement requires an active, intentional dialogue between citizens and public decision makers whereas citizen participation can come from citizens only.⁴⁴

Citizen engagement and participation have the same goal: improving public service deliveries and policy projects. However, both are not initiated by the same actors. Citizen engagement is a top-down initiative and is instated by a governmental body such as a city or a town. The city officials are the ones encouraging citizens to discuss, assess policies and contribute to projects. By contrast, citizen participation stems from the citizens themselves, and is thus a bottom-up initiative⁴⁵.

In this context, it is also appropriate to distinguish between civic activity, which is the participation of the individual in non-political relations with other people and society as a whole, and civic activity, which is responsible for exercising power control and defending their rights.

Civic activity is largely based on the individual’s awareness of himself as a citizen of a particular state as a participant in the legal relationship between him and the state. Civic activity is determined by the citizenship of the individual, it is based on the desire to comply with the rules and legality of existence in the state, and is closely linked to the legal consciousness. But, as J.Ekman and E.Amna wrote “Civic participation, on the other hand, refers to activities within the civil do-

⁴⁴ What is the Difference between Citizen Engagement and Participation? URL: <https://www.citizenlab.co/blog/civic-engagement/what-is-the-difference-between-citizen-engagement-and-participation/>

⁴⁵ Item

main. Associational involvement and voluntary work are typical examples of such actions that take place outside of the political domain. What we refer to here as social involvement, finally, is related to the private domain.”⁴⁶

Civic activity is largely based on the individual's awareness of himself as a citizen of a particular state as a participant in the legal relationship between citizen and the state. Civic activity is determined by the engagement of the individual, it is based on the desire to comply with the rules and legality of existence in the state, and is closely linked to the legal consciousness. Civic engagement involves “working to make a difference in the civic life of one's community and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference”⁴⁷.

An important component of the development of civic activity is the individual's trust in the public association, as well as the attitude to others. A high level of development of personal activity will lead to the development of its social orientation. At the same time, high personal activity does not mean high civic activity of the individual. Civic activity is to solve individuals' common problems of interaction with the state. Accordingly, if there is only a high level of personal activity, the individual can solve their own problems at the expense of other members of community or association. An important exception are individuals with a low level of empathy, which is a specific factor in the development of social activity, because for most other areas of activity, it is not so important. In particular, work, study, search and creative activities do not require a high level of empathy in the individual.

When considering civic participation, we proceed from its understanding as a process of involving members of society in the manage-

⁴⁶ Ekman J. & Amnå E. (2012) Political participation and civic engagement: Towards a new typology. *Human Affairs* 22 (3):283-300

⁴⁷ Lopez, M.H., Levine, P., Both, D., Kiesa, A., Kirby, E., & Marcelo, K. (2006). *The 2006 civic and political health of the nation: A detailed look at how youth participate in politics and communities*. College Park, MD: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE). Retrieved from http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/2006_CPHS_Report_update.pdf

ment of public affairs, as well as, as far as possible, public affairs. That is, the idea of involving citizens in the discussion and development of political, socio-economic, cultural programs and projects, influencing decision-making and monitoring their implementation, involvement in self-government at the primary level is actualized.

It is a real opportunity for citizens to publicly express their position, to unite with like-minded people to exchange views, to promote their views, to exert organized influence on the authorities, the opportunity to run in elections, etc.⁴⁸.

Traditionally, the main forms of civic participation are participation in local, regional, national elections, discussion and development of political, socio-economic, cultural programs and projects, influence on decision-making and control over their implementation, self-government at the “local” level, voting, participation in demonstrations etc., writing petitions, personal contacts with politicians and officials, membership in various organizations, initiatives at the local level, public gatherings, voting to recall a deputy, public hearings, lawmaking initiative, territorial public self-government, citizens’ meetings. Such a variety of forms of public participation should help increase the efficiency of civil society, intensify the process of political socialization of citizens.

Despite the variety of forms of public participation in governance, in Ukraine there is the reserve of influence of public organizations and citizens. Disadvantages of institutional and functional organization of power at local and regional level, combined with defects in regulation. Among the main reasons for this are the reluctance of the authorities and their representatives to “open up” to the population; providing formalized answers to information requests to public authorities, unfounded refusals to provide information; the absence of a legal obligation for the authorities to address all important issues together with the public; fears that public participation will slow down the decision-making process; lack of specific knowledge in citizens about the activi-

⁴⁸ Костенюк І. В. (2012) Громадянська активність на місцях як один з індикаторів інтенсивності муніципальних процесів: український вимір. Державне управління: удосконалення та розвиток. № 10. URL: http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Duur_2012_10_10

ties of the government, their rights and responsibilities, unwillingness to defend their interests.

According to Ukrainian researcher V. Stepanenko, in Ukraine “there is still an insurmountable psychological and historical post-communist tradition of mass skepticism and distrust of any organizations and associations, often created from above or outside, the lack of a stable tradition of philanthropy of private business to financial and organizational support of such organizations, and hence their dependence on the financial fortunes of donor (mostly foreign) funds and organizations”⁴⁹ In practice, this is confirmed by the results of a nationwide survey of the urban population of Ukraine and local government officials: the vast majority of urban residents are dissatisfied with the current level of their influence on government decisions in their own settlements – 74%; while only 9% are unconditionally or rather satisfied with such an impact.⁵⁰

The starting point for the development of civic participation is the appropriate value base – the presence in the structure of life values of those attitudes that are responsible for the formation of motivation to participate. This is, above all, an active position in life, a high level of social responsibility and a caring attitude to what is happening in society (in the country and in the immediate environment), willingness to actively interact, collective decisions of common affairs. In modern, especially, European society, it is fundamentally important to try to move away from understanding the role of the citizen as a passive product of social structures, and to see in his activities primarily an active subject of creation, legitimation and transformation of socio-political structures.

⁴⁹ Stepanenko V. P. (2015) *Civil Society: Discourses and Practices*. Kyiv: Institute of Sociology, NAS of Ukraine. 20 p

⁵⁰ Результати загальнонаціонального опитування міського населення України та службовців органів місцевого самоврядування міст щодо проблем місцевого самоврядування та ставлення до децентралізації влади Галузевий моніторинг. №18. 2015. URL : <https://dif.org.ua/en/article/rezultatizagalbnonatsionalbnogo-opituvannya-misbkogo-naselennya-ukraini-ta-sluzhbovtsiv-organiv-mistsevogo-samovryaduvannya-mist-shchodo-problem-mistsevogo-samovryaduvannya-ta-stavlennya-do-detsentralizatsii-vladi>

Researchers identify certain levels of development of civic participation of the individual, among them:

- active civic position (high level of civic responsibility), which is characterized by social initiative, the formation of holistic and systematic knowledge of the ideas of civil society; responsible attitude to the performance of their duties; demanding of himself and others; high level of development of self-awareness, the formation of a unique creative personality;
- civic position of reproductive level (average level of civil responsibility), which is characterized by knowledge and responsible attitude to rights and responsibilities, knowledge and observance of rules of conduct, the presence of basic ideas about the values of civil society, developed desire to find their place in life, although active civic position with regard to the activities and actions of other members of society, independence and initiative are not always manifested;
- passive civil position (low level of development of civil responsibility): disunity of elements of civil position; the presence of a general idea of the ideas of civil society, a vague idea of the values of civic duty and civic responsibility; low level of public activity; low level of self-awareness development; the social behavior of the individual is determined by the current situation.⁵¹

According to researchers Ts. Petrova and S. Terrow, certain features of civic activity are inherent in the territory of Central and Eastern Europe, where there are two types of activism: participatory (or participatory activism) and transactional. Participatory activism is focused on the relatively mass mobilization of the social base. Transactional activism is based on links between different groups of protesters and non-governmental, governmental and international organizations. Given the low mobilization potential, civic activism can be offset by building broad coalitions of initiatives and organizations and finding allies among those who has pressure or power. They propose a differentiated model of civil society consisting of (a) internal potential for citizen ac-

⁵¹ Бичко О. В. (2009) Психологічні засади формування громадянської відповідальності (від теорії моделювання до теорії реалізації). Вісн. Черніг. держ. пед. ун-ту. Чернігів, Вип. 74. Серія Психологічні науки». Т. 1. С. 41

tion and (b) relational aspects of social activism and argue that some forms of the latter—and in particularly, what they call “transactional activism”—are more robust than what evidence at the individual level suggests. They also examine some local and transnational-level data from the region and speculate about the capacities for collective action they find there and their potential for contributing to the construction of a transnational Europe.⁵²

It is worth noting, that the level of influence of public participation should be an adequate level of social significance of a project that the government plans to implement. Otherwise, the state does not influence on social tensions in communities and society. The government must constantly create opportunities for public access to comprehensive information on government plans and actions, as well as real mechanisms and further actions of the public. It is true to confirm that the participation of citizens in the management of public affairs in democracies cannot limit their participation in elections.

Institutions of participatory democracy have a great influence on the development of civil society, as they provide an opportunity for the public: first, to initiate constitutional and legislative changes, to reject laws that do not meet national or public interests; second, to participate in the approval of the constitution and the adoption of laws in referendums; thirdly, to influence the processes of early termination of powers of the Head of State and Parliament, as well as regional and local representative bodies; fourth, to interact constructively with the parties in terms of initiating important public projects.⁵³

In this regard, the conditions of debureaucratization of state institutions, the need to delegate regulated functions to other non-governmental organizations, contribute to the emergence of new subjects of public administration. Therefore, participatory democracies do not need intermediaries to organize the demand for justice, to implement

⁵² Petrova, T. & Tarrow, S., (2007). Transactional and Participatory Activism in the Emerging European Polity: The Puzzle of EastCentral Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 40:

⁵³ Рутар Г. (2011) Розвинене громадянське суспільство як фактор ефективності політичного управління. Українська національна ідея: реалії та перспективи розвитку. Вип. 23. С.126.

the principles of openness and transparency in the making of management decisions. In essence, participatory democracy can give a powerful impetus to achieve an ambitious goal – to achieve truly European living standards in our cities.

