

**CONTEMPORARY ISSUES
OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY
AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN ENSURING ITS DEVELOPMENT**

Collective monograph



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Reviewers:

*Prof. nadzw., dr hab. **Stanisław Kunikowski**, Rektor of Cuiavian University in Wloclawek (Republic of Poland);*

*Prof. dr hab. **Joanna Marszałek-Kawa**, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu / Nicolaus Copernicus University (Republic of Poland).*

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POST-ELECTION SITUATION IN UKRAINE: CHANGING FACES OR IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATIONS?

Kroytor A. V., Yakovlev D. V.

...ideology never says, “I am ideological”
It is necessary to be outside ideology, i.e. in scientific knowledge,
to be able to say: I am in ideology (a quite exceptional case)
or (general case): I was in ideology.

As is well known, the accusation of being
in ideology only applies to others, never to oneself
(unless one is really a Spinozist or a Marxist ...)

Althusser, Louis (1971).

Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses.

Notes toward an investigation.

In L. Althusser, Lenin and philosophy and other essays.

Ben Brewster, Trans. New York: Monthly Review Press. p. 49.

INTRODUCTION

There is a gradual construction of a new ideological design in Ukraine. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the devastating consequences of a one-party political system became apparent to all. For the newly formed political actors, the “golden times” came. It seemed that it was possible to move on from the discussions of the perestroika to the clash of ideologies in national states: “Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the inhabitants of its former republics have witnessed the return of history in their homelands. The Soviet illusion of a preordained and predestined future has been replaced by a sense of unpredictability about the future coupled with a sense of vulnerability vis-à-vis history in these new states... Formerly engaged in the dogmas of Soviet Marxism, ideological creativity has returned to the new societies that are currently dwelling on the ruins of the USSR. History

has repatriated the post-Soviet lands as a conflict of ideas and a clash of ideologies” (Minakov, 2012)¹.

Were political parties able to take advantage of this and, in cooperation with civil society, come up with ideological identification and formulate their ideological doctrines? During the existence of the Ukrainian party system, it has become competitive and pluralistic, but it is mostly the competition not of ideologies but leaders and technologies (Barkouski, 2018)². There are ideologies, but a mass voter does not vote by ideological criteria. The 2019 parliamentary elections are another confirmation of this.

The “marks” of ideological forms and transformations are defined and studied in various social spaces and social interactions of the post-Soviet countries. In particular, these are the studies of ideological innovations in party politics (Minakov, 2012³; Mochulska, 2017⁴; Whitmore, 2014⁵), public policy and youth policy (Barrett R., 2018⁶; Yenin, 2018⁷), education and science (Guttke, K uchler, & Shvaika 2012⁸;

¹ Minakov, M. (2012). Ideological Innovations in the Post-Soviet Countries. Editorial introduction. *The Ideology and Politics Journal*, № 1, pp. 2-4. Retrieved from https://ideopol.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/1__ENG__Minakov.pdf

² Barkouski, P. (2018). Contemporary post-ideologies: “hybrid ideologies”, or “new mythologies” as a factor of constituting of post-modern social field, *The Ideology and Politics Journal*, № 3(11), pp. 13-55. Retrieved from https://ideopol.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/_____Eng_2018%203.%204.%20Barkouski%20.pdf

³ Minakov, M. (2012). Ideological Innovations in the Post-Soviet Countries. Editorial introduction. *The Ideology and Politics Journal*, № 1, pp. 2-4. Retrieved from https://ideopol.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/1__ENG__Minakov.pdf

⁴ Mochulska, M. (2017). The legal status of political parties in Ukraine: peculiarities and improvement. *Zeszyty naukowe*, № 4. Retrieved from http://iusetadministratio.eu/wp-content/Zeszyty_naukowe/2017/4_2017/4_2017_1_Mochulska.pdf

⁵ Whitmore, S. (2014). Political party development in Ukraine. *GSDRC Helpdesk Research*, Birmingham, UK, 2014, Report 1146, pp. 1-13. Retrieved from <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/hdq1146.pdf>

⁶ Barrett, R. (2018). *Ukraine at the Crossroad in Post-Communist Europe : Policymaking and the Role of Foreign Actors*. Dissertations, 259 p. Retrieved from <https://irl.umsl.edu/dissertation/725>

⁷ Yenin, M. (2018). Ideological forms and value modifications of patriotism of Ukrainian youth (based on analysis of moderated group discussions), *The Ideology and Politics Journal*, № 2(10). Retrieved from https://ideopol.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/_____2.%203.%202018.%20ENG.%20Yenin.pdf

Yakovlev & Kreutor, 2018⁹; Kroytor, Yakovlev & Aleksentseva-Timchenko, 2019¹⁰), public engagement and political participation (Cianciara & Zacharuk, 2018¹¹), history and politics of memory (Umland, Yurchuk & Fedor, 2018¹²).

Nowadays the Ukrainian party system is at a crossroads. On the one hand, there are the old parties (“Seasoned Wolves”) that have gone the complicated way and gradually formed their ideological doctrines and identifications in the fight against right-wing radicals, communists, and had a close relationship with various “parties of power” (Yakovlev, 2015)¹³. On the other hand, there are young, ambitious parties who are also leaders’ projects. However, marketing and targeting are more trusted than good old ideologies. According to the results of the 2019 parliamentary elections, the first to be mentioned is Fatherland, Opposition Platform – For Life, and European Solidarity. The others who have just started to search for their ideological niche are Servant of the People and Voice.

⁸ Guttker, M., K uchler, F., Shvaika, O. (2012). Ideological Foundations of Educational Reforms in Ukraine, *The Ideology and Politics Journal*, № 2, pp.4-13. Retrieved from https://ideopol.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/2_ENG-ED-Kuechler.pdf

⁹ Yakovlev, D., Kreutor, A.. (2018). History of choice and choice of history. Religious choice of Kyiv in textbooks of Ukraine. *Regional policy: history, political and legal foundations, architecture, urban studies: collection of scientific works*. Kyiv-Ternopil: Beskidi, 1, pp. 38-44.

¹⁰ Kroytor A., Yakovlev D., Aleksentseva-Timchenko K. (2019) 'Apostles' of indoctrination: ideological peculiarities, *The Ideology and Politics Journal*, №. 2(13), pp. 127–146. Retrieved from: <https://ideopol.org/wpcontent/uploads/2019/12/>

¹¹ Cianciara, A. Zacharuk K. (2018). The Hidden Party Game in Ukraine. *In Party Members and Their Importance in Non-EU Countries: A Comparative Analysis*, Chapter 9. Retrieved from: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781315201177/chapters/10.4324/9781315201177-9>

¹² Umland A., Yurchuk Y., Fedor J. (2018) Transmutations and Permutations of the Post-Soviet Ukrainian Radical Right. *In book: Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society Special Section : Issues in the History and Memory of the OUN II*. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330010576_Special_Section_Issues_in_the_History_and_Memory_of_the_OUN_II December 2018

¹³ Yakovlev, D. (2015). Democracy “On the March”: Rethinking the Role of Propaganda and the “Party of Power” under Armed Threat. Proceedings of the *Scope: science of politics – International Interdisciplinary Conference of Political Research* (Romania, Bucharest 8-9 May, 2015), University of Bucharest, 2015.

This is the natural way for party policy in the post-Soviet countries. The organizations that have a political purpose appear first. They are initiated by interest groups to be pushed in parliament, and artificially constructed by the power to disperse the opposition electorate. Headquarters are formed, financial conditions for participation in elections are found. And it is only in the course of election campaigns that when deciding a strategy, the elements of ideology are declared, which are not the part of a holistic ideological doctrine, but a component of the technological support of the campaign.

A new trend has appeared: "...the traditional approach to building ideological parties "first ideology, and then – a political organisation" should be changed to the opposite: the first one has to create "living" political organisations and the main function of these organisations will consist in producing a full-fledged "living ideology" in a real-time mode by efforts of the collective intelligence generated as a result of synchronisation of the mental activity of their members. The backbone component in the structure of the "living ideology" has to be the organisational ideal as an integral part of the social ideal" (Plakhtiy, 2015)¹⁴.

This trend was fully reflected in the 2019 parliamentary elections, which resulted in the newly formed political party "Servant of the People" that gathered 43.16% of votes (*The Central Election Commission, 2019*)¹⁵ and received 251 seats in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (three deputies were subsequently expelled from the faction)¹⁶.

The aim of our article is to study the election programmes of parliamentary parties. We want to find out, based on the content of the party programmes, an ideological map of the modern Ukrainian parliament and define "white spots" and "hybrids" on it.

¹⁴ Plakhtiy, T., (2015) Prerequisites for Creating Ideological Parties in Ukraine. *SSRN*. Retrieved from: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2912462> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2912462>

¹⁵ Elections of People's Deputies of Ukraine Official *Website of the Central Election Commission*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp300pt001f01=919.html>

¹⁶ Deputies factions and groups of IX convocation, Official *web portal Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy*. Retrieved from: http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_fractions

1. “Seasoned Wolves”: In Search of Paradise Lost

In today's conditions, the development of the party system of Ukraine is inextricably linked to tectonic transformations of the state and society. It is the process of European integration (or its imitation?), and the informatization of society, which require the adaptation of political institutions and methods of policy implementation to the mediatization of politics and increasing the role and influence of communicative factors (Yakovlev, 2007)¹⁷. In addition, the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, the annexation of Crimea, and the war in Donbas have become significant factors in the activities of Ukrainian political parties, which influence their ideological platform. From now on, the issues of defence and the search for ways of resolving the conflict in the East of Ukraine are no longer marginal, but the main ones in the programmes of political parties. The current political situation in the country has led to a new stage in the formation of the ideological spectrum of the Ukrainian party system.

It is worth noting that “uncertainty about political ideologies both in the activities of modern parties and in the minds of society, and the blurring of programmatic foundations of parties in the ideological spectrum along the “right- left” axis, leads to the creation of “quasi-party” structures. The consequence of the blurring of the ideological component of political parties is the structuring of their activities not around a certain political ideology, but a party leader – a person with a high personal rating. That is why election campaigns with the participation of political parties and blocs are becoming personalized” (Krojtor, 2012)¹⁸.

Modern parties have long ceased to meet the criteria of the classical mass parties because they have become an effective tool in the

¹⁷ Yakovlev, D.V. (2007). Komunikatyvni chynnyky formuvannia demokratychnoi polityky [Communicative factors of democratic policy-making] *Contemporary Ukrainian politics. Politicians and political scientists about her*, Kyiv, Vol. 9, pp. 167-175.