Quite often, in the face of confrontation between different branches of government, civil society becomes an arbiter; when citizens solve their own problems through the activities of socio-political movements. By increasing the influence of socio-political movements on public authorities, public policy becomes more flexible, efficient and effective. The urgency of creating conditions for the growing importance of socio-political movements for the full support of the idea of social peace is growing.

This is evidenced by some outbreaks of protests – from the revolution on granite, the action Ukraine without Kuchma, the Orange Revolution and ending with the phenomenon of Euromaidan. The period of 2013 gave rise to a new civil society in Ukraine, which reached a high level of mobilization of active citizens to address strategic issues for the development of Ukrainian society, created unique institutional units that demonstrated the ability to formulate their own agenda and force it to reckon with various political forces. The practice of people coming to Euromaidan has shown that the energy of self-organization of Ukrainian citizens has great potential for consolidation around socially significant issues. The main trends that contributed to self-organization were civic activity related to the discussion of Ukraine's European integration prospects, combating the deterioration of the socio-economic situation and abuse of law enforcement agencies, manifestations of corruption.

The discrediting of the dialogue “government-civil society” reached a dangerous level in late 2013-early 2014, due to the deep socio-political crisis, so the restoration of even the minimum level of trust between the two parties directly depended on substantial changes in the political and legal system. The phenomenon of Ukrainian socio-political and public life has seriously affected the minds of citizens in the context of rethinking the importance of their own participation in public administration processes, has become a kind of school of civic responsibility and national identity, a protest form of public self-organization for freedom, truth and social justice. unity

around democratic values, which contributed to Ukraine's European integration progress.⁵⁴

The Revolution of Dignity and the subsequent events in Ukraine led to significant changes in the political and socio-cultural environments of Ukrainian society. As a result of primarily the external aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, the unwillingness of state structures to respond effectively to challenges and act in extreme conditions of social conflict, territorial annexation and occupation of Ukrainian territory was manifested. In this course of events, Ukrainian civil society has demonstrated the ability to consolidate and mobilize, being able to create an effective network of public initiatives and associations that have addressed the most pressing and urgent issues: diverse assistance to refugees from the occupied territories, military logistics, purchase of medical equipment and medicines for the wounded, etc.

Volunteer activities aimed at removing social abuse by supporting the most disadvantaged categories of the population become important in times of crisis; ensuring a dignified existence of citizens who, due to objective circumstances, are not able to take care of themselves; "Filling" the shortcomings of public policy, primarily through rapid response and the provision of effective targeted social assistance that meets the needs and requests of a particular person; dissemination of humanistic and altruistic ideas and attitudes in society, etc.⁵⁵

In societies with an established democratic tradition, the participation of volunteers in the implementation of specific goals and objectives is important not only in terms of attracting free labor, but also in the context of "awakening" in society such norms and values as humanism, altruism, responsibility, assistance. neighbor, as opposed to the spread of "values" of consumer society.

According to the results of sociological research, the Ukrainian volunteer movement in 2014 became an unprecedented manifestation of public self-organization. The growth of the volunteer movement was

⁵⁴ Про стан розвитку громадянського суспільства в Україні: загальні тенденції, регіональні особливості : аналіт. доп. К.: НІСД, 2014. С. 24.

⁵⁵ Волонтерський рух: світовий досвід та українські громадянські практики : аналіт. доп. К.: НІСД, 2015. 36 с.

due to two main factors: the internal political crisis, which led to an imbalance of public administration, lack of quality management decisions, lack of resources, and external aggression, which deepened the imbalance between the state's ability to effectively perform its functions and basic needs. Crisis processes in the country and external influences threatened the existence of Ukraine as a nation state, which was perceived by citizens as a personal challenge, a threat to their self-identification.

Against the background of these changes, civil society has become the main and driving force of democracy and at the same time the main “legitimizer” of the democratic form of government. The catalyst for its advanced development were the processes of active self-organization of citizens, against the background of which we can talk about such a concept as the beginning of the real formation of the Ukrainian civil nation. However, the further development of civil society in Ukraine, of course, depends on the implementation of major reforms – constitutional, administrative-territorial, judicial, law enforcement and others.

Given the expediency of radical change and reformatting of the system, the government is implementing the Concept of reforming local self-government and territorial organization of power in Ukraine, which provides for the transition to a new model of organization of power. Construction of the new architecture management must ensure the validity of the real mechanisms of influence on public authorities, all of which help to neutralize separatist potential of society, factors and mechanisms of its formation, as well as threats to national security.

In the new realities of Ukraine, when during the Revolution of Dignity civil society fully revealed its potential in the context of democratization of the country, first of all – in the form of active protest movement, and later – in the form of consolidated resistance to external military aggression, compromise, consensus voting in presidential and parliamentary elections, the new Ukrainian government did not have the right to lose momentum in strategizing the development of civil society and promoting it, establishing long-term and permanent cooperation with its institutions. First of all, the authorities should be interested in dialogue and partnership, in increasing effective interaction.

However, the current stage of development of civil society is no less difficult than the previous one, as it is characterized by a loss of momentum, in particular with regard to institutional development and public consultation. The majority of the population believes that their actions, at most, will be able to influence the political elite in their decision-making, or at least be able to identify pain points based on the belief of the general public in the feasibility and necessity of transformational social change⁵⁶. However, the behavior of Ukrainian citizens continues to be influenced by paternalistic stereotypes about the role of the state, the dominance of oligarchic clan interests at the top of the political pyramid, and the material insecurity of most people, which puts further reform and change of state-citizen relations on the agenda.

Nowadays starts a new period of development of civic activity, which is associated with the need to reform local government and build an effective system of government. Practice has shown that the participation of civil society in public policy-making would never have reached its current scale without the growth of civic activity, because the expansion of the role of public actions on public initiative plays a key role in strengthening the democratic foundations of civil society and encouraging public participation. discussion and dialogue, leading to the establishment of new forms of political interaction.

In connection with the above, a new task is crystallized – the formation of civic consciousness, focused on restoring the morality and obedience of society, as citizenship is able to unite the nation around the issue of state building.

The influence of public authorities on the process of formation of civic activity should occur by:

- filling the real content of the legal basis of the civil status of individuals and creating mechanisms that would enable citizens to feel like full participants in the political process;
- creating conditions for self-organization and self-expression of the population (economic or socio-political), as elements of citizenship are more actively formed and assimilated in the process of practical activities;

⁵⁶ Про стан розвитку громадянського суспільства в Україні: загальні тенденції, регіональні особливості : аналіт. доп. К.: НІСД, 2014. с. 16.

- real inclusion of citizens as actors in the implementation of targeted state and regional programs aimed at meeting the needs of people based on an adequate understanding of their needs and desires⁵⁷.

In conclusion, the effectiveness of participatory democracy depends on the combined efforts of two key actors in public authorities and civil society. That is why the harmonization of national and individual interests of citizens in the formation and implementation of public policy should be carried out through the introduction of a new model of governance based on the paradigm of “Good Governance” – is the main path to socio-political and socio-economic consolidation. Implementation of the policy of partnership, openness and accountability will allow to improve the system of self-government, to develop civil society, to increase the level of local democracy, to activate the representatives of the local community.

The system of effective management should be built starting from the lowest, basic level – the community level. Citizens must determine the possibility of making decisions that affect their lives and implement these decisions through community power.

⁵⁷ Клімович В. (2014) Розвиток громадянськості як основи консолідації суспільства та зміцнення держави Державне управління та місцеве самоврядування. Вип. 1. С. 16.

PART 4. A NEW PARADIGM OF EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT: REORIENTATION TO INTERACTION

The functioning of the paradigm of Public Administration, which was characterized by hierarchy, secrecy, focus on decision-making by politicians, culminated in twentieth century with the transition of developed countries in their governance to the Good Governance paradigm based on society and public consent.

The main consequence of the transition to public good governance is a change in the role of the state (or government in the broadest sense) in the government's decision process. Throughout the XX century, the state grew and bureaucratized, and now it is time to return these processes in the opposite direction⁵⁸.

The way of government activity changes: instead of “ruling”, it “guides”; the volume of its functions decreases; therefore, we can talk about the emergence of a “hollow state”, which is a kind of shell and a guiding body for other social agents of government. Some of the functions of the state, together with the relevant structural formations that in the past filled its “body”, become the property of society. The boundaries between the three sectors – governmental (political), private and public – are blurring, and forms of interaction, intervention and control are multiplying. The efficiency of management does not decrease, but increases due to the fact that it is engaged in by stakeholders.⁵⁹

It dictates new requirements for the organization of the system of state power, which must meet the standards of democratic governance

⁵⁸ Кeping, Y. (2018). Governance and Good Governance: A New Framework for Political Analysis. *Fudan J. Hum. Soc. Sci.* **11**, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40647-017-0197-4>

⁵⁹ Колодій А. Ф. (2012) Концепція публічного (нового) врядування в її застосуванні до демократичних і перехідних систем. Демократичне врядування. Вип. 10. URL: http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/DeVr_2012_10_3

and get closer to ordinary citizens by improving the quality of public services. Active involvement of citizens in solving social problems and socio-political life is a mandatory component of a democratic society and a sign of a developed state. When citizens can take an active part in the policy-making and decision-making process, as well as in the process of their implementation by the authorities, the result is effective public institutions that work for the benefit of society.

Good Governance being an adjective expression connotes certain value-assumptions, whereas governance as a process denotes a value-free dispensation. Good governance is associated with efficient and effective administration in a democratic framework. It is equivalent to purposive and development oriented administration which is committed to improvement in quality of life of the people.⁶⁰

World Bank's document, entitled "Governance and Development (1992)"⁶¹, puts it, "governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development." From its lending experience in many developing countries, the Bank came to realise that "good governance is central to creating and sustaining an environment which fosters strong and equitable development, and it is an essential complement to sound economic policies. Three distinct aspects are identical in the conceptualisation of "governance": (i) the form of political regime (parliamentary or presidential, military or civilian, and authoritarian or democratic); (ii) The process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources; and (iii) the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies, and in general, to discharge government functions.