¹⁸ Krojtor A. V. (2012). Politychna ideologhija jak chynnyk formuvannja partijnoji systemy [Political ideology as a factor in forming the party system] *Aktualjni problemy polityky*, vol. special issue, pp. 36–44.

fight for votes. In the course of this struggle, there is a blurring of party ideologies and the actual disappearance of barriers between parties that associate voters solely with a party leader and his image. Successful party brands have been formed in Ukraine. At the same time, there is a simulation of party ideologies, the construction of which takes place around the political position of the party leader, whose rating depends on the competitiveness of a party in the political market.

Party ideology is based on empirical ideological and methodological forms of the subjective perception of political reality. The practical expression of party ideology is contained in the programmatic and statutory documents of political parties. A party ideology aims to express popular political ideas and values in society. In this case, parliamentary elections are a mechanism not only for the rotation of the elite, but also for the selection of basic requirements in the political system, and therefore – determining the dominant political ideology: “... the election result demonstrates the ideological palette in society, the level of influence of individual party ideologies on the process of forming political ideology and public opinion” (Krojtor, 2012)¹⁹.

The analysis of the legislation of Ukraine in the sphere of regulation of party activities gives grounds to point out that the state avoids the term “ideology” and considers a party as “... a voluntary association of citizens, supporters of a certain national programme of social development, registered under the law, which aims to promote the formation and expression of the political will of citizens, participates in elections and other political events”²⁰.

According to the Law of Ukraine “On Citizens' Associations”, a party is defined as an association of citizens, supporters of a certain

¹⁹ Krojtor A. V. (2012). Politychna ideologhija jak chynnyk formuvannja partijnogo systemy [Political ideology as a factor in forming the party system] Aktualni problemy polityky, vol. special issue, pp. 36–44.

²⁰ Zakon Ukrainy “Pro politychni partiji v Ukraini” [The Law of Ukraine “On Political Parties in Ukraine”] *Official web portal Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy*. Retrieved from: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14>.

national programme of social development, whose main aim is to participate in the development of state policy, formation of government bodies, local and regional self-governance and representation in their membership²¹.

However, the practical expression of party ideology is found in the programme documents in the form of the declaration of the purpose and goals of the party, means of achieving this goal, slogans, symbolism, etc. (Krojtor, 2012)²².

Therefore, the main document that expresses the ideology of a political party is its programme. According to Article 7 of the Law of Ukraine “On Political Parties”, the programme of a political party is a statement of the goals and objectives of this party, as well as the ways to achieve them²³.

M. Obushny states: “The positive or negative evaluation of the role of parties in the life of modern society is determined mainly by the attitude of a person, social class, class, nation to one or another ideology based on which a political party bases its political and practical activity. Ideology is a fundamental feature in determining the majority of party names, its essence and the principles on which the political platform is developed. That is why ideology is one of the basic characteristics of the activity of a political party” (Obushnyj, Prymush & Shveda, 2017)²⁴.

Y. Schweda defines ideology as a system of views and ideas that expresses a relation to existing reality. Thus, a political ideology should be understood as a system of values, ideas that express political reality

²¹ Zakon Ukrainy “Pro ob’jednannya ghromadjan” [The Law of Ukraine “On Public Association] *Official web portal Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy*. Retrieved from: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2460-12>.

²² Krojtor A. V. (2012). Politychna ideologhija jak chynnyk formuvannya partijnogo systemy [Political ideology as a factor in forming the party system] *Aktualjni problemy polityky*, vol. special issue, pp. 36–44.

²³ Zakon Ukrainy “Pro politychni partiji v Ukraini” [The Law of Ukraine “On Political Parties in Ukraine”] *Official web portal Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy*. Retrieved from: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14>.

²⁴ Obushnyj M. I., Prymush M.V., Shveda Ju.R. (2017) *Partologhija [Partology]*, Kiev, 432 p.

and attitude to the political process. The central category of political ideology is a political idea (Shveda, 2003)²⁵.

It is worth agreeing with M. Obushny, who notes that a political idea should be interpreted as a form of reflection of political reality, as a result of comprehension of the object of cognition – the political process. “In this context, a political idea is a bridge from thought to action, from consciousness to activity. Here, an objective need is reflected in theory through interests, goals, motives of social communities and personalities, it becomes a guide to action. Therefore, the development of new political ideas should be considered as not only an important sphere of spiritual production but also a necessary need to improve the activity of political mechanisms of society. In such circumstances, it is important that the self-fulfilling possibility of a political idea is complemented by appropriate forces and means that would most fully bring it to life” (Obushnyj, Prymush & Shveda, 2017)²⁶.

The party “Petro Poroshenko Bloc-Solidarity” (later “European Solidarity”) defines ideology in the programme as follows: “The idea of solidarity is the core principle of our ideology”²⁷. The ideology of the party has a clear nationalist orientation. In particular, it states: “Solidarity is the protection of Ukrainian traditions, the reproduction of values and cultural identity inherited from previous generations. The idea of solidarity is based on our values and beliefs, on which a free solidary society should be built”²⁸.

Such provisions of the party programme testify to a commitment to the ideas of national conservatism. For example, the party's programme

²⁵ Shveda, Ju. R.(2003) *Teorija politychnykh partij ta partijnykh system* [The theory of political parties and party systems], Lviv: Ivan LNU Publishing Center Franco, 325 p. Retrieved from: http://filelibsnu.at.ua/navchalno-metod/uchebniki/Shveda_Yu-Teoriya_politychnyx_partij-ta_partijnyx_.pdf.

²⁶ Obushnyj M. I., Prymush M.V., Shveda Ju.R. (2017) *Partologhija* [Partology], Kiev, 432 p.

²⁷ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Blok Petra Poroshenka ‘Solidarnistj’ [The program of the political party “Petro Poroshenko Bloc “Solidarity”] Retrieved from: http://solydarnist.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/programa_solidarnist.pdf.

²⁸ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Blok Petra Poroshenka ‘Solidarnistj’ [The program of the political party “Petro Poroshenko Bloc “Solidarity”] Retrieved from: http://solydarnist.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/programa_solidarnist.pdf.

states that “We have a shared responsibility for preserving and nurturing cultural traditions and passing them on to future generations. Our mission is to preserve historical memory, our identity, our national identity. The state shall create conditions for the development of Ukrainian culture, ensure the status of the Ukrainian language as a single state language, and ensure the development of the culture of national minorities”,²⁹.

Among the basic social values that the party has identified as fundamental ones, there is dignity, patriotism, responsibility, democracy, and justice. Defining state policy in the sphere of regulation of the economy, the party advocates minimizing state interference in the economic sphere.

The programme of the party states that “we seek minimal government intervention in the economy while developing opportunities for private enterprise. Giving as much space as possible to the initiative and self-development of citizens in the economy, politics, public life is an important task for the political class of the country”,³⁰.

The foreign policy of Ukraine according to the provisions of the party should be aimed at ensuring Euro-Atlantic integration and integration with the EU. The programme of the party identifies the Russian Federation as an aggressor against which foreign policy of the state should be targeted, and effective diplomacy is the method of such fight³¹.

Much attention in the programme of the party is paid to providing by the state its social functions to protect the population and its most vulnerable social groups. The reform of the system of accrual of benefits, pension and medical reform is envisaged. Considering the

²⁹ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Blok Petra Poroshenka ‘Solidarnistj’ [The program of the political party “Petro Poroshenko Bloc “Solidarity”] Retrieved from: http://solydamist.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/programa_solidarnist.pdf.

³⁰ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Jevropejsjka Solidarnistj” [European Solidarity Political Party Program] Retrieved from: https://eurosolidarity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/es_program.pdf.

³¹ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Jevropejsjka Solidarnistj” [European Solidarity Political Party Program] Retrieved from: https://eurosolidarity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/es_program.pdf.

results of the analysis of the programme of “Petro Poroshenko Bloc-Solidarity” and “European Solidarity” Party, it can be concluded that the programme documents contain the basic ideological principles of the activities of the party, which are expressed in the activities of the parliamentary fraction.

The programme of the party “Fatherland” has a significant social component. It has a pronounced socialist ideological component. In particular, the programme states that the priority of the party is free medicine and education, raising the minimum pensions and salaries. Attention is drawn to the fact that “The minimum pension will be raised to the level of 3094 UAH. No pensioner will receive the pension less than the minimum subsistence level for the retired approved by law”³².

Particular attention is paid to the tariffs and their obligatory reduction by reducing twice the price of gas. The programme promises to raise salaries for educators and healthcare professionals, ensure payments and increase them to young families with children. In particular, the programme states: “Mortgage loans with insurance from the state fund will make it possible to purchase housing without a down payment and collateral, under special risk insurance. The interest rate on such loans will be no more than 3% per annum. The mortgage loan will be issued for a period of 10 to 30 years”³³.

The priorities of the foreign policy of the All-Ukrainian Union “Fatherland” are the implementation of the Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement and the submission of the NATO Membership Action Plan (MAP) to Ukraine. The programme of the party also emphasizes the need to start a negotiation process on the reintegration of annexed Crimea and Russia-occupied Donbas using the “Budapest +

³² Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Vseukrajinsjke ob’jednannja “Batjkivshhyna” [The program of the political party “All-Ukrainian Union” Homeland”] Retrieved from: <https://ba.org.ua/programm/>

³³ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Vseukrajinsjke ob’jednannja “Batjkivshhyna” [The program of the political party “All-Ukrainian Union” Homeland”] Retrieved from: <https://ba.org.ua/programm/>

formula”, involving such states as the United States and the United Kingdom”³⁴.

The elements of the socialist ideology of the party are also traced in the vision of the basic principles of the implementation of agricultural policy in the state by Fatherland. The party has made it clear that its priority in agricultural policy is to continue the moratorium on the sale of land and support small and medium-sized farms and agricultural enterprises. At the same time, it is stated: “Farmers, small and medium-sized farmers who live and work on land will be able to buy their land without auctions at the expense of preferential loans. People who want to sell their land shares will be able to sell them to the state at market value”³⁵.

On the other hand, the party is a supporter of the development of small and medium-sized businesses, advocating “macro- and micro-crediting of business on European terms”. The programme also states that “VAT will be abolished and replaced with a minimum sales tax like in the USA. Instead of a burdensome income tax, a tax on distributed profit will be introduced. And instead of a single social tax, which holds in the shadow of 50% of salaries, a personalized pension system will be introduced”³⁶.