The sources of this concept (Good Governance) were largely the concepts of New Public Management and Networked Government. For a meaningful understanding, it should be noted that "governance-a broader category than "management". Thus, according to the definitions of individual scientists, "governance" is:

⁶⁰ Srivastava, M. (2009). Good Governance – Concept, Meaning and Features: A Detailed Study. URL: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1528449

⁶¹ The World Bank, Governance and Development, Washington D.C.,1992. URL:<https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/abs/10.1596/0-8213-2094-7>

- the process by which the government (authorities) performs its functions to regulate social processes, implement public policy, allocate resources, etc;
- public or systemic governance, which means management activities as public coordination that enables and facilitates collective action through collective decisions in the horizontal dimension.⁶²

In fact, the concept of «governance» initially filled with democratic content. Hence, Good Governance is a government that meets the requirements of a democratic, open, and just society and regulates the relationship between official institutions (government) and non-governmental circles (business, public). In addition, the concept of Good Governance is identified with the concept of result-oriented management.

Theoretically, Good Governance is an environment for many stakeholders to work together. At the practical level, it manifests itself as a set of “direct partnerships between the community, public authorities, public and private sector actors in the process of planning and managing the common affairs of the territory.” Ukrainian researchers define Good Governance as a “mechanism for ensuring the functioning of society as a holistic self-regulatory system, a way of exercising public power, which achieves: compliance of public policy with the needs of social development; real participation of citizens in the development and implementation of public policy; combining the potential of all three sectors (government, business, public); constant control of various segments of society over public power.”⁶³

The implementation of the Good Governance paradigm was recommended in the 1980s by international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the OECD as a tool to ensure that countries achieve development goals in the context of globalization, rapid changes, and crises, further reducing the resource base

⁶² Міненко М. А. Трансформація системи державного управління в сучасні моделі регулювання суспільства. Державне управління: удосконалення та розвиток : електронне фахове вид. URL: <http://www.dy.nayka.com.ua/?op>

⁶³ Безверхнюк Т. (2008) Європейські стандарти врядування на регіональному рівні [Текст] : монографія / Т. М. Безверхнюк, С. Є. Саханенко, Е. Х. Топалова ; за заг. ред. Т. М. Безверхнюк. Одеса : ОРІДУ НАДУ. С.35.

and increasing the needs of the population for high quality services and ensuring the rule of law, human rights, pluralistic democracy and participatory democracy, which have become integral features of the 21st century. So the preconditions on which the concept of “Good Governance” is based, we can highlight the following: the unity of the entire system of government and power; focus on the social efficiency of the state; partnership with civil society institutions and business; openness and transparency of state power; active use of innovations and modern technologies.⁶⁴

A special attraction for public administration is the interpretation of the concept of Governance not only as an instrumental (subject-object), but also, mainly, as a social (subject-subject) action. Governance is in fact the first attempt to build a public management model in which society acts not only as an object but also as a co-subject of government, that is a partial identity of subject and object of government. This makes it possible to qualify Governance as an intermediate phase between coercive management and self-organization.

In general, approaches and interpretations of the concept of governance differ significantly depending on whether it is the developed countries or the developing countries, or the post-communist society. In the first case, they talk about the new public government as an objectively present feature of public life. In the second case, they mostly resort to formulating requirements and practical recommendations for “pulling” management to certain standards, and this is done by various structures that provide assistance to their recipients⁶⁵.

For example, we can consider the White Paper of EU, which proposes opening up the policy-making process to get more people and organizations involved in shaping and delivering EU policy. It promotes greater openness, accountability and responsibility for all those involved. This should help people to see how Member States, by act-

⁶⁴ Воробійова О. П. (2015) Сучасні управлінські моделі New Public Management і Good Governance та їх запровадження в Україні. Ефективність державного управління. Вип. 42. С. 233.

⁶⁵ What is good governance? / United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. URL: <http://www.unescap.org/pdd/prs/ProjectActivities/Ongoing/gg/governance.asp>.

ing together within the Union, are able to tackle their concerns more effectively. Five principles underpin good governance and the changes proposed in White Paper: openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence. Each principle is important for establishing more democratic governance. They underpin democracy and the rule of law in the Member States, but they apply to all levels of government – global, European, national, regional and local. They are particularly important for the Union in order to respond to the challenges.⁶⁶

As noted by J. Healey and M. Robinson, good governance “implies a high level of organizational effectiveness in the formulation and actual implementation of public policy, especially in the conduct of economic policy and its contribution to ensure growth, stability and national prosperity. Good governance also implies accountability, transparency, participation, openness and the rule of law. It is not necessarily based on value judgments, such as a healthy respect for civil and political freedoms, although good governance is usually a prerequisite for political legitimacy.”⁶⁷

The concept of good governance is aimed primarily at improving manageability and efficiency. However, like the concept of new public governance, it goes beyond the understanding of man as an economic entity, and considers it as a whole, in the aggregate of its social ties and relations, forming a new approach to good governance as one that contains important requirements of socio-humanitarian content. Taken together, these requirements are aimed at minimizing corruption and taking into account the interests of minorities.

Effective democracy and good governance at all levels are necessary preconditions for conflict prevention, promoting stability, accelerating economic and social progress and, consequently, for creating

⁶⁶ European governance – A white paper /* COM/2001/0428 final */ Official Journal 287 , 12/10/2001 P. 0001 – 0029 URL: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:52001DC0428>

⁶⁷ Healey J. (2009) Democracy, governance and economic policy: Sub-Saharan Africa in comparative perspective. ODI development policy studies /J. Healey, M. Robinson ; Overseas Development Institute, 1992 (Original from the University of Michigan). URL: <http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8024.pdf>.

stable communities where people want to live and work today and in the future.

Most Western scholars describe next components of Good Governance: constitutional order; democratic elections; respect for human rights; the rule of law; political openness; stability and clarity of laws; tolerance, justice; public participation; public expenditures aimed at achieving public (public) goals; independence of courts; transparency of government activities; lack of corruption; active and independent media; freedom of information; competence of authorities; political neutrality of government (civil service based on merit); accountability of government to society on important issues. These principles are proven mechanisms that allow in the realities of the XXI century through involvement in decision-making and implementation of solutions⁶⁸.

The goal of “fair governance” is not to achieve results at any cost, but to build a transparent policy implementation process based on broad citizen participation in the interests of the majority.

In order to effectively reform the system of public administration relations in the practice of Ukraine, decentralization of administrative services, effective mechanisms of interaction between local governments and public associations as representatives of the interests of local residents must be formed.

Therefore, due to increasing the level and dynamics of social self-organization occur:

- expansion of the functions of local self-government bodies taking into account the growing differentiation of interests of the population;
- transfer of part of the functions performed by the state (local governments) to public associations;
- increasing the self-responsibility of citizens in protecting and realizing their private interests through the influence on power and control over power⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Солових В. П. (2010) “GOOD GOVERNANCE” як одна із сучасних моделей державного управління . Науковий вісник Академії муніципального управління. Серія : Управління. Вип. 1. С. 116.

⁶⁹ Лациба, М. В. (2013) Місцева демократія в Україні: нові стандарти / М. В. Лациба, І. М. Лукеря, О. Л. Вашук-Огданська ; Укр. незалеж. центр політ. дослідж. (УНЦПД). К. : Агентство Україна. 23 с

Further transformation of the system of public administration and local self-government is fundamentally important for solving the strategic task of building civil society in Ukraine. And in this process, it is not so much the arrangement and improvement of the institutional facade that is crucial, which mostly occurs in the first place, as the introduction of direct interaction between the authorities and civil society institutions as a mechanism to increase the managerial capacity of the state.

The state of antagonism between the state and society must now turn into a state of partnership, equal cooperation of state power with the public. In the past, public administration was inefficient due to strict centralization, in many respects not only did not meet public expectations, but also did not rely on the conceptual paradigm of its democratic mission in the need for effective cooperation, interaction with the public and did not contribute to their development. Today, in order to effectively reform public administration relations in Ukraine and decentralize administrative services, promising mechanisms for cooperation between local governments and public associations must be formed. Of course, we are talking about the need for structural reorganization of the relationship between the state and society, government and citizens, the maximum approximation of the structural elements of public administration to cooperation with citizens and their public associations.

Thus, the process of reforming the public administration system in Ukraine will only approach EU standards and criteria, when the main part of state and public services will be coordinated and provided by local governments with the participation of self-organization bodies and public associations. This can become real when the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the local level will be accompanied by the process of distribution of financial resources between state and local budgets, providing local governments with additional sources that allow them to finance their functions and tasks.

Following the connection between the concept of good governance and the formation of a system of values, policies and institutions, it should be noted that the involvement of all stakeholders in the decision-making process will contribute to: greater legitimacy of decisions; effectiveness of decisions made; public awareness of insti-

tutions and decision-making procedures; increasing the initiative and independence of citizens and other non-institutional participants in the decision-making process.

In addition, the issue of public relations is one of the key issues in the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union. In particular, the text of the Agreement states that the interaction of the state with civil society on the basis of partnership is necessary for the development of Ukraine as a legal, democratic and social state.⁷⁰

For the local level of government, in order to make the most efficient use of available resources, it is especially important that the decision-making process is based on the principles of good governance. European best practice in territorial governance is characterized by an increasing role for citizens in local policy-making, not only through the delegation of authority to elected representatives, but also through various tools for direct community involvement. Civil society organizations should provide scientific and expert support to the policy-making process. Accumulating and generalizing local interests, they should be one of the main channel for involving citizens in decision-making procedures.