The party programme does not follow a clear position on important issues of the humanitarian policy of the party, in particular, language, memory policy, religious issues. However, the programmatic position of the party states: “Positive trends in increasing expenditures on cultural financing will be retained and the practice of allocating sufficient funds to finance Ukrainian cinema, books, radio and television content

³⁴ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Vseukrajinsjke ob’jednannja “Batjkivshhyna” [The program of the political party “All-Ukrainian Union” Homeland”] Retrieved from: <https://ba.org.ua/programm/>

³⁵ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Vseukrajinsjke ob’jednannja “Batjkivshhyna” [The program of the political party “All-Ukrainian Union” Homeland”] Retrieved from: <https://ba.org.ua/programm/>

³⁶ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Vseukrajinsjke ob’jednannja “Batjkivshhyna” [The program of the political party “All-Ukrainian Union” Homeland”] Retrieved from: <https://ba.org.ua/programm/>

will continue. By adopting the law on patronage, we will reduce the burden on the state budget and make the system of financing the culture more flexible”³⁷.

Political party “Opposition Platform – For Life” stands out from the general context of the political parties that won the elections as a result of their views on the domestic and foreign policy of Ukraine. The programme of the party reveals the focus of the party on protecting citizens who profess Soviet values and ideals. The programme makes quite contradictory judgments about the political situation: “For five years, the authorities have systematically violated the rights and restricted the freedoms of millions of Ukrainian citizens. The policy of language bans and harassment, the interference of authorities in the affairs of religious communities have split Ukrainian society, degrading the honour and dignity of people. Opposition platform will end the life of discrimination, xenophobia and radicalism”³⁸. Based on this formulation, the party regards the political regime in Ukraine, which emerged from 2014 to 2019, as a “radical regime of xenophobic nature”. Such a statement has all the signs of manipulations and is used by the party as a technological technique to mobilise its electorate and reproduce information messages that dominate the information space of the Russian Federation.

In view of the steps that the party is proposing to overcome political tensions in society, it can be considered reactionary. They include “introducing a moratorium on decision-making that splits the country; a policy of reconciliation and consent that will unite the Ukrainians from the West to the East and from the North to the South and “stitch” the country; repealing anti-constitutional, discriminatory laws on language, education, and renaming the church; decommunization,

³⁷ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Vseukrajinsjke ob’jednannja “Batjkivshhyna” [The program of the political party “All-Ukrainian Union” Homeland”] Retrieved from: <https://ba.org.ua/programm/>

³⁸ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Opozycijna platforma – Za zhyttja” [Political party program “Opposition Platform – For Life”] Retrieved from: <http://zagittya.com.ua/ua/page/programma.html>.

lustration and other acts that violate the rights and freedoms of citizens”³⁹.

The basis of economic stability is industrialization. This provision makes a dissonance with the views of other parties that the basis of economic development should be the introduction of the latest information technologies⁴⁰.

The programme of the party contains the signs of ideologies of socialism and social democracy. These are the following theses of the programme: “building a social state”, “reducing gas tariffs for the population of Ukraine”; “raising the subsistence minimum, the minimum salary, the minimum pension”; “raising payments for a childbirth”; “The main priority is the fight against poverty and social protection of the population”; “We will renew privileges and provide decent state aid to all socially vulnerable categories of the population”⁴¹.

In its foreign policy, “Opposition Platform – For Life” focuses entirely on the Russian Federation and advocates: “ensuring active neutrality of Ukraine in the military-political sphere and non-participation in any military-political alliances, as provided for in section IX of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine; ending the policy of mutual sanctions and renewing mutually beneficial trade and economic ties with Russia and the CIS countries; reviewing of conditions for the participation of Ukraine in the World Trade Organization and the Free Trade Area with the European Union”⁴².

³⁹ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Opozycijna platforma – Za zhyttja” [Political party program “Opposition Platform – For Life”] Retrieved from: <http://zagittya.com.ua/ua/page/programma.html>.

⁴⁰ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Opozycijna platforma – Za zhyttja” [Political party program “Opposition Platform – For Life”] Retrieved from: <http://zagittya.com.ua/ua/page/programma.html>.

⁴¹ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Opozycijna platforma – Za zhyttja” [Political party program “Opposition Platform – For Life”] Retrieved from: <http://zagittya.com.ua/ua/page/programma.html>.

⁴² Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Opozycijna platforma – Za zhyttja” [Political party program “Opposition Platform – For Life”] Retrieved from: <http://zagittya.com.ua/ua/page/programma.html>.

Thus, the party does not regard the Russian Federation as an aggressor, and considers resolving the conflict in the Donbas as follows: “ensuring direct negotiations in a Kyiv – Donetsk – Lugansk – Moscow quadrangle; ending the economic blockade of Donbas; granting Donbas autonomous status as an integral part of Ukraine by amending the Constitution and laws of Ukraine; adoption of laws: about amnesty, about elections and free economic zone in Donbas. The implementation of the Plan-Concept of crisis management in the South-East of Ukraine is the way of making peace and returning Donbas to Ukraine and Ukraine to Donbas”⁴³.

The analysis of the “Opposition Platform – For Life” programme gives grounds to claim that the party can be conditionally attributed to centre-left parties, and in the party's views on humanitarian politics – to reactionary ones that focus on the electorate, which is nostalgic for the Soviet past.

2. Parliamentary neophytes: Is it better to light a candle than curse the darkness?

One of the important institutions for the implementation of political ideas, their transformation into a strategy of political development of the state, are political parties that, by presenting their ideologies in elections, gain the right to implement them with the support of society.

In such circumstances, the party programme establishes the main ideological tenets of the party and becomes the basis of its ideological activity. However, the analysis of party programmes of political parties of Ukraine, which are represented in the parliament after 2019 elections, shows not only the blurring of party ideologies, the vagueness of ideological provisions and definitions but sometimes also contradictory theses.

For instance, the site of the party “Servant of the People” states that the main values are “transparent activity, openness to the people, the responsibility to the country, and teamwork. Party members should

⁴³ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Opozycijna platforma – Za zhyttja” [Political party program “Opposition Platform – For Life”] Retrieved from: <http://zagittya.com.ua/ua/page/programma.html>.

always be honest and remain people!” and the aim of the party is to “make the Ukrainians equal before the law, the people's deputies responsible and punish bribe-takers. To give the economy a chance to develop, put the system in order, build a humanitarian policy that unites Ukraine”⁴⁴.

The preamble to the programme of the party does not define the ideological foundations of the “Servant of the People” activities and states that the party “is going to early parliamentary elections to bring decent people to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine who will serve Ukraine and their constituents. We will embody President Zelensky's course in specific bills and political decisions, form a professional government that will be trusted by the people of Ukraine, and together introduce drastic changes that will help us make Ukraine a free, independent, successful Country of Dreams”⁴⁵.

Overall, the programme document contains provisions that characterize both liberal and social-democratic ideologies. So the party stands for deregulation, demonopolization of the economy and at the same time expansion of the social welfare of citizens.

Regarding the reform of state authorities, the party insists on:

- Abolition of parliamentary immunity;
- Introduction of an imperative mandate;
- Creation of a mechanism of popular veto on the just adopted

laws.

As for the last point, the programme does not specify how they can be implemented in Ukraine. It should be noted that the legislative process that took place in the parliament in the so-called “turbo mode” after the beginning of the Verkhovna Rada's work showed that this proposal was a populist promise, which lost its relevance immediately after the formation of the majority;

- Introduction of the mechanism of influence of citizens on the decisions of the government through referendums. This situation also

⁴⁴ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Slugha narodu” [Servant of the People's Political Party Program] Retrieved from: <https://sluga-narodu.com/>

⁴⁵ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Slugha narodu” [Servant of the People's Political Party Program] Retrieved from: <https://sluga-narodu.com/>

raises a number of questions. The referendum, as a form of direct democracy, is envisaged by the Constitution of Ukraine. However, the party does not determine what mechanisms will ensure the implementation of this form of democracy;

– Restitution of officials' liability for illegal enrichment. It sounds more like the slogan of all political parties that participated in the 2019 election campaign.

In addition, the political party “Servant of the people” is in favour of introducing a proportional electoral system with open lists and electronic voting. The party considers the introduction of mechanisms that would ensure the independence of journalists from media owners an important task in the field of media activity. At the same time, there are no such mechanisms in the programme of the party.

The main measures to combat corruption, which is a priority task for all parties, “Servant of the People” in the programme of the party indicates the following: “We will implement the maximum possible number of public services online; clean up and restart the prosecutor's office; ensure real independence of anti-corruption bodies; restart ineffective or compromised bodies; introduce mandatory confiscation of corrupt property; introduce a system of financial compensation for citizens for detecting corruption; deprive the Security Service of Ukraine, the Procurator-General and the National Police of non-peculiar business harassment functions”⁴⁶. These provisions are not new in the Ukrainian political space. However, the party does not reflect the specific mechanisms of their implementation in its programme. It is interesting to note the provision on “business harassment” by the Security Service of Ukraine, the Procurator-General and the National Police, as it does not specify in a sufficiently broad formulation which functions of these law enforcement agencies put pressure on entrepreneurship.

In the field of security and defence, the “Servant of the People” Party, using, as in the previous sections of the programme, the verbs of

⁴⁶ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Slugha narodu” [Servant of the People's Political Party Program] Retrieved from: <https://sluga-narodu.com/>

present and future tenses, promises: “We will provide legislative support to the President's initiatives aimed at restoring the territorial integrity and state sovereignty of Ukraine; establish expenses on defence at the rate of at least 5% of GDP; renew the reformation the Armed Forces by NATO standards; stop the outflow of valuable personnel from the army; introduce a system of training and retraining of soldiers and officers; introduce the harshest penalties for corruption and theft in the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine; decentralize and demonopolise defence public procurement”⁴⁷.

These provisions have manipulative features, in particular regarding the resumption of reforming of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, since their reform process began in 2014 and the budget of the Armed Forces has been steadily increasing since 2015.

In the field of foreign policy, “Servant of the People” acts as a pro-European party supporting the Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine. It should be noted that the programme does not define the role of the Russian Federation in the annexation of Crimea, the conflict in the Donbas. The party does not express its attitude to these processes.

In the sphere of culture and national politics, the party intends to implement a humanitarian policy that will promote the cultural, civic and spiritual unification of Ukrainian citizens. At the same time, some statements made by party leaders and some of its members contradict the provisions of the programme of the party, including provisions on linguistic, security and foreign policy.

Furthermore, party leaders cannot determine the party's ideological affiliation. In particular, the leader of the “Servant of the People” at the party congress stated: “Our ideology is libertarian. Will it change? It will be refined since libertarian ideas are not supported by all party members. That is, some compromise should be found between liberal and socialist views”⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Slugha narodu” [Servant of the People's Political Party Program] Retrieved from: <https://sluga-narodu.com/>

⁴⁸ Biljshe ne libertarianci: Kornijenko zajavyv pro zminu ideologhiji “Slughy narodu” [No longer libertarians: Kornienko declared change of ideology of “Servant of the people”]

The party leader recognizes that his organization is not the unity of people who share common values and ideals. In particular, O. Kornienko pointed out that “We have human-centrism. Now, looking at our decisions, we are moving towards democracy, in the direction of increasing opportunities for people. However, there are also conservative points connected with the fact that it is difficult to create liberalism in Ukraine at once”⁴⁹.

Therefore, one can expect the ideological drift of the party in the future, most likely towards socialism. These tendencies, associated with changing party ideology, are normal, given that most parties are universal and try to reach as much of the electorate as possible. Populism is becoming a feature not only of national party projects but of political parties in a global context.

It is worth noting the conscious appeal to utopias: “... together we will introduce drastic changes that will help us make Ukraine a free, independent, successful Country of Dreams”. The purpose of the party is to transform Ukraine into a “utopian” “Country of Dreams”. Thus, the party gains the support not of sympathizers of a particular ideology, but of the politically indeterminate masses who believe in political utopias.

In this sense, the programme of the “Voice” party is quite similar to the programme of “Servants of the People”. It is also characterized by emotionality. However, the programme provisions broadly outline the basic principles, goals and means of achieving the core objectives of the party. The programme also lacks a clear definition of the party's ideological affiliation. Some provisions point to both socialist and liberal ideas. In particular, the party aims to fight the monopolization of the economy, promote the development of an entrepreneurial activity, reduce

Dzerkalo tyzhnja. Retrieved from: https://dt.ua/POLITICS/bilshe-ne-libertarianci-korniyenko-zayaviv-pro-zminu-ideologiyi-slugi-narodu-329152_.html.

⁴⁹ Biljshe ne libertarianci: Kornijenko zajaviv pro zminu ideologiji “Slughy narodu” [No longer libertarians: Kornienko declared change of ideology of “Servant of the people”] *Dzerkalo tyzhnja*. Retrieved from: https://dt.ua/POLITICS/bilshe-ne-libertarianci-korniyenko-zayaviv-pro-zminu-ideologiyi-slugi-narodu-329152_.html.

the regulatory impact of the state on the economy and build an effective social security system.

The clear ideological affiliation of the party is difficult to determine. This is a hybrid ideology. The programme of the party states that “Voice” goes to politics to return a person to the centre of the state, stop the division into left and right, nationalists and liberals, and unite around people and their indestructible dignity. The citizen Ukraine is above all. The state is in the palm of a person, but not a person in the fist of the state”.

Unlike “Servant of the People”, the party “Voice” does not aim at the fictional “Country of Dreams”. However, the task of its activity is that “We will get rid of what now does not allow Ukraine to spread its wings and move forward. We are realizing the potential of Ukraine that has been talked about for so many years. We are creating strong and innovative Ukraine, a true Eastern European tiger”⁵⁰.

The programme of the party focuses on justice as a social value and a person whose interests are intended to serve the state. Regarding the cultural aspect of social life, the programme of “Voice” states: “In Ukraine, new, modern cultural traditions should be established and finally unite the Ukrainian nation, cementing its identity. We will contribute to the enrichment of national culture with various achievements of global culture. Preservation of authenticity should not interfere with the modernization of culture”⁵¹. This programme statement proves that regarding national matters the party is quite moderate and centrist. Language policy has not been given much attention in the programme of the party. However, this is compensated by a large number of statements made by the party leader S. Vakarchuk in support of the Ukrainian language and its status in society.

The mechanisms for clearing and reforming the judicial system are presented in more details by “Voice” than by “Servant of the People”. In

⁵⁰ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Gholos” [The Political Party's “Voice” Program] Retrieved from: <https://goloszmin.org/storage/app/media/files/Program.pdf>.

⁵¹ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Gholos” [The Political Party's “Voice” Program] Retrieved from: <https://goloszmin.org/storage/app/media/files/Program.pdf>.

particular, it is stated in the programme of “Voice” that “to run the changes, you need to restart the system of selecting and supervising judges. The system cannot clean itself. That is why we need to recruit honest and competent judges into the key bodies (the High Qualifications Commission of Judges and the High Council of Justice) and public experts with an impeccable reputation. We will be assisted by international experts, who have already managed to prevent an unprecedented number of unworthy judges in the Anti-Corruption Court...”⁵².

The party in the programmatic provisions is quite positive about the system of anti-corruption bodies established in the state. However, it notes that “at present, these structures are not working smoothly, and the management of SAPO and NABU are not doing their job and playing along with corruptors. We know how to rectify an effective anti-corruption system that will put an end to the impunity of large-scale corruption”(10). To overcome this problem, the party promises to implement a number of measures that are quite broadly outlined in the programme.

In economic policy, the party pays close attention to the IT sector. Thus, the programme contains provisions on the need to adopt the “Digital Freedom Act”⁵³.

The party “Voice” was not an exception among the parties that announced their intentions to fight the oligarchy. In particular, the party's programme states: “A dozen masters of life” have no right to control national policy and information field (four oligarchic groups control about 75% of the country's television market), place their people in key positions in the state and use captured state structures for promotion of interests of their business. We will strike simultaneously at all sources of influence of the oligarchs: economic monopolies, media control and politics. To do this we will apply antitrust legislation, appoint

⁵² Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Gholos” [The Political Party's “Voice” Program] Retrieved from: <https://goloszmin.org/storage/app/media/files/Program.pdf>.

⁵³ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Gholos” [The Political Party's “Voice” Program] Retrieved from: <https://goloszmin.org/storage/app/media/files/Program.pdf>.

professionals who are ready to fight the oligarchs into key state regulators and introduce stringent requirements for the editorial independence of the media. We will also harness the potential of modern information technology to effectively collect and analyze information about the members of oligarchic groups”⁵⁴.

Concerning the electoral reform of the electoral system, the positions of the party “Voice” are identical to the positions in the programme of “Servant of the People”.

They promise the following: “We will introduce a long-overdue system of open list elections; the majority system must be abolished. This will open the way to politics for decent and professional people, not a limited number of rich people who can buy a position in the list. We support the abolition of immunity for members of parliament, except in cases where they directly fulfil their functions as legislators and representatives of the people. We are in favour of reducing the number of members of parliament”⁵⁵.

The programme of the party also contains a statement similar to the programme of “Servant of the People” about the need to involve citizens of the state in the process of political decision-making. In particular, the promise of transparency of power is given.

It is determined: “We will open the Parliament; we will increase the participation of citizens in decision-making through the tools of e-democracy. Every citizen will be able to vote on their smartphones, join the distribution of state or local budgets, and evaluate the work of politicians and officials”. It should be noted that these statements are populist.

In foreign policy, similar to “Servant of the People”, “Voice” is focused on the integration with the EU and NATO. But unlike “Servant of the People”, the party “Voice” clearly defines its position regarding the aggressor country.

⁵⁴ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Gholos” [The Political Party's “Voice” Program] Retrieved from: <https://goloszmin.org/storage/app/media/files/Program.pdf>.

⁵⁵ Proghrama politychnoji partiji “Gholos” [The Political Party's “Voice” Program] Retrieved from: <https://goloszmin.org/storage/app/media/files/Program.pdf>.

The programme states: “We will not surrender positions on the diplomatic front: pressure and isolation of Russia on the world stage must intensify, and Ukraine will return to the European civilizational and security space ... We will use the whole diplomatic arsenal to stop the fire as soon as possible and stabilize the situation in Donbas, and subsequently to restore the territorial integrity of Ukraine. Crimea is Ukraine and it will not become a bargaining chip on any agreements”⁵⁶.

The programme of the party clearly states its position on the role of the Russian Federation as an aggressor and occupier in the conflict in eastern Ukraine.

It is stated: “Our ultimate goal is to return our territories and win the war for the right of Ukraine to self-determination. We strongly oppose any plans that involve the representatives of the terrorist groups in government or local authorities led by the Russian Federation. Peace, bought at the cost of the partial loss of sovereignty in favour of the Russian aggressor, will never be permanent; it can lead to an even greater war in Ukraine. We will do everything necessary for the bloodless de-occupation of the occupied territories and the safe reintegration of the people whom Russia has taken hostage, their return to a normal, dignified life. We need to stop the murder of Ukrainian citizens. It is a crime that Russia is responsible for”.

In his speech at the party congress, S. Vakarchuk described the ideological foundations of the party: “The interests of Ukrainian citizens are above all, the existential choice of Ukraine is Europe, one law for all, a free economy without oligarchs, a power that is accountable to the citizens of Ukraine. These are the ideas. We will reveal the details of these ideas later; you will see them in our programme”⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ Prohrama politychnoji partiji “Gholos” [The Political Party's “Voice” Program] Retrieved from: <https://goloszmin.org/storage/app/media/files/Program.pdf>.

⁵⁷ Vakarchuk ozvuchyv ideologhiju partiji “Gholos” [Vakarchuk voiced the ideology of the Voice Party] *Rubryka*. Retrieved from: <https://rubryka.com/2019/05/16/vakarchuk-ozvuchyv-ideologiyu-partiyi-golos/>

CONCLUSIONS

The study of the programmatic provisions of the political parties of Ukraine, which overcame the barrier as a result of the parliamentary elections, allows us to draw the following conclusions.

First, in Ukraine, the ideological factor is not decisive for winning the parliamentary electoral campaign. The political parties that had positioned themselves as new projects, such as “Servant of the People” and “Voice”, won. They used the non-political popularity and mass recognition of the leader (V. Zelensky, S. Vakarchuk) rather than ideology for electoral support.

Second, such political parties as “European Solidarity”, “Fatherland”, and “Opposition Platform – For Life” have an ideological niche, positioning themselves on the Ukrainian and European ideological map (through participation in the activities of the fractions of the European Parliament). Will this help them gain popularity in the next elections and expand their electoral field? It depends on the actions of the contemporary “party of power”. An important indicator here will be the process of resolving the armed conflict in Donbas;

Third, the newly formed political parties remain the leader parties whose rating engines are their leaders. So far, they have not paid enough attention to positioning in the ideological space, which can have negative effects on their rating. This is a threat especially for the party “Servant of the People” whose rating depends on the personal popularity of V. Zelensky.

Fourth, most “left-centrist-right-wing” parties in their programmes position themselves as centrist parties of liberal or social-democratic orientation. However, insufficient attention is paid to social policy and social protection issues. These issues are presented as a separate section only in the programme of “Opposition Platform – For Life”.