Despite the fact that the concept of “effective governance” was originally developed to ensure the sustainable development of the most backward countries in the world. However, its basic ideas (about state power as one of the social actors, mandatory participation of civil society organizations in policy implementation, transparency and accountability of public authorities, etc.) in case of their successful implementation in the transitive Ukrainian environment can significantly accelerate our society by strengthening democracy, the formation of civil society and the development of a market economy.

Endurance and perseverance in the implementation of the principles of effective governance will lead to the establishment of real (as opposed to declared) links between local governments and the community, creating a positive image of power in the minds of resi-

⁷⁰ Association Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part. Official Journal of the European Union, L 161, 29 May 2014 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ:L:2014:161:TOC>

dents. As a result, it is possible to increase the interest and participation of residents in the affairs of their own community. Create a new tradition in government-community relations is a fundamental step towards the implementation of endogenous model of local development, within which the main role for the internal resources of the local environment, promotes the release of social energy and create “spirit of community.”⁷¹

At the present stage of state formation, a form of social partnership between the state (public authorities and local governments) and citizens (civil society organizations) comes to the fore and the principles of solidarity in solving urgent social, economic and political problems of society with broad citizen participation should be the basis activities of reformed public administration bodies.

Specific steps should be cooperation between public authorities and civil society based on the following principles:

1. Public (civic) activity.

Civic activity, as an initiative and voluntary participation of people in society and resolved issues of public administration, is an important component of a democratic society. Public authorities should support a public initiative by creating favorable conditions for its emergence and implementation.

2. Partnership.

The interaction between public authorities and civil society institutions should be based on partnership and equality. This will make cooperation effective and create conditions for combining the efforts of the state and public sectors to address issues of public importance.

3. Openness and responsibility.

The activities of non-governmental organizations, public authorities, local governments should be open, accountable, and accountable to society for their activities, including the implementation of projects and financial support of these projects.⁷²

⁷¹ Єгіозар’ян А. Г. (2015) Публічне врядування на місцевому рівні: європейський досвід Теорія та практика державного управління. Вип. 1. С. 240.

⁷² Щодо активізації взаємодії організацій громадянського суспільства із органами державної влади : аналіт. зап. URL: <http://www.niss.gov.ua/articles/881/>

As a result, at the present stage of Ukraine's development, the implementation of administrative reform and modernization of public administration involves taking into account the concept of "good governance". The effective implementation of European principles of good governance in Ukraine will be facilitated by the systematic reform of public authorities and local self-government bodies, overcoming corruption, and involving the public in the formation and implementation of public policy.

It should be concluded that the multiculturalism of Ukrainian society, which has a fairly clear regional dimension, dictates the need to achieve the optimal relationship between the center and the community, the formation of balanced territorial development. Therefore, a unitary-decentralized model of territorial organization should become an imperative for the ruling political class. Especially in the context of the realization of Ukraine's European integration aspirations, the development and implementation of an effective and efficient regional policy that will correspond to European values and become a powerful stimulus for domestic reforms will become increasingly important and stimulating. Because full democracy is impossible without civil society and impossible without the relationship between citizen and government.

PART 5. DEMOCRATIZATION AND FORMATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY AS A BASIS FOR ENSURING THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION OF UKRAINE

The signing of the political part of the *EU-Ukraine Association Agreement* on July 27, 2014 and its ratification in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on September 16, 2014 significantly increases Ukraine's future chances of joining the Eurozone. However, the existing obstacles in the form of Ukraine's non-compliance with certain accession criteria necessitate the formation of an adequate economic and legal climate, democratic political regime, active and functioning civil society, and effective fight against corruption. Considering that 61.5% of Ukrainians support the country's accession to the European Union (according to a poll conducted by the Gorshenin Institute presented at the IV National Expert Forum "From Revolution to New Country")⁷³, it is necessary to analyze the conditions of a positive result of European integration in the near future.

Legislation, which is the core of the functioning of the European Union, sets out a number of requirements that must be met by candidate countries for EU membership. These are, in particular, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, the Declaration of the European Council of 1993 in Copenhagen, the Declaration of the Madrid European Council of 1995. On 1 May 1999, the Amsterdam Treaty, signed on 2 October 1997, entered into force, according to which States parties must ensure the protection of fundamental human rights. Transformation of the European Union into a «space of freedom, security and justice» was proclaimed.⁷⁴

⁷³ Соціопитування Інституту Горшеніна [Електронний ресурс] // LB.ua. — 2014. — 07 червня. — Режим доступу : http://ukr.lb.ua/news/2014/06/17/270027_615_ukraintsev_hotyat_vstupleniya.html

⁷⁴ Договір про Європейський Союз [Електронний ресурс] // Офіційний веб-

The European Union emerged primarily as an economic union, and only after the unification of the economies did a strong political coalition form. Thus, first in May 1950 in Paris, R. Schumann (Minister of Foreign Affairs of France) proposed a plan for partial economic integration. It was implemented on April 18, 1951 during the signing of the Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which entered into force in July 1952. Soon, in February 1953, the Common Market for Coal, Iron Ore and Scrap Metal was established, and in August 1954 – the Steel Market. On February 9, 1958, the process of forming a common market was completed. On March 25, 1957, the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) were signed in Rome, which entered into force on January 1, 1958. The next stage in the development of the EU is associated with the unification in 1967 of the three communities (ECSC, Euratom, EEC) and the creation of the European Union (EU). Finally, on February 7, 1992, 12 EU countries signed the Maastricht Treaty, which entered into force on November 1, 1993, after ratification by all countries, on the establishment of the European Union.⁷⁵

The economic stage of the EU's formation lasted a long period of time and only full economic integration made it possible to move to another stage of EU development. Thus, the economic criterion played a major role in the formation of the EU. In the 1990s, the situation changed. The collapse of the USSR and the course of transformation of post-Soviet countries into capitalist ones led to the emergence of a geopolitical factor.

The reference of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland of 13 June 2001 “Eastern Policy of the European Union in the EU Enlargement Process to the Accession of Central and Eastern European Countries” stated that the EU enlargement strategy is primarily

портал Верховної Ради України. — Режим доступу : http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994_029/ed20050101

⁷⁵ Історія європейської інтеграції від Римської імперії до Європейського Союзу : [Монографія] / І. В. Яковюк, Т. М. Анакіна, О. Я. Трагнюк, Т. В. Комарова ; [за ред. І. В. Яковюка]. — К. : Ред. журн. «Право України», 2012. — 208 с.

determined by the need for coherent Eastern policy. The EU's strategy of enlargement to the East eliminates the East-West conflict, that was typical in the Cold War period, replacing it with an enlargement policy as part of a new order. Declaring its openness and readiness to accept new members from Central and Eastern Europe, the European Union has a responsibility to develop institutions that will help build a community based on democracy, the rule of law and prosperity.⁷⁶

Thus, the need to build a multipolar model of world order has led to the readiness of EU member states, firstly, not to rule out the possibility of joining the EU countries with inadequate levels of economic development, and, secondly, to commit to accelerating these countries democratization process. This would allow the formation of a more or less homogeneous European space and stop the division of the European continent into Eastern and Western Europe.

In his speech in 1997, European Commission member F. Cameron stated that in the coming years the European Union would face one of the most serious problems in its history, namely its enlargement at the expense of the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. EU enlargement is a political imperative for the Union to promote peace, security, stability and progress in Europe⁷⁷.

Based on the announced course on the eastern vector of EU enlargement, the Baltic States were eventually invited to join. They became the first states of the former USSR that joined the concept of eastern enlargement.

According to Ukrainian researcher V. Zavadsky, the integration of the Baltic States into the EU was due to a political factor. On the one hand, it is traced in the idea of uniting European countries into a single political space, on the other hand, the accession of Latvia, Lithuania

⁷⁶ Східна політика Європейського Союзу в рамках процесу розширення ЄС на Схід щодо приєднання країн Центральної та Східної Європи. Польська точка зору. Довідка Міністерства закордонних справ Республіки Польща від 13 червня 2001 року [Електронний ресурс] // Незалежний культурологічний часопис «І». — 2001. — Число 22. — Режим доступу : <http://www.ji.lviv.ua/n22texts/shid-pol.htm>

⁷⁷ Cameron F. The European Union and the Challenge of Enlargement / F. Cameron // The Enlarging the European Union: Relations between the EU and Central and Eastern Europe. — London – New-York : Bailey, 1997. — 19 p.

and Estonia to the EU is seen as the return of these countries to the European community. One of the main catalysts for the accession of the Baltic States by the EU was the political interests of the leading states of the Community – primarily Germany. The disintegration of the Soviet Union, the restoration of independence by Latvia, Estonia, and its proclamation in Lithuania led to an intensification of political forces that began the search for a foreign policy strategy, and for most of them the most acceptable was the “European” vector. Thus, the active, pronounced pro-European attitude of the political elites of these countries has become one of the main prerequisites for their fairly successful European integration.⁷⁸

So it can be stated that today the political factor is a significant advantage for EU accession. The main requirements formulated for Ukraine are related to the observance of human rights and freedoms, the rule of law, as well as the democratization of socio-political life. Of course, the EU seeks to see in its composition a country with a developed market economy, but the focus is on the appropriate European level of democracy. This is due to the high quality of democracy in EU member states.

According to the rating “World Democracy Index 2020”, among all European countries only Albania was upgraded from a “hybrid regime” in 2019 to a “flawed democracy” in 2020. So Cyprus, Slovenia, Greece, Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Serbia, and Albania are classified as “flawed democracies”, while North Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey remain in the category of “hybrid regime”. Nevertheless, Slovenia, Greece, Romania, Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey rose in the rankings. Cyprus, Croatia and Serbia remained stable, while Bulgaria and North Macedonia dropped in the ranking.⁷⁹

Another rating, which characterizes the degree of democracy and is measured by the international human rights organization Freedom House, assesses the level of political rights and civil liberties. As of 2020, the organization’s experts note that democracy’s defenders sus-

⁷⁸ Завадський В. М. Політичні передумови європейської інтеграції країн Балтії / В. М. Завадський // Наука. Релігія. Суспільство. – 2009. – № 1. – С. 24–29.