Fifth, in relation to humanitarian policy, according to the programmes of “European Solidarity”, “Fatherland”, and “Voice” parties, they position themselves as national democratic parties. “Opposition Platform – For Life” can be attributed to the parties that profess a Soviet system of ideological values and a Russian-oriented information space.

Sixth, all political parties that won the support of the electorate, except “Opposition Platform – For Life”, have a pro-European orientation, declaring the need to continue the course for European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

Seventh, a characteristic feature of such parties as “Voice” and “Servant of the People” is the virtualisation of their activities and the lack of an extensive organizational regional structure.

The tendency of modern political parties is “the high level of ideological mobility and receptiveness, the ability to integrate individual postulates of competing political ideologies into the programme of a party” (Krojtör, 2012)⁵⁸.

Parliamentary parties balance between (1) the “Ukrainian electoral standard”, which was formed in times of independence and provides formal mentioning of raising salaries and pensions and reducing tariffs, (2) open populism and manipulation to gain the support of the most socially disadvantaged groups and (3) a comprehensive ideological identification following existing ideological matrices and world trends. The results of our study show that the third ones are in absolute minority, and the danger of populism will increase in proportion to the decline in the level of well-being of citizens.

SUMMARY

The article is devoted to the study of political ideology as a factor of formation of the party system of Ukraine based on the analysis of programmes of political parties of Ukraine. The article analyses the programmes of such political parties: “Servant of the People”, “Voice”, “European Solidarity”, “All-Ukrainian Union Fatherland”, “Opposition Platform – For Life”. In the process of parliamentary elections in 2019, ideology was not a determining factor. The “Servant of the People” party, which won by a wide margin and received the majority of votes in parliament, pays little attention to ideology. Internal party discussions

⁵⁸ Krojtör A. V. (2012) Politychna ideologhija jak chynnyk formuvannja partijnöji systemy [Political ideology as a factor in forming the party system] *Aktualjni problemy polityky*, vol. special issue, pp. 36–44.

regarding ideological doctrine have continued so far. On the contrary, parliamentary old-timers, who have a relatively comprehensive ideological doctrine, received minimal electoral support. This is an alarming signal that will lead to a decrease in attention to ideologies in the next elections.

The features of party programmes and their ideological components are determined. It is proved that political parties of Ukraine are parties of universal type with blurred ideological orientations.

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Information about the authors:

Yakovlev D. V.,

Prof. dr hab.,

Dean of the Faculty of Psychology,

Political Science and Sociology,

National University Odessa Law Academy

23, Fontanska str., Odessa, 65009, Ukraine

ORCID ID: orcid.org/0000-0003-2828-4669

Kroytor A. V.,

PhD, Department of Political Science,

National University Odessa Law Academy

23, Fontanska str., Odessa, 65009, Ukraine

ORCID ID: orcid.org/0000-0003-4652-7441

COGNITIVE-COMMUNICATIVE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PERSON IN THE CONTINUUM OF THE INTERNET NETWORK

Kutsepal S. V., Yeremenko O. M.

INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to imagine the reality without the Internet, social networks and different machines that changes the natural environment of human beings, influences the formation of worldviews and creates a new space-time continuum – a virtual reality, organized on the principle of rhizoma, and they also generate the emergence of new technological means of communication. “In the information society, there is not only a change in production, but also in the whole way of life: cultural leisure is becoming more important, and interest in material values is declining. The main specific feature is the production and consumption of intellect, knowledge, and as a result – the increase of share of mental work. The human being is required to be able to create, and the demand for knowledge increases. Therefore, the human being in the information society is placed in a framework that requires its rules of communication (Naumova, 2012).¹

If the beginning of the XX century is characterized by a “linguistic” turn when speaking is at the center of philosophical reflection, the beginning of the twenty-first century is already characterized by a new turn – “digital” or “network”, when signs receive a completely different semantic load, and the process of communication

¹ Naumova D.N.(2012) O procesah kommunikacii sovremennogo obshchestva [On the processes of communication of modern society] *Uchenye zapiski Orlovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Series: Gumanitarnye i social'nyenauki*, pp. 139-141.

turns into an interaction with the computer screen. “Virtualization of space is an inevitable solution to the problem of information explosion. A person has gained access to a huge amount of information, has found the ability to instantly exchange products of intellectual work” (Naumova, 2012)².

There is an erosion of printed sources of information, the way of translation and perception of information is transformed, the book culture is replaced by the screen culture because the book in the library by the number of marks on the order significantly loses to the number of likes, which the message on the Internet receives. The linear text gives way to the rhizomatic text, the attributive features of which are decentralization and fragmentation.

1. Virtual Reality is an alternative space of being of the 21st century

The picture of the world disintegrates into fancy fragments, the worldview from the whole and the organized turns into a “clip”, “file”, the main cognitive load slips out of the educational-scientific sources of classical sense and finds itself in the field of virtual network where conformity to truth is no longer a fundamental factor, so there is a high probability of obtaining so-called zero knowledge.

“The phenomenon of virtual reality has become a quite natural stage in the process of evolution of visual communication through media. Today, almost every subject of communication is an active participant of virtualization of communication, management, art, economics, space, money, politics, aesthetics, etc. We can state that the phenomenon of the virtualization gravitates towards worldview and identification status. A special virtual worldview is formed, pushing the boundaries of human abilities and experience, by means of its penetration into the space of

² Naumova D.N.(2012) O procesah komunikacii sovremennogo obshchestva [On the processes of communication of modern society] *Uchenye zapiski Orlovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Series: Gumanitarnye i social'nyenauki*, pp. 139-141.

specific non-material influence and the second, non-linear flow of time” (Pryahina, 2018)³.

Virtual reality is rapidly developing and has a significant impact on the development of all spheres of public life, defines the vector of individual self-improvement and self-development of a human being, provides the means and schemes of the transformation of nature, significantly expands the horizons of cognitive and scientific activity. However, along with the obvious advantages, which in cognitive terms the virtual space of the network provides, threats that await people, their mental state in the seductive rhizomatic space of the Internet are undeniable. “Symbolic images and signs, in which the modern man is immersed, have a minimal relation to real life and blur the boundaries of authenticity and fiction” (Badmaev, 2018)⁴.

Virtual reality is a space of existence of simulacra, copies, ersatzers of various qualities. “The processes of simulacra” (J. Baudriard) lead to leveling, the disappearance of reality, replacement of real life and real emotions only with their pale copies. “Carnivals, irony, non-serious attitude even to the traditionally serious things (life, death, birth, beauty and goodness, love, family) form the culture where the simulacrum as a model, changing depending on the purpose of application, and polyontology create multiple reality” (Belyaeva, 2018)⁵.

The tops of our existence is a world in which there is an overabundance of information with a simultaneous lack of meaning (J. Bodriard), which results in the structuring of the sphere of cognitive activity. “Reality becomes visibility, filled with all kinds of images

³ Pryahina A.V. (2018) *Novye tekhnicheskie sredstva kommunikacii v transformacii medijnoj kul'tury informacionnogo obshchestva* [New technical means of communication in the transformation of the media culture of the information society] *Znak: problemnoe pole media obrazovaniya*, pp. 80-85.

⁴ Badmaev V.N., Dzhevakova A.M. (2018) *Postmodernistskoe mirochuvstvovanie sovremenno informacionnogo obshchestva* [Postmodern worldview of the modern information society] *Vestnik AGU № 2* (219), pp. 141–148.

⁵ Belyaeva L.A., Novikova O.N. (2018) “Chelovekigrayushchij” v epohupostmoderna. [“The man playing” in the postmodern] *Idei i Idealy*, № 3(37), pp. 82-91.

through which an individual perceives information. There is a substitution of the signs of the real for the real” (Badmaev, 2018)⁶.

Essential transformations also capture the sphere of scientific and cognitive activity, since in the network you can find a huge array of (scientific) information, which has nothing to do with science, far from the concept of “truth”. It is a kind of “empty” form, devoid of any sense, capable of producing only zero knowledge, but extremely attractive at first sight.

It should be noted that the propagandist discourse of “post-truth” is organically integrated into the post-modernist worldview. Contrary to the postmodern irony of any truths, attention should be paid to a specific paradox of the truth that resembles the well-known paradox of a liar. Let us consider the statement: “The truth does not exist”. Is it false or true? Let us suppose that it is false. Then the truth exists because it is wrong that the truth does not exist. Let us assume that it is true. Then again, the expression “the truth does not exist” is false because there is at least one truth, which is that the truth does not exist. So, anyway, the expression “the truth does not exist” is false.

Information flows permeates all spheres of social functioning, and when it is necessary they are turning into information “tornadoes” (especially demanded in the periods of preparing the consciousness of the population for the change of political elites). These “tornadoes” have a manipulative influence on the consciousness and moods of the electorate, form a picture of reality on predetermined parameters in an axiological matrix that is beneficial for a customer.

The Internet environment offers endless possibilities for obtaining information, the volume of which depends only on the basic training of the person who collects this information. For example, if a person has a sufficient degree of knowledge of foreign languages, they have considerably more resources, the processing of which will ensure the

⁶ Badmaev V.N., Dzhevakova A.M. (2018) Postmodernistskoe mirochuvstvovanie sovremennogo informacionnogo obshchestva [Postmodern worldview of the modern information society] *Vestnik AGU* № 2 (219), pp. 141–148.

removal of appropriate cognitive entropy. However, it should be remembered that the availability of information on the web carries a risk of misunderstanding, as it is difficult to identify true information from false information.

The ways of searching and receiving information are also exposed to essential transformations. Accordingly, the forms of cognition and thinking are changing; the personality loses the usual sense of reality, plunges into the alluring world of virtual existence, which waits for him or her behind the shimmering screens of various gadgets. “A contemporary can't imagine his life without a gadget, a cell phone or the Internet. He is transformed from a human playing – homoludens – into a human homomobilis (to quote A.V. Golovnev), living thanks to information technologies (communications, transport, information) that have changed his ways and forms of activity... “Searching” the sites, he satisfies the eternal craving for innovation, impressions, the change of circumstances and situations. He gets used to the duality of space (so typical of game situations) when everything that happens is simultaneously perceived as real and unreal. Personal communication is more and more replaced by virtual content, a publication with a natural ability to replicate (tweet, tell friends, share in a group, etc.)” (Belyaeva, 2018)⁷.

Chats and forums, blogs and Youtube channels confidently push to the sidelines of everyday life not only live communication with friends and family, but also familiar educational models and techniques, which undoubtedly have a negative impact on the formation of personality. However, it has a positive impact, because there are many opportunities for self-education and self-improvement.

There is a kind of anthropo-axiological turn in education, a sign of which is the increasing role of the subjective factor. In other words, there is an axiological, anthropological and humanitarian reorientation of the educational process because now it is necessary to form not an

⁷ Belyaeva L.A., Novikova O.N. (2018) “Chelovekigrayushchij” v epohupostmoderna. [“The man playing” in the postmodern] *Idei i Idealy*, № 3 (37), pp. 82-91.

“abstract individual”, a “screw” in a certain social system, the attributive features of which were discipline and responsibility to the requirements of society, but a creative, mobile personality in the plural of his abilities and skills. The problems of self-development and self-education of the personality are updated. “Conscious self-development is one of the ways of self-assertion. Under the conditions of the spread of individual freedom and responsibility, self-development becomes not only a necessary but also an irreplaceable subjective factor of its formation and development, socialization and individualization. Without conscious, volitional self-development of an individual, integrity and social maturity of the individual cannot be achieved” (Myronchuk, 2013)⁸. This determines the necessity of qualitative changes in the educational process, the wide use of innovational technologies and the newest methodological approaches, the attraction of information technologies that are able to provide training of high-qualified specialists ensuring welfare and prosperity of the country. But only changes in the educational process are not enough. The problem of forming a new image of a pedagogue is being updated. This pedagogue is aware of cognitive, axiological, praxiological needs of the generation, which was born in the era of globalization, post-modernism and total consumption and is able to accept significant amounts of information, but requires skills to analyze it. That is why the problem-solving style of thinking and the ability to analyze information and highlight the main one become so much in demand.

2. Transformation of communication processes under the influence of the Internet

In the conditions of information infinity, the new picture of the world is forming, and therefore self-realization becomes the vector of

⁸ Myronchuk N.M. (2013) Profesiino-osobystisnyi samorozvytok maibutnoho pedahoha: sutnisni kharakterystyky ta shliakhy formuvannia [Professional-personal self-development of the future teacher: essential characteristics and ways of] *Novi tekhnologii navchannia: nauk.-metod. zb.*, Kyiv, № 76, pp. 209-214.

the orientation of the personal growth in the transient social environment. Self-realization is “the process of the most complete revealing and introduction by people their possibilities, the achievement of the planned goals in the solution of personally significant problems that allows as much as possible to realize creative potential” (Vatkovska)⁹. Through self-actualization, the person is able to transform the environment according to his or her needs, interests, and opportunities. “The need for self-actualization is the highest in the hierarchy of needs. As a result of its satisfaction, the person becomes the one he or she can and should become in this world. The main purpose of a human being is determined together with the creation of his or her personality, his or her self-concept” (Vatkovska)¹⁰. At the same time, there is a growing demand for such personality qualities as independence, flexible thinking, creative approach to solving problems, tolerance, responsibility for his or her behavior, ability to work in a team and make joint decisions.

All of the above-mentioned actualizes the emergence of a new form of learning, which, according to J. Bech, “should be focused on developing the ability to transform information into knowledge, and knowledge into actions. This implies the ability to make decisions about what to look for, how to look for, how to process and how to use the things that have been found, to be able to accomplish the tasks that prompt to searching of information” (Bekh, 2017)¹¹.

Another threat is that the person that is immersed in the Internet-web risks to become a knowledge collector. Instead of using

⁹ Vatkovska M.H. Samorealizatsiia osobystosti: sprobа filosofskoho uzahalnennia [Self-realization of personality: an attempt of philosophical generalization] *Hileia*, № 134, pp. 261-264.

¹⁰ Vatkovska M.H. Samorealizatsiia osobystosti: sprobа filosofskoho uzahalnennia [Self-realization of personality: an attempt of philosophical generalization] *Hileia*, № 134, pp. 261-264.

¹¹ Bekh Yu. (2017) Smyslohenez yak systemoutvoriuiuchy chynnyk morfolohii merezhevoho suspilstva [Sense ogenesis as a system-forming factor in the morphology of a network society] *Nova paradyhma* № 132, pp. 3-14.

what this person has learned, he or she wants to receive as much information as possible, and the quality of what he or she has learned is substantially inferior to the quantity. A paradoxical situation is created when becoming more educated a person does not become an intellectual, information does not transform into knowledge, the cognitive abilities of a person are leveled, in particular the ability to critically analyze information. In the language, the computer slang starts prevailing.

The role of the Internet in the process of socialization and personality formation is significantly increasing, wherein the personality formation is determined by the following factors:

1) The Internet becomes an almost endless source of information, promotes the expansion of the cognitive personal horizon, and transforms the value system and worldview orientations;

2) it provides unlimited opportunities for communication;

3) it forms both individual position and public opinion.

At the same time, it is important to remember that the Internet is a continuum of Text, where the constant virtuoso play of what it is and what it is meant is perceived as the norm, semantics is enigmatical, codes and ciphers are dominant over the meaning and common sense. “In the written and book era, the text contained the most important spiritual values of culture and society. However, in the XXI century, the book text loses its exceptional importance because it ceases to be morally canonical. Today, the new media text is different: it can be understood as a changeable object that is transforming and containing references to other texts, as an object that can be mistaken and therefore can be corrected (Pryahina, 2018)¹². Here we should remember the paradoxical thought of L. Tolstoy, who in his novel “War and Peace”

¹² Pryahina A.V. (2018) Novye tekhnicheskie sredstva kommunikacii v transformacii medijnoj kul'tury informacionnogo obshchestva [New technical means of communication in the transformation of the media culture of the information society] *Znak: problemnoe pole media obrazovaniya*, pp. 80-85.

called printing “a powerful weapon of ignorance”! It is hard to imagine what the great writer would say about the Internet. Therefore, it is not surprising that communication on the Internet is carried out without taking into account the requirements of laws and principles of logic because in this “proteus space” of the network (J. Baudriard) we can juggle not only masks, nicknames, avatars, but also senses, strengthening or even leveling the senses depending on the purpose of the communicative act.

In a virtual world ruled by anonymity, interactivity, fragmentariness, simulacra lost their illusiveness a long time ago, and turn into ordinary and convenient ontological-existential matrices, disseminated and understandable clichés thanks to which a new worldview paradigm is creating and a new dimension of being – virtual being is forming. “A person's virtual existence makes him or her dependent on the sociocultural and anthropological sense. It forms an attitude to life as a game in which it is possible to easily change situations and receive diverse sensations and emotional states” (Belyaeva, 2018)¹³. All these factors lead to the fact that real communication based on rational principles can quickly succumb to virtual communication, which is extremely mobile. For virtual communication, there are no space-time limits, so it quickly spreads to all spheres of life of a person as well as the society.

“Modern society is too large for direct contact between its members, therefore communication is mediated by social institutions, organizations and the devices that transmit and receive information. Means of communication, besides their direct purpose, serve secondary purposes: create images and stereotypes, form an ideology, promote the sale of goods through advertising. Control mechanisms are changing. A human gets used to being constantly controlled because we do not

¹³ Belyaeva L.A., Novikova O.N. (2018) “Chelovekigrayushchij” v epohupostmoderna. [“The man playing” in the postmodern] *Idei i Idealy*, № 3 (37), pp. 82-91.

always understand what the controlling device is. Accordingly, new behavioral skills are being developed” (Luhynyna, 2016)¹⁴.

CONCLUSIONS

Internet communications become the dominant communicative model. Internet communications “are technologies of information design and realization of communicative goals of traditional forms models and types of communication that have emerged as a result of attracting new extra-linguistic (social, political, historical, ethnic, cultural communicative and medial) factors and realities to the communicative space (computer and computer networks)” (Bilan, 2015)¹⁵.

“The Internet is a universal channel of communication; it is accumulating the possibilities of all mass media and creating opportunities for communication in a new environment. The Internet initiates changes in the social structure of society, creating new communities united by new characteristics” (Bilan, 2011)¹⁶ In terms of resources and heuristic-communicative potential, production and retransmission of information, the great importance of the Internet is certainly a perfect tool for cognition, communication and production, but there is a narrow line between positive and negative consequences of the network. The temptation to provide the virtual image with hypertrophied meaning is dangerous for the society as well as for a person. Considerable collisions, intellectual and emotional-existential alienation, the domination of computer reality objects over objects of the natural world can become the consequences of the above-mentioned temptation. One more danger is that unreliability of those masses of information that

¹⁴ Luhynyna A.H. (2016) Modeli setevykh obshestv v postindustrialnykh informatsionnykh koncepciyah [Models of network societies in postindustrial and informational concepts] *Scientific journal KubGAU*, № 120 (06).

¹⁵ Bilan N. (2015) Osoblyvosti Internet-komunikatsii [Features of Internet communication] *Naukovi zapysky instytutu zhurnalistyky*, Vol. 59, pp. 51-54.

¹⁶ Bilan N. (2011) Internet yak prostir riznykh vydiv sotsialnykh komunikatsii [The Internet as a space for various types of social communications] *Aktualni problemy mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn*, № 103(1), pp. 46-50.

are received thanks to the Internet, generates hyper-criticism and promotes the gradual formation of value orientation of almost total distrust to any source of information.

It is interesting that hyper-criticality is becoming a kind of protest against manipulative media technologies. Once, one of the authors conducted in-depth interviewing with the participants of the events in Lugansk 2014. To the question “Did you differentiate the truth from lies in the flows information? a respondent replied: “The most important principle is not to believe what you have not seen by yourself. And even sometimes do not believe what you see”. It should be emphasized that this opinion was expressed not just by a participant of the events, but by a fighter of a volunteer battalion.

To conclude, thanks to Internet resources and communication in the network space, there is not only the formation of scientific systems and the creation of scientific strategies, but also the danger of losing cognitive capital and the transformation of the person who is cognizing to the information collector.

SUMMARY

The article deals with the influence of the Internet and social networks on the basic spheres of human life. First of all – communicative, cognitive, social. Virtual reality is analyzed. Signs receive a different semantic load. The communication process becomes an interaction with the computer screen. The argument about the formation of a “clip”, “fragmentary” outlook, which replaces a holistic, organized outlook. It also proves that the ways of finding and obtaining information are also subject to significant transformations, and the forms of cognition and thinking change accordingly.