⁷⁹ Economist Intelligence Unit: <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2020/>

tained recent losses in their struggle against authoritarian foes, shifting the international balance in favor of tyranny. Despite this, absolutely all EU member states are in the group of free countries, having the best indicators among the countries of the world.⁸⁰

If we characterize the level of freedom of the press, studied by Reporters Without Borders, then as of 2020, all EU member states fell into the group of free or partially free countries. At the same time, in general, the organization's experts note that in 2020 the level of freedom of the press is declining, which continues the trend of the recent years. Governments are trying to control the media more, censor it, obstruct free journalism, and so on.⁸¹

The rating data prove that the criterion of democracy of socio-political life is one of the most important in the process of European integration. Thus, Ukraine's efforts to join the European community must provide, above all, for democratic transformations in the political, economic, social, legal and cultural spheres. Back in December 2012, in the conclusions of the EU Council, the prospect of signing the Association Agreement was made dependent on Ukraine's progress in three areas: reform of the electoral system; resolving the issue of selective justice; implementation of the reforms set out in the Association Agenda.

In February 2013, the list of these requirements was clarified by the *EU Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy Štefan Füle*. Although this document was not officially put forward, it de facto became the list whose implementation guaranteed Ukraine the signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union. Initially, the EU developed a list of 19-point requirements, but the final version, handed over by S. Füle to the Prime Minister of Ukraine Mykola Azarov, included 11: election legislation, election practice and its media coverage; selective justice, the execution of judgments of the European Court of Human Rights and the conditions of detention; criminal procedure code, prevention of torture, advocacy self-government; judicial reform and prosecutorial reform;

⁸⁰ Freedom House: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege>

⁸¹ Reporters Without Borders: <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>

reform of internal affairs authorities; constitutional reform; preparation for the free trade zone with the EU; fight against corruption; public finance management reform; empowerment of the Accounting Chamber; improving the business and investment climate.⁸²

The search for the optimal and most objective criteria to be met by a democratic government has been going on since ancient times. However, the most thorough methods were developed in the XX century both by individual political scientists (T. *Vanhanen*, R. Dahl, A. Leiphart, K. Patman, J. Schumpeter) and by organizations that study the development of democracy in the world (Freedom House, International IDEA, Economist Intelligence Unit, Transparency International).

One of the simplest quantitative criteria was proposed by the Finnish political scientist Tatu Vanhanen. According to his theory, to understand the quality of democracy in the country, it is necessary to calculate two variables related to the exercise of suffrage by citizens: the level of competition (Competition – C) and the level of participation (Participation – P). The level of competition is determined by the percentage of votes or seats in parliament that opposition parties receive in relation to the leading party (100% minus the part of the leading party). The level of participation is represented by the percentage of voters in relation to the total population. So, the democratization index is calculated using the formula: $ID=(P*C)\backslash 100$ ⁸³. However, the calculations made by the director of the Ukrainian Sociological Service, Doctor of Sociology O. Vyshnyak, indicate the impossibility of high-quality application of this formula for Ukraine. After all, a fairly high level of voter turnout and the presence of relevant opposition parties leads to the fact that according to these estimates, Ukraine is on

⁸² Дослідження існуючого досвіду та законодавства України у сфері фінансування громадських організацій органами державної влади, органами місцевого самоврядування та приватним сектором / Спільний проект Секретаріату Кабінету Міністрів України та Координатор проектів ОБСЄ в Україні «Сприяння розробці інституціональної бази фінансування громадянського суспільства в Україні». — К. : Координатор проектів ОБСЄ в Україні, 2011. — 112 с.

⁸³ Лекція Тату Ванханена «Демократизация в сравнении» [Электронный ресурс] // Институт Общественного Проектирования. — 2005. — 29 ноября. — Режим доступа : <http://www.inop.ru/files/vanhanen.doc>

the list of the most democratic countries. Thus, the use of alternative indexes is necessary.

The purpose of Freedom House is to study the support for democracy, political freedoms and human rights in the world. Its experts publish annual reports on the state of democracy in the world. The methodology for calculating the Freedom House index involves the use of expert analysis and evaluation of two components of freedom – measuring the implementation of political and civil rights. Under political rights, researchers understand the ability of the individual to participate in the political process, namely: the ability of voters to give power to their representatives, the independence of the population from the military, “external power” and oligarchs. Civil rights include freedom of assembly and demonstration, legal equality, access to an independent judiciary, *equality* before defence and *security* bodies and freedom of business.⁸⁴ This rating, according to experts, is also subjective, as the definitions used in the questionnaire, such as: “fair elections”, “fair election laws”, “open public debate”, “independent judiciary”, “reasonable self-government” can be interpreted differently by different experts, depending, for example, on the support of a political actors.

The organization is also conducting a separate study “Countries in Transition” to measure the state of democracy in countries with economies in transition, including the former communist states of Europe and Asia. The following variables are examined for calculation: election process; civil society; independent media; democracy of national governance; democracy of local government; independence of the judiciary; level of corruption⁸⁵. It can be seen that these criteria are as close as possible to the requirements of the European Union for Ukraine.

R. Skidelsky, Head of the Center for Global Studies, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Warwick, offers a qualitative approach to the formation of criteria for a democratic political regime. According to him, a real democracy must meet five basic requirements:

⁸⁴ Freedom House: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege>

⁸⁵ Freedom House: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege>

- first, the choice of government must be made as a result of a political process involving the entire adult population of the country;
- secondly, democracy needs freedom of speech and assembly, as well as (most importantly) free media;
- third, leadership is an extremely important factor in mobilizing voters and ensuring support for a particular course of government. However, the scientist calls for a distinction between leaders and dictators. He calls dictators «strong personalities but not leaders»;
- fourth, democracy must be constitutionally limited. The government must obey the law and be controlled by an independent judiciary. In a democratic system, above all, it is not the will of the people, but the constitution and the legal system based on it;
- fifth, power must be decentralized, distributed evenly at all levels of the political system⁸⁶.

Let's analyze the level of democracy in Ukraine, based on these criteria, and using quantitative data from leading international think tanks. Regarding the first criterion on the involvement of the population in the process of authorities and government formation, this requirement is protected by state legislation, primarily the Constitution of Ukraine. Art. 5 proclaims that the bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power in Ukraine is the people. The people exercise power directly and through state authorities and local governments. Art. 38 guarantees citizens the right to participate in the management of public affairs, to freely elect and be elected to public authorities and local governments. Art. 69 states that the people's will is expressed through elections, referendums and other forms of direct democracy. Considering the current form of government (parliamentary-presidential republic), it should be noted that the government is formed by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (namely, a coalition of parliamentary factions submits a proposal to the President of Ukraine on the candidacy of the Prime Minister of Ukraine⁸⁷).

⁸⁶ Skidelsky, Robert. 2013. "Austere Illusions." Social Europe (May 22). Available online at <http://www.socialeurope.eu/2013/05/austere-illusions/>

⁸⁷ Конституція України [Електронний ресурс] // Офіційний веб-сервер Верховної Ради України. — Режим доступу : <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254%D0%BA/96-%D0%B2%D1%80>

In addition to the Constitution, the process of citizen participation in the formation of government is regulated by the following laws of Ukraine: “On Elections of the President of Ukraine” of 05.03.1999, “On Political Parties in Ukraine” of 05.04.2001, “On Elections of Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea”, local councils and village, settlement, city mayors” dated 10.07.2010, “On access to public information” dated 13.01.2011, “On elections of People’s Deputies of Ukraine” dated 17.11.2011.

Thus, Ukrainian citizens have a legally guaranteed opportunity to participate in elections. This feature is implemented in different regions of Ukraine in different ways. Traditionally, the electorate of Western Ukraine: Lviv, Volyn, Ternopil regions is more active, respectively, the turnout in these regions is higher than in other regions.⁸⁸

In August 2019, the Verkhovna Rada of the ninth convocation began its work in Ukraine. Nevertheless, the current parliament has largely become a record holder. In the new parliament, as in the previous one, instead of 450, only 424 MPs are present. 26 seats remain vacant because parliamentary elections were not held in the districts of the temporarily occupied Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol, as well as in some districts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. These seats will be symbolically empty in the session hall of the parliament. Representatives of ten political parties work in the new Verkhovna Rada. More than half of the deputies are from the Servant of the People -254 party. The party “Opposition Platform – For Life” is represented in the parliament by 43 deputies, “Batkivshchyna” – 26, “European Solidarity” – 25, the party “Voice” – 20, “Opposition Bloc” – 6 people’s deputies. Also, one deputy will work in the Rada from “Samopomuch”, “United Center”, VO “Svoboda” and “Bila Tserkva together”. Another 46 seats were won by self-nominated candidates. For the first time in the history of Ukraine, the party-winner of the election “Servant of the People” formed a one-party majority. So far, no political force in independent Ukraine has been able to form a mono-majority in parliament. There are many new

⁸⁸ Результати голосування по Україні [Електронний ресурс] // Офіційний веб-сервер Центральної виборчої комісії України. — Режим доступу : <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vp2010/WP0011>

faces in the Verkhovna Rada of the 9th convocation. More than 80 percent of deputies in the Ukrainian parliament received first deputy mandate. This is not the first large-scale update. The Council was most renewed in 1996, when 86 percent of new deputies joined it. The Verkhovna Rada was renewed by more than half during almost all elections, but the demand for new faces among Ukrainians does not disappear – society always wants to see new deputies.

About 20 percent of women – 80 deputies – will work in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the ninth convocation. Only 53 women worked in the Council of the 8th convocation, ie 12.6 percent.⁸⁹ Despite a significant renewal of the political elite, Ukrainians have a fairly high level of frustration with the institution of elections and inflated expectations of their representatives.