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Information about the authors:

Kutsepal S. V.,

Professor, dr hab.,

Professor at the Department of Theoretical
and Legal Disciplines,

Poltava Law Institute

of Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University

5, Pershotravneviy prosp., Poltava, 36011, Ukraine

ORCID ID: orcid.org/0000-0003-3804-6031

Yeremenko O. M.,

Prof. dr hab.,

Head of the Department of Philosophy,

National University Odessa Law Academy

23, Fontanska str., Odessa, 65009, Ukraine

ORCID ID: orcid.org/0000-0002-2922-0643

MODERN ASPECTS OF EU REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Palinchak M. M.

INTRODUCTION

EU regional policy has been characterized by a history describing a period of over 50 years. Its essential filling has been transformed within this period. Initially, it was shaped around the implementation of infrastructure projects, and later became deeply meaningful in the form of the “Europe of the Regions” concept, which is the result of regional interactions deepening and complicating relations in the global competitive environment. Nowadays the importance of the “Europe of the Regions” is growing in the context of EU regional policy relative to subnational entities and in the geopolitical dimension as a whole.

In scientific literature much attention has been focused on the region as a structural unit of the integration union. It is often seen as a link between national member states with the EU as a coherent supranational entity. There are many representatives of foreign scientific environment and scientists-economists from Ukraine among well-known researchers, studying the EU regions and the policies of the countries of regional character, e.g. EU regional policy has been considered by Y. Wannop, Z. Gerasymchuk, M. Dolishniy, M. McGinnis, D. Palma, M. Porter, G. Richardson, M. Storper, R. Walker, S. Hardy, M. Hart, V. Chuzhikov and others. However, as globalization and integration processes are becoming stronger in the global economic environment, new aspects of regional development and interaction are constantly emerging. The European Union is forced to monitor the necessary changes in regional policy constantly in order to be able to respond effectively to the challenges of the global economic environment and to be a fully-fledged strong player.

1. Transformation of Regional Policy in the EU

There are various interpretations of the concept “region” in scientific literature, particularly in regional studies, and namely:

1. The part of the country (region, district) that differs from the others in certain ways: natural-climatic, economic-geographical and others, which are considered in combination with the peculiarities of the national composition of the population.

2. Spatially organized form of population life activity, including the spheres of residence, professional and labor activity, managed from a single center and united by numerous links (industrial, political, socio-economic, cultural, ethnic, etc.) on the basis of self-management and full realization of their rights as a subject of socio-political life.

3. A large taxonomic unit of the production-territorial structure of the country and a form of organization of production and social life of the population, which is characterized by geoeconomic, geopolitical, production-economic, cultural-ethnic, dynamic characteristics.

4. Territory within the administrative boundaries of a particular country, characterized by the complexity, integrity, specialization and controllability, that is, the presence of political and administrative governing bodies¹.

On the basis of such approaches, the characteristic features of the region have been distinguished. The most important of them are:

- the unity and integrity of the region;
- community and unity of the economy;
- comprehensive economy;
- availability of population possessing appropriate education, qualification and traditional production skills;
- entering the market and using the actual amount of labor, land, capital;
- specialization;

¹ Бутов В.И., Игнатов В.Г., Кетова Н.П. Основы региональной экономики. Москва, Ростов-на-Дону : Мар, 2000. 448 с.

– controllability that implies the functioning of political and administrative governing bodies².

Most often the “region” is considered within the national boundaries, although the variety of ways of its interpreting goes beyond the state level. That is, the region may be a state as a whole, and several states being close in character, criteria of analysis or practice.

The concept of regional policy is a complex and multidimensional concept. The regional policy of the European Union (further – EU), also referred as Cohesion Policy, is a policy with the stated aim of improving the economic well-being of regions in the EU and also to avoid regional disparities³.

It is a policy aimed at managing economic, political and social development within the region in order to achieve the set goals complemented simultaneously with the crystallization process along with the dynamic changes of the EU development as a separate integration group within the world economy. The achievement of the goals is partly due to the interaction of the regions with each other.

O. Polikarpova analyzed the transformation of the EU Regional Policy objectives within the period from 2000 to 2020 (see Table 1).

Table 1 demonstrates that for three periods the main long-term goal is a policy of disparities balancing in the development of EU regions, along with the quality of domestic economic development improving in the first period, consolidation processes – in the second, and enhancing the EU's potential as a subject of international economic relations – in the third period.

The focus of the European Union on regional development has been also changed. Transformation of regional development policy is shown on Figure 1.

² Регіональна політика Європейського Союзу : підручник / за ред. В. Чужикова. Київ : КНЕУ, 2016. 495 с.

³ Regional policy of the European Union. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regional_policy_of_the_European_Union

Table 1

Transformation of EU regional policy objectives in 2000-2020⁴

Regional policy objectives		
2000-2006	2007-2013	2014-2020
Promoting of development and structural regulation of lagging regions	Convergence and competitiveness	Increasing economic growth and investment, poverty reduction
Supporting the economic and social transformation of areas facing structural difficulties	Regional competitiveness and employment at regional and national level	Research and innovation, development of information and communication technologies
Support of adaptation and modernization policies, training and employment	European territorial cooperation	Resources and environment protection, as well as strengthening institutional capacity

Regional policy is an EU tool for local investment. It is directed to boost the economic growth and jobs and improve the life quality. Thanks to this active form of EU solidarity, people in less developed regions can seize the opportunities raised by the largest market in the world.

EU regional policy works to make a difference in five key areas:

- investing in people by supporting access to employment, education and social inclusion opportunities;
- supporting the development of small and medium size businesses;
- strengthening research and innovation through investment and research-related jobs;
- improving the environment through major investment projects;

⁴ Полікарпова О. Регіональна політика ЄС: практичний досвід для України. *Вісник THEV*. 2015. № 3. С. 101-110.

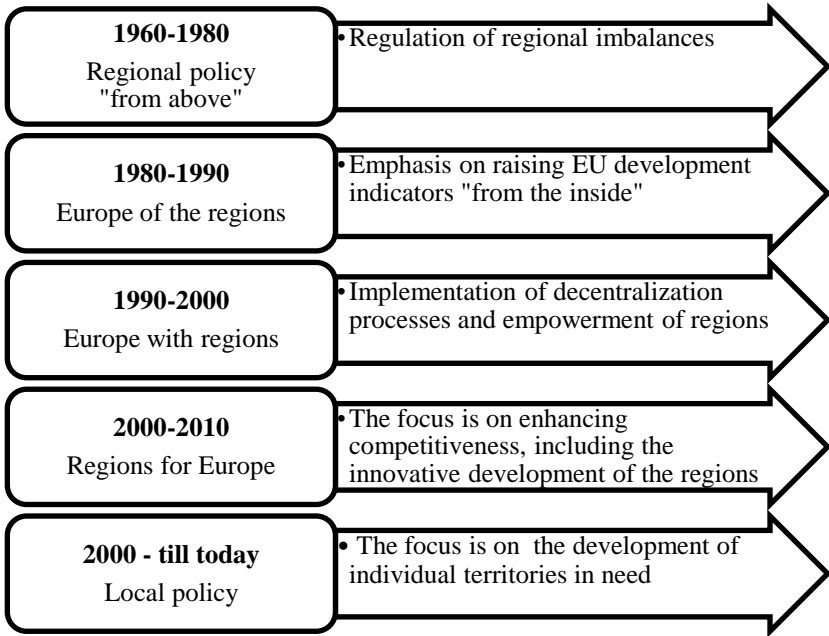


Figure 1. Transformation of regional policy in the EU since 1960⁵

- modernising transport and energy production to fight against climate change, with a focus on renewable energy and innovative transport infrastructure⁶.

Regional policy is not just an economic policy, it covers, as mentioned above, social issues, namely employment, education and skills, which is particularly important. The development of small and medium-sized enterprises, innovative issues and supporting of various types of research are of great importance. These issues are complemented by environmental protection issues that at first glance appear to be separated from regional development. It is gratifying that the European

⁵ Innovative strategies of territorial development of V4: Experience for Ukraine / Y. Savelyev, I. Lishchynskyy, M. Lyzun, K. Borsekova, M. Sokolowicz, K. Vitališova, Y. Kurylyak. Ternopil: Terno-graf, 2016. 216 p.

⁶ Regional policy. Regional investment and solidarity. URL: Regional Policy https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/regional-policy_en

Union is building its policy in an integrated way, taking into account the fundamental aspects of sustainable development policy.

More than one third of the EU's budget is devoted to this policy, which aims to remove economic, social and territorial disparities across the EU, restructure declining industrial areas and diversify rural areas which have declining agriculture. In doing so, EU regional policy is geared towards making regions more competitive, fostering economic growth and creating new jobs⁷.

It is important to realize that the latest EU enlargement has resulted in a 10% increase in production, a 22% increase in population, 5% – in agriculture and 30% – in the number of unemployed. The population of regions with GDP per capita less than a third of the EU average has risen to 62 million (20% of the EU population)⁸. Such indicators further actualize the alignment of intra-regional EU asymmetries. In general, disproportionality is reflected in the indicators of living standards and economic development, which have only deepened with each phase of expansion⁸. On the one hand, the EU has expanded its potential and scope in the world economy, while on the other it was complemented by some economically backward regions and countries where domestic conflicts took place. Regions with varying duration of economic policy making and formation, specialization specificities, ethnic differences, which often result in civilizational clashes or interpenetrations, have begun to be clearly observed.

Currently, according to GDP per capita indicator (calculated on the PPP), EU countries are quantitatively divided into the following groups:

1. 10 relatively affluent countries in Western and Northern Europe (which include Ireland) with GDP per capita of more than 110% of the EU average;

⁷ Regional policy of the European Union. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regional_policy_of_the_European_Union

⁸ Поліщук Л.С. Регіональні симетрії в ЄС та нові інструменти політики вирівнювання. *Актуальні проблеми міжнародних відносин*. 2015. Вип. 126 (част II). С. 116-124.

2. Italy and Germany, where the GDP per capita is higher than the European average, in highly developed regions and “problem areas” (respectively in the south and east);

3. 7 small and medium-sized Mediterranean countries (including Spain and Slovenia) where GDP per capita is below the European average, but the gap does not exceed 30%;

4. 9 Eastern European countries where GDP per capita has fluctuated from 30 to 70% of the EU average in recent years.

2. Structural Funds as Mechanisms of Regional Policy Implementation

Asymmetry overcoming in the EU requires the costs of the Structural Funds and the development of equalization mechanisms⁸.

Within the period from 2014 to 2020 the European regional policy has been closely connected with the activity of three funds: the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), The European Social Fund (ESF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF). Their activities are often compared or viewed within the context of other funds, such as the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF) and the Youth Employment Initiative (YEI). The percentage of allocation of these funds’ financing processes within the period from 2014 to 2020 is shown at Figure 2.