The issue of democratic election legislation and its observance in the electoral process remains open. On January 1, 2020, the new Electoral Code, which provides for a proportional electoral system with open lists and guarantees a gender balance, entered into force. According to the document, voters will vote not only for the party, but for a specific candidate on the party list. Elections of people's deputies of Ukraine are carried out according to the proportional system in accordance with the unified lists of candidates for deputies in the national constituency, from which regional electoral lists of candidates for deputies from parties are formed. The adoption of the Electoral Code is definitely a positive democratic change. The document eliminates the majority, which is associated with numerous cases of voter bribery and the use of administrative resources, and allows voters to influence who will run from the parties to the Verkhovna Rada. The new Electoral Code eliminates some possibilities of manipulation. However, the role of the party leadership remains significant and parties can partially control which of the candidates will enter parliament if the party overcomes the 5 percent barrier.

Thus, the requirements provided by the analyzed criterion are fulfilled and there are some positive changes in Ukrainian election legislation during recent years.

⁸⁹ Що треба знати про нову Верховну Раду. Deutsche Welle. 29.08.2019 <https://p.dw.com/p/3OZbu>

The next criterion is the level of freedom of speech in the country and free media. There is a broad legal framework that regulates the functioning of the media. First of all, it is necessary to name the Constitution of Ukraine which in Art. 34 guarantees everyone the right to freedom of thought and speech, to free expression of their views and beliefs⁹⁰. In addition to the Constitution, the issues of freedom of speech and information activities are covered in more than 110 legal documents – laws, decrees of the President of Ukraine and resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers. In particular, we can name the Laws of Ukraine “On Information” of October 2, 1992, “On Printed Mass Media (Press) in Ukraine” of November 16, 1992, “On Television and Radio Broadcasting” of December 21, 1993, “On state support of mass media and social protection of journalists” dated 23.09.1997, “On access to public information” dated 13.01.2011 and others.

In parallel with the traditional media in Ukraine, the market of on-line publications is actively developing. There are official sites of well-known publications – Mirror of the Week, Correspondent, Novoye Vremia, Forbes, where you can read the latest news, editorial materials, announcements of new publications and more. There are news agencies that do not have printed analogues – ukr.net, LIGA.net, Censor.NET, Ukrinform etc. The blogosphere is also actively developing in Ukraine, social networks are spreading, which are also a source of information. Now we can even talk about the emergence of a special type of marketing – Social media marketing (SMM), the essence of which is the process of attracting traffic or attention to a particular brand (political party, leader, a particular idea) through social platforms. This has all been made possible by the proliferation of the Internet.

It can be stated that the quantitative media market is fully formalized in Ukraine. Problems arise in measuring the freedom of these media. According to the Freedom of the Press rating, which is measured annually by the international organization Reporters Without Borders (RSF), Ukraine has ranked 96th in 2020 as of 2019, Ukraine took the

⁹⁰ Конституція України [Електронний ресурс] // Офіційний веб-сервер Верховної Ради України. — Режим доступу : <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254%D0%BA/96-%D0%B2%D1%80>

102nd position. “Ukraine has a diversified media landscape and its authorities have adopted a number of long-awaited reforms since the 2014 revolution, including a law on media ownership transparency. However, these gains are fragile, as the new independent public broadcaster’s under-financing has shown. Much more is needed to loosen the oligarchs’ tight grip on the media, encourage editorial independence and combat impunity for crimes of violence against journalists,” the report reads.⁹¹

The next factor of democratization is effective political leadership. The political process in Ukraine has always been characterized by personification. Citizens prefer to vote for political leaders rather than the ideology of political parties. As a result, there is an absolutization of the personalist factor in the absence of a nationwide charismatic democratic leader. Thus, there is a public demand for some new political leaders. A. Bychenko, director of the Razumkov Centre’s sociological service, points out that it is the leaders who are held accountable, their actions can at least be controlled, and the parties have long since proved their failure, and it is impossible to control them in Ukraine. After all, according to the expert, politicians simply run from the compromised party to the next⁹².

It should be added that in 2014, a mandatory requirement for a political leader was his support of the European integration course and experience in diplomatic work in order to effectively implement this course. The previous President of Ukraine Poroshenko corresponded to these requirements. However, the effectiveness of his activities is difficult to assess, due to his short tenure, a certain secrecy compared to the former Presidents, as well as the critical situation in eastern Ukraine, where the anti-terrorist operation continued. These and other factors contributed to the victory of Volodymyr Zelensky in the 2019 presidential election.

⁹¹ Freedom of the Press 2020 [Electronic resource]. Official Website of Freedom House. URL: <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>

⁹² Биченко А. Українці продовжують орієнтуватися на лідерів, а не політичні партії [Електронний ресурс] / А. Биченко // Сайт Центру Разумкова. — 2014. — 28 липня. — Режим доступу : http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/expert.php?news_id=4970

The next criterion is the constitutional restriction on democracy, which is ensured by an effective judicial system. The Constitution of Ukraine was adopted on June 28, 1996, ie formally this criterion is met. The Constitution also prescribes the division of power into three branches – legislative, executive and judicial, and guarantees an independent judiciary. In fact, there are still many problems in the field of justice in Ukraine.

First of all, it is selective justice, persecution of the opposition, treatment of detainees, prevention of torture. The most striking example is the criminal cases against former officials Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko, Yuri Lutsenko and others. The world community immediately described these cases as “politically motivated” and called on President to close them. These events contributed to the fall of the country’s rating in the Freedom House index, as well as significantly delayed the European integration process. That is, Ukraine state only the formal compliance with this criterion.

Thus, the analysis of the criteria of democratization in Ukraine proved the formal approach of the country to democratic transformations. We believe that a significant factor that would accelerate the process of democratization was the transfer of some state functions to civil society. According to H. Linz and A. Stepan, the fullest affirmation of democracy occurs when it is realized in the form of civil society. That is, when the mechanism of interaction of the state with independent public associations is established in the conditions of domination of democratic procedures and institutions approved in the rule of law, when the state-administrative apparatus functions effectively, and also democratic political culture operates.⁹³

The experience of European countries proves the need to combine the values of a social, legal, democratic state through state-defined development of all structures of civil society. Unlike most EU countries, post-Soviet countries are just beginning to form a specific type of civil society in which authoritarian and democratic traits. Its transitional nature is particularly evident in the vulnerability to state and political

⁹³ Щедрова Г. П. Формування політичної конкуренції еліт в сучасній Україні : [Монографія] / Галина Петрівна Щедрова, Сергій Володимирович Щедров. — Луганськ : Вид-во «Елтон-2», 2013. — 303 с. С.5-7.

interference in the lives and activities of citizens. The harmonization of relations between the state and civil society in the context of reforming Ukrainian society appears as a vital necessity.

It is also important to mention such a manifestation of public activity as Euromaidan, which began in November 2013 in response to the suspension of the process of preparation for the signing of the Association Agreement at the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius. The list of primary demands, which was to restore the European integration course, has expanded with demands for the resignation of the Government, the fight against corruption, social inequality, arbitrariness of law enforcement agencies, and so on.

All these examples show that the civil society of Ukraine is moving to a new, more effective stage of its development. Quantitatively designed, it begins to realize its potential and use it. This process will be an important step in the democratization of the country and European integration. Another important direction of the establishment of civil society is the overcoming of legal nihilism in society and the legal establishment of personal principles at all levels of public and state organization. The main conditions for ensuring this problem can be considered:

- approach to human rights as the highest social value, the provision of which should be considered as the main function of the state;
- ensuring social justice through the creation of appropriate legislation and mechanisms for its implementation;
- development of social programs aimed at creating a dignified life and free human development;
- encouraging charitable activities;
- political and legal protection of freedom of competition, economic and political pluralism, the rule of law;
- establishment in public practice of constitutional and legal principles of respect for human dignity and social orientation of the state;
- development of a purposeful state socially oriented policy aimed at implementing social assistance programs for certain segments of the population.

Thus, the signing of the Association Agreement with the EU proves Ukraine's desire to support the course of European integration, for

which the country must meet a number of requirements, which can be briefly reduced to the criteria of democratization. In particular, it is: recognition of the sovereignty of the people; formation of power through general, regular, competitive elections; reliable protection and guarantees of realization of the rights and freedoms of citizens; the competitive nature of the exercise of power; decentralization of power; democratic political leadership; free media; fight against corruption; functional civil society; democratic political culture.

Modern democracy is impossible without a high level of economic development. Therefore, the state must guarantee the right of private property and equal starting opportunities for citizens. A truly democratic state cannot guarantee equality of results, but it is obliged to guarantee equal chances and the most transparent and fair rules of competition. We will also add that in modern conditions the quality of democracy increases the availability and development of the information society. Compliance with democratic norms, institutions and processes will enable Ukraine to join the European Union. In modern conditions, it is the political factor, not the economic one, that plays a leading role in shaping the EU enlargement list.

PART 6. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION OF UKRAINE

The essence of the requirements set by the EU Copenhagen and Madrid criteria for Ukraine is reduced to the need for political, legal and socio-economic modernization. The model of modernization chosen by the Ukrainian political elite is characterized by significant inertia, which leads to distortions of political development, even involution. The result of such a slow modernization was the merger of economic and political elites, the emergence of ruling groups of the clan type, a high level of bureaucratization, which led to a generally low efficiency of the political system, a total decline in public confidence in major political institutions.

However, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have also undergone such a difficult path of democratic transformation. Thus, according to the Czech researcher J. Pehe, these countries experienced a high level of corruption, “dirty” privatization, fraud in the banking system, when funds were borrowed solely on the basis of political ties. Such actions of the authorities have undermined the faith of ordinary citizens in the possibility of democracy. However, the EU’s “granite persistence” in the inadmissibility of the above practices has contributed to the gradual improvement and, with it, the restoration of confidence in the institutions of democracy among the citizens of the candidate countries.⁹⁴

The Ukrainian model should provide for broad modernization, which will include parallel processes of political, socio-economic and legal development, based on European standards of competition, pluralism, human rights priorities and more. It should also be noted that

⁹⁴ Pehe J. Consolidating Free Government in the New EU / J. Pehe // Journal of Democracy. — 2004. — Vol. 15. — №. 1. — P. 36–47. — C.38-39.

European countries are moving to the post-industrial stage, so in order to maximize the modernization result it is necessary to take into account this additional factor and trends of institutional and socio-cultural changes, living conditions in the modern European community. We can not consider political modernization exclusively through the prism of democratization. Authoritarian models of modernization cannot function for a long time. They are used either to establish democracy as soon as possible, or to return to purely authoritarian methods of governance. Based on the European integration course with the requirement of priority democratization, we will identify processes that will contribute to the democratic modernization of Ukraine's political system.

According to Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor O. Novakova, the modernization potential of democracy is to create favorable conditions for self-development and self-organization of society and its political sphere. These conditions are manifested in the mechanisms of articulation and coordination of the interests of various social groups, successful adaptation to social change and innovation. Principles such as pluralism, democratic complicity, opposition, and periodic election of power play an important role. Pluralism provides a variety of social attractors and thus expands the range of political choices and the likelihood of determining the optimal development option. Periodic election of the government provides timely correction of mistakes, flexible adjustment of the political course. It should also be noted that democracy provides a fairly effective legitimation of political power in today's society.⁹⁵

During 1999 – 2020, Ukraine adopted more than 30 strategies, 80 concepts for innovative development of the country. In 2010, the course for the modernization of the economy was officially announced, and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine presented the National Reform Project. Ukrainian scientists outline the importance of a conceptual vision of a fundamentally new course of implementation in Ukraine of mature modernization transformations, specific tasks and mechanisms for their implementation in conditions when there is not

⁹⁵ Новакова О. В. Політична модернізація та розвиток демократичних процесів у сучасній Україні : [Монографія] / Олена Вікторівна Новакова. — Луганськ : Вид-во СЧУ ім. В. Даля, 2016. — 216 с. — С.145.

just an economic crisis, but the collapse of the existing model of economic development.

Modernization is always a systemic process that means changes in economic, political, legal, cultural institutions and relations. Modernization is also an ongoing mobilization process to reduce the gap with competing countries, which involves the spatial and temporal mobilization of resources. Strategic directions of state modernization of the economy should be determined through different spheres: financial, social, energy, agricultural, innovation, foreign economic policy, infrastructure development, development of internal markets and entrepreneurship, environmental protection.

For Ukraine, the strategic tasks of the EU were set in the Europe 2020 strategy – a guideline for the formation of key areas of economic modernization. The first stage of modernization of Ukraine's economy has shown that it is mostly spontaneous and declarative. State innovation policy is manifested in chaotic actions, inconsistency and inconsistency. As a result, Ukraine is at the resource stage of economic development, which makes it impossible to solve the problem of its technological backwardness.

So far, no integrated economic mechanism has been formed that would unite the government, education, infrastructure, basic and applied science, small and large business into a single system of interactions. The main elements of the innovation system are unbalanced and function separately. In recent years, the links between the research sector and industry have significantly weakened, mostly of a formal non-systematic nature, as domestic manufacturers do not yet consider research and development to be an essential factor in achieving competitiveness in market conditions. The formation of the investment potential of enterprises as the basis for the structural restructuring of the industrial complex remains unresolved. This is a negative consequence for investment in high technology, new capacity, renewal of material and technological base. Sustainable development requires a multiple increase in investment, but this problem cannot be solved by financial stabilization methods at the macro level. In the conditions of an unsolved problem of providing financial resources, the greatest effect can be given by the model of economic development based on priorities in the development of specific industries and territories.

The current situation requires institutional support for the processes of modernization of the economy in order to move to the stage of imitation of foreign innovations, and in the future – to the stage of development based on its own innovations. In these conditions, it is necessary to form such an innovation policy that would use mixed mechanisms for the implementation of innovation policy, designed for the current stages of development and transition to a new one.

Based on the experience of the EU, the researches of the NAS of Ukraine propose to use the following mechanisms for the implementation of modernization processes:

1. Planning and forecasting mechanisms.
2. Mechanisms of coordination and control over innovation activity.
3. Legislative and regulatory mechanisms for innovation management.
4. Financial and budgetary mechanisms of innovation management.
5. Investment (venture) and motivational mechanisms for innovation development management.
6. The mechanism of public-private partnership in the field of innovation.
7. The mechanism of interaction between business, science and government.
8. Cluster mechanism of organization of innovation activity.
9. Mechanisms for protection of intellectual property rights.
10. Mechanisms for staffing innovative development
11. Mechanisms of information support of innovation activity.⁹⁶

Among the necessary reforms in the political modernization sphere are the following: improvement of the electoral system; modernization of the essence of political parties, which in modern society are an indicator of the democracy of the political regime; overcoming the closed, caste nature of the political elite and the high level of corruption; establishing an effective mechanism of “political elevators”, which will contribute to the qualitative renewal of the political elite, increase its interaction with civil society institutions. All this will lead to the acqui-

⁹⁶ Перший етап модернізації економіки України: досвід та проблеми / О.М. Алимов, О.І. Амоша та ін.; за заг. ред. В.І. Ляшенка; ІЕП НАН України, КПУ. — Запоріжжя : КПУ, 2014. — 798 с.

sition of democratic content in the process of political modernization in Ukraine. Economic modernization must be an important complement to political modernization. In our opinion, it consists in economic decentralization, when up to 60% of the region's revenues remain in the city budget. At the same time, it is necessary to maintain a balance between the independence of the regions and their responsibility for solving regional problems.

PART 7. DECENTRALIZATION REFORM ON THE WAY TO UKRAINE'S EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

The term “decentralization” can be used in a broad and narrow sense. We can talk in general about the mechanism of redistribution of power and the delegation of some functions from the central to the local level. At the same time, this concept can be considered as a certain system of relations between the state and administrative-territorial units of the lower level. The process of transferring powers to local authorities, increasing the capacity of local self-government and expanding its powers, which are transferred from the center to local communities on a subsidiary basis, is an objective basis for decentralization. The processes of decentralization and centralization should be considered as processes of concentration or distribution of powers, and not only in the sense of the level of approximation or delimitation of decision-making processes to the national level.

Decentralization processes, which entered an active phase in Europe at the end of the twentieth century, are aimed at a radical reorientation of policy to the level of municipalities, where the possibility of forming horizontal interactions is much higher. The experience of European countries in reforming the institutions of local self-government in individual territories and in general is extremely valuable for Ukraine in terms of developing the legal framework and practical mechanisms for implementing the new principles of governance. The determining factor of such changes can be considered the unification and standardization of international principles of self-government through the development and adoption of agreements and treaties between countries with the assistance of intergovernmental organizations.

Decentralization in the European Union has become an integral feature of governance. It covers both the issue of decentralization within individual member states and the specifics of the division of responsibilities between countries and European institutions throughout

the association. EU countries are constantly looking for an effective model of public administration. This search provides several options that have a higher or lower level of decentralization. One of the most effective examples of decentralization in recent years is the experience of Poland. After 1989, democratization processes took place in Poland aimed at forming a democratic system characterized by the protection of individual rights and civil liberties. This process was accompanied by the reform of the economic system, namely the formation of a market economy based on private property. At the same time, the system of public financial management was reformed. Decentralization has become not only a mechanism for solving the problems of the regions and the state budget, but, most importantly, a condition for ensuring the economic development of the country as a whole, although this conclusion is not supported by all scholars. The experience of the Republic of Poland is very useful for Ukraine because of the common historical past, the closeness of mentalities and the similarity of the management system before the beginning of the decentralization reform. Theorists of decentralization reform in Ukraine have widely used the experience of Poland and implemented some of its provisions.

Decentralization of political power in Ukraine is a task of European integration. The Association Agreement has repeatedly referred to democracy as a common value that lays the foundation for Ukraine's association and integration into the EU. Moreover, the Agreement states that in the event of non-compliance with these principles, the Agreement may be terminated (Article 478). The provisions of the Association Agreement do not contain Ukraine's direct obligations to build democratic institutions, which is a sovereign right, but provides for "dialogue and cooperation on internal reforms". In particular, the Agreement states that «The Parties shall cooperate in order to ensure that their internal policies are based on principles common to the Parties, in particular stability and effectiveness of democratic institutions and the rule of law, and on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms».⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Association Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part. Official Journal of the European Union, L 161, 29 May 2014 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ:L:2014:161:TOC>

The implementation of the basic principles is discussed in more detail in the jointly agreed EU-Ukraine Association Agenda of March 16, 2015.⁹⁸ This document makes decentralization a priority issue that needs to be addressed in the short term.

Thus, the general principle enshrined in the Association Agreement is that the transfer of power to the level of communities, districts and regions will lead to more responsible, accountable and effective governance in Ukraine.

The long-term lack of political will to carry out full-fledged decentralization in public administration has been one of the reasons for the intensification of separatist movements in the east of the country. The consequences of the policy of total centralization of power in Ukraine were:

- significant dependence of territories on the center;
- low level of investment attractiveness of territories;
- infrastructurally, financially and personnel weak communities;
- rural degradation;
- difficult demographic situation;
- low quality of public services;
- low level of trust in the government;
- high level of corruption;
- low efficiency of management decisions.

Local self-government is naturally considered a necessary component of a democratic system of governing society, because it provides management of a significant part of affairs in local territorial units on the basis of self-organization of the population of these units.

The system of government in Ukraine was centralized. The administrative-territorial system had three levels: oblasts, rayons and towns / villages, at each of which their owned representative bodies (councils) are elected. The powers of these bodies were limited, as oblasts and rayons were administered by officials who are appointed directly by the central government. Public administrations had a limited but rather long list of powers in the management of local affairs.

⁹⁸ EU-Ukraine Association Agenda of March 16, 2015. http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/ukraine/docs/st06978_15_en.pdf

This system of government in Ukraine is significantly revised in the framework of decentralization reform, which began in 2014 and which provided, in particular, the formation of communities as a basic unit of self-government, increasing their resource and financial base, giving them new powers and more.

Decentralization reform in Ukraine began in 2014 with the adoption of basic legislative documents. This should include the Concept of local self-governance and territorial power reforming (2014), Law of Ukraine 'On voluntary unification of united territorial communities' (2015) and Law of Ukraine "On cooperation of territorial communities" (2014). Also important in terms of financial decentralization are changes to the Budget and Tax Codes.

The decentralization reform in Ukraine aimed to solve number of important problems. In particular, the decline in the quality and accessibility of public services as a result of the lack of sufficient resources of a significant number of local governments and their inability to perform their own and delegated powers. Also the problems of communal services, namely the critical condition and lack of repair of heating, sewerage, water supply networks, as well as emergency housing, and the risks of man-made disasters due to lack of sufficient funding and small local budgets. A large number of territorial communities, especially those where there are no numerous cities, face the problems of nation aging, urbanization and the decline of rural areas. Another area of problems is the lack of coherence of local socio-economic development policy with the public interests and enhanced centralization of powers and financial resources by the executive branch.

To solve these problems, the Concept of local self-governance and territorial power reforming provides local governments with basic powers in accordance with their human, financial, infrastructural potential and resources on a new territorial basis. The purpose of the Concept is aimed at identifying mechanisms, areas and deadlines for creating an effective system of local self-government and optimal territorial organization of government to provide citizens with quality administrative services.

The basis for the redistribution of powers and the strengthening of local self-government was the European Charter of Local Self-Gov-

ernment, ratified by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on July 15, 1997.⁹⁹ The decentralization reform in Ukraine was planned in 2 stages, the first of which was preparatory and lasted in 2013-2015, providing organizational, analytical and research processes in studying the real state of local government, choosing the best ways to implement reform. The second stage includes the period 2015-2020 and was aimed at implementing the reform, with the task of completely renewing the administrative-territorial organization, completing the process of forming united territorial communities.

Key changes introduced under the reform are reduced to a few guidelines:

1. Communities are the basic units of self-government that have financial and managerial autonomy. It was expected that instead of about 11 thousand villages, towns and cities, one and a half to two thousand communities would be created.
2. Administrative-territorial units – districts and regions will be preserved, but they form executive bodies of local self-government. Local state administrations subordinate to the central government must be abolished.
3. The division of powers in the system of local self-government and their executive bodies at different levels is carried out on the basis of subsidiarity. Social and political issues must be addressed at the lowest (or local) level.

In 2020, the Government approved a new administrative-territorial structure of Ukraine. According to the orders of the Cabinet of Ministers, after the local elections on October 25, 2020, 1469 territorial communities were formed in Ukraine, which cover the entire territory of the country. On July 17, 2020, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted Resolution № 3650 “On the formation and liquidation of districts”. According to the document, there are now 136 districts in Ukraine. The old 490 districts were abolished by the parliament.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Council of Europe. (1985). “European Charter of Local Self-Government.” Council of Europe Treaty Series 122.

¹⁰⁰ Другий етап децентралізації в Україні 2020-2021 роки. URL:<https://decentralization.gov.ua/about>

On 11 February, 2021 the European Parliament approved the Report on implementation of the Association Agenda and the Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine. The document reports on the progress made in the field of reforms and implementation of the Agreement, as well as provides recommendations for further areas of cooperation. Emphasis is placed on the effectiveness of the implementation of decentralization reform, which the European Union identifies as one of the most successful in Ukraine and calls for its completion through an open dialogue between central and local authorities. The European Parliament welcomes Ukraine's achievements in decentralization reform and local government empowerment, which is one of the most successful reforms to date; recognizes the support of U-LEAD and the formation of more than 1,000 territorial communities; positively assesses the steps taken to decentralize state power and budgets through the approval of regulations and their practical implementation; Calls on the European Commission to carefully examine the successful practices of decentralization reform in Ukraine and to consider their practical implementation in other countries.¹⁰¹

Thus, decentralization reform is an important part of reforming government systems in Ukraine, which involves moving away from a centralized model of governance in the state, ensuring the capacity of local self-government. Decentralization is an important condition for the rapprochement of Ukraine and the EU, and the successful implementation of this reform lays the foundation for further cooperation.

¹⁰¹ Report on implementation of the Association Agenda and the Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine. URL: https://eu-ua.kmu.gov.ua/sites/default/files/imce/2015_annual_aaaag_goei_report_eng.pdf

CONCLUSIONS

The complexity of the situation in Ukraine is that it is necessary to accelerate development in the face of a lack of trust in society. Relevant circumstances increase the risk of increasing destructive forms of competition and disintegration of Ukrainian society in the future. This situation requires accelerating modernization processes and reforms within the country.

The implementation of administrative reform and modernization of public administration in Ukraine involves the concept of good governance. The effective implementation of European principles of good governance in Ukraine will be facilitated by the systematic reform of public authorities and local governments, overcoming corruption, and involving the civil society organizations in the formation and implementation of public policy.

In practice, an effective model of public interaction with public administration requires information openness of authorities, timely information on the preparation of political decisions. It is important to complete public control, stimulate public activity, increase civic competence.

The task is further complicated by the fact that the degree of unpredictability and risk is growing. Therefore, it is necessary to take a differentiated approach to the functions of both public administration bodies and civil society organizations at the micro and macro levels.

In the context of the realization of Ukraine's European integration, the development and implementation of an effective regional policy that will correspond to European values and become a powerful stimulus for domestic reforms will become increasingly important and should be stimulated. This is facilitated by the decentralization reform successfully implemented during 2014-2020. Decentralization is one of the basic reforms for Ukraine, which aimed to change the existing administrative system and integrate Ukraine into the European Charter of Local Self-Government.

The reform of decentralization gave impetus to the formation of a viable and closest to the citizen institution of power – local self-government. Voluntary association of territorial communities allowed the newly formed local governments to obtain the appropriate powers and resources.

The study of the impact of internal political consolidation in Ukraine on the intensity of the European integration process revealed two trends. On the one hand, the desire for European integration has become a significant unifying factor for the citizens of Ukraine, which allows to include the concept of Europeanization to the important components of the Ukrainian national idea. On the other hand, the requirement of an internally consolidated society is a factor in the dynamics of the European integration process. The lack of such a characteristic is interpreted by EU members as a certain risk in building a democratic political regime. It is also determined that the popularization of the latest national idea, which will include political, economic, social, geopolitical, and cultural components, will help increase the level of consolidation in the country.

The study proves that the inertia of Ukrainian political and economic institutions leads to a slowdown in the country's modernization, which causes a delay in the European integration process.

The necessary reforms in the political sphere are the following: change of the electoral system; modernization of political parties as an indicator of the democratic political regime; overcoming the closed, caste nature of the political elite and the high level of corruption; establishing an effective mechanism of “political elevators”, which will contribute to the qualitative renewal of the political elite, increase its interaction with civil society institutions; ensuring public dialogue between the authorities and civil society institutions. These are preconditions for the acquisition of political modernization in Ukraine of democratic content.

Economic modernization should be an important complement to political modernization. In our opinion, it includes the modernization of state economic policy, production and technological base of the economy, and the social protection system. The solution to the problem of asymmetric economic development will be facilitated by the decentralization of power, which is stated in the EU requirements for Ukraine. The result of such modernization will be equalization of economic development and increasing democratization of the politi-

cal process. This will help, on the one hand, to comply with EU requirements, and on the other – significantly reduce the rhetoric with the federalization of the country. At the same time, it is necessary to maintain a balance between the independence of the regions and their responsibility for solving regional problems. These problems with the solution of regional issues and the opposition of local self-government to public authorities have become more relevant since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemics. Decentralization of power will help quite diverse (ethnically, religiously, culturally, economically) regions to ensure quality governance on the ground and turn politics into a public sphere, which is perceived in Ukraine as a completely European trend.

An important aspect that determines the integration potential of Ukraine is the fact of rapid political and economic modernization. Among the political institutions that need urgent modernization, we identify the institution of elections, political parties, and the political elite. In a party democracy, it is the representatives of political parties who, through elections, form the political elite responsible for the development of the country.

We also note that the modernization of the country will be facilitated by decentralization, which is at the intersection of political and economic spheres. The decentralization process, which is nearing completion in Ukraine, assumes that most revenues will remain in regions that take political responsibility for addressing regional development issues. Completion of the decentralization reform and the creation of united territorial communities, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, will contribute to the consolidation of Ukrainian society and will be the basis for further implementation of the reforms.

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ABSTRACT

The monograph analyzes the new methodological aspects of the study of European integration processes, summarizes the experience of European integration of Eastern European countries, analyzes civic activity as an indicator of participatory democracy. It is proved that the effectiveness of the integration process depends on the total potential of resources available to the state. The conditions that affect the speed and nature of Ukraine's European integration are analyzed.

The specifics of the democratization process in Ukraine and its impact on the European integration process are studied. The role of civil society institutions in the process of formation of a democratic political regime is analyzed. Ways to increase internal political consolidation in Ukraine have been identified. Decentralization reform is considered as an important precondition for deepening cooperation between Ukraine and the EU. The monograph is designed for professionals, politicians, civil servants, scientists, teachers, students and stakeholders.

Vasyl Marchuk

**UKRAINE'S EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
IN THE POLITICAL DIMENSION
OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE**

Zodpovedný redaktor: Jozef Molitor

Grafická úprava a zalomenie: Jana Janíková

Obálka: Marek Petržalka

Pre Filozofickú fakultu Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave
vydalo vydavateľstvo Typi Universitatis Tyrnaviensis,
spoločné pracovisko Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave
a VEDY, vydavateľstva Slovenskej akadémie vied, ako 360. publikáciu.

Vytlačila VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.

ISBN 978-80-568-0439-1