The largest amounts of funding are provided by the European Regional Development Fund. The European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development ranks second in terms of funds. They are immediately followed by the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund. Together, these 4 funds account for 97.2% of the funds. In fact, they are the main financial instruments for implementing EU regional development policy.

It is important to examine in greater detail the competence of each fund in the field of regional policy implementation.

The aim of the European Regional Development Fund’s activity is to reduce the economic and social imbalances between the EU regions. The central part is occupied by the attention to research and innovation, small and medium entrepreneurship, digital and the low-carbon economy.

Combined approach of the European Regional Development Fund to financing these spheres in different types of regions is worth our attention. So, the amount of resources allocated by the ERDF depends on the level of the region development. The ERDF resources allocated to these priorities will depend on the category of region. At least 80 % of funds must focus on at least two of these priorities in more developed regions. In transition regions, this index is 60 % of the funds and 50 % – in less developed regions.

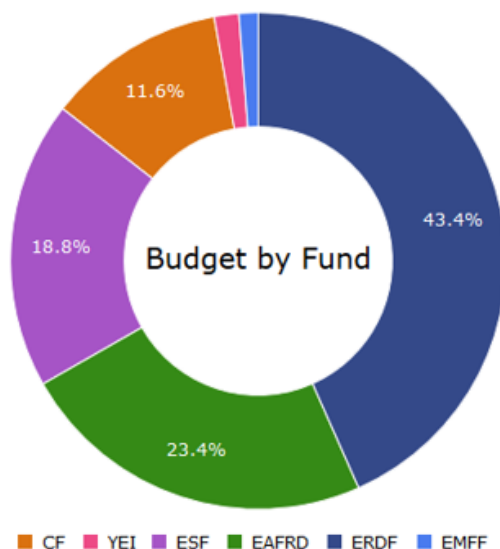


Figure 2. Allocation of funds of EU Structural Funds for the period 2014-2020,%⁹

A differentiated approach is also maintained for financing low-carbon economy projects. 20% of the allocated funds are sent to the developed regions, 15% – to the transition regions and 12% – to the less

⁹ European Structural and Investment Funds. EU Overview. URL: <https://cohesiondata.ec.europa.eu/overview#>

developed ones¹⁰. It is gratifying to note that a feature of EU regional policy is that the least developed regions, although less involved in the priority areas of the EU economy, are not deprived of them.

One of the important goals of the European Regional Development Fund is to reduce the importance of borders within Europe. Reducing the importance of borders is important both between and within EU countries. The ERDF can achieve this goal by activating regional cooperation, and namely: cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation. This trend can be developed in the form of cross-border and transnational as well as interregional cooperation.

The European Social Fund is busy with the poverty problem and its solution. Much attention has been devoted to the education issue. This fund is oriented to help people who are in the risk group according to the poverty as a result of education, training and employment issues increasing¹¹.

During the specified period from 2014 to 2020 the activities of the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund are oriented differently to different regions of the European Union. At figure 3 the eligibility of the funds is marked by the color.

Figure 3 shows that most of these funds are directed to the least developed regions where GDP per capita is less than the EU-27 and transitional economies, where GDP per capita is more than 75% and less than 90% of the EU – 27 average. It is important to note that, to a lesser extent, attention is also paid to developed regions where GDP per capita is more than 90% of the EU – 27 average. That is, Structural Funds contribute to both narrowing the gap between levels of regional development and maintaining high levels of development. In general, it influences the unity and mutual understanding of the regions and the

¹⁰ European Regional Development Fund. The ERDF aims to strengthen economic and social cohesion in the European Union by correcting imbalances between its regions. URL: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/funding/erdf/

¹¹ A Europe of the regions – What is EU Regional Policy? URL: <http://hum.port.ac.uk/europeanstudieshub/learning/module-3-governance-in-a-multi-level-europe/a-europe-of-the-regions-what-is-eu-regional-policy/>

strength of such an integration structure and its position in the market. This completely dispels the myth that only the least developed countries benefit from the structural funds' financing of the regional development, while the largest financial contributions are made by the developed countries. In 2017, 11 EU countries – the richest – paid more into the EU budget than what they received back in EU funding¹².

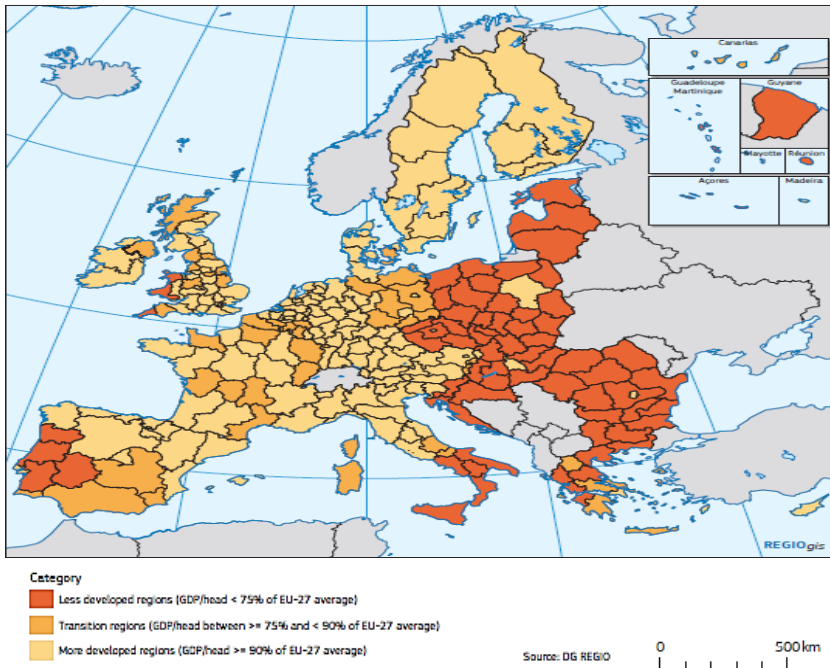


Figure 3. The eligibility of the Structural Funds (ERDF and ESF) within the period from 2014 to 2020¹³

¹² 10 myths and facts about EU Cohesion policy URL: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/what/myth-busting/

¹³ My Region, my Europe, our Future. Seventh report on economic, social and territorial cohesion / L. Dijkstra, European Commission, Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy. Luxembourg : Publications Office of the European Union, 2017. 220 p.

Even if these countries do not receive so much direct financial benefits, they can enjoy the opportunities created in this way throughout the European Union, namely they live in a stable economic and political environment within the EU with the appropriate level of security. The implementation of infrastructure projects also creates the appropriate conditions from which developed regions benefit and can focus on integration freedoms ensuring. This myth is also debunked by international trade, whose growth confirms the involvement of both the underdeveloped and developed EU regions.

The aim of the Cohesion Fund activity is to help the regions whose GNI/inhabitant is less than 90% of the EU average to approach towards the richer regions. Regions of this kind are: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Financial resources of the Cohesion Fund (€ 63.4 billion for the 2014-2020 period) are allocated to specific areas. One of the priorities is the direction of trans-European transport networks. The European Union pays much attention to infrastructure projects in the framework of the cooperation with the Connecting Europe Facility, whose main objective is a high level of connectivity between European Union member states. Much attention is paid by the European Union to the environment and ecological issues, which are also part of the Cohesion Fund's competence. The Cohesion Fund supports projects related to energy or transport, developing rail transport, supporting intermodality, strengthening public transport etc.¹⁴

Generally, it can be noted that the investment priorities of the Cohesion Fund are all measures that contribute to the development of:

- a low-carbon economy;
- climate change adaptation, risk prevention and management;
- environmental protection/conservation;

¹⁴ Cohesion Fund. URL: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/funding/cohesion-fund/

- sustainable transport and removing bottlenecks¹⁵.

The European Regional Development Fund and the Cohesion Fund mainly implement the largest projects in the field of EU regional policy. ‘Major Projects’ are usually large-scale infrastructure projects in transport, environment and other sectors such as culture, education, energy or ICT¹⁶. More than € 50 million is being allocated for their implementation. It is important to consider the degree of the largest projects implementation by EU regions (see Figure 4).

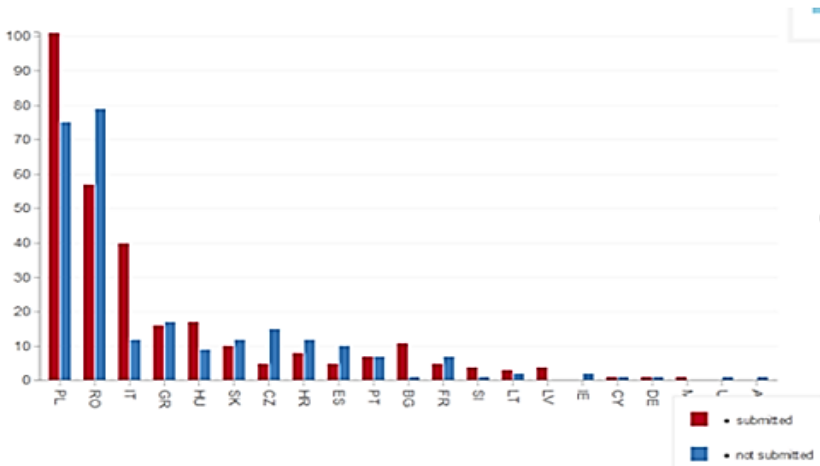


Figure 4. Participation of countries in the implementation of EU regional development projects¹⁶

Figure 4 shows that countries are involved differently in various regional policy development projects. Poland, Romania and Italy are most involved in this process. In Poland and Italy, the implemented projects prevail, in Romania – those that have not been completed. Participation of other countries is less active and there is no clear trend

¹⁵ Cohesion Fund (2014-20) URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legisum:2602_2

¹⁶ Major projects. URL: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/projects/major/

for project implementation or non-implementation. It depends on various factors inherent in countries.

The total budget of the EU Structural Funds (European Regional Development Fund, Cohesion Fund, European Social Fund) for the period from 2014 to 2020 is \$ 314.88 billion¹⁷. The budget is aimed at strengthening the link between cohesion policy and other common policies of the European Union, as well as developing smart strategies, job creation, tackling climate change and energy dependency, poverty reduction and social exclusion.

It is important to note that the process of regionalization is closely connected with the governance processes in the European Union. It should be clearly understood that regionalism is a reflection of the decentralization process, which entails the transfer of powers to regional authorities and is based on the principle of subsidiarity¹⁸. The cohesion policy 2014-2020 is aimed at creating strategic and institutional capacity, democratic legitimacy, strengthening administrative capacity. 67.2% of the total budget is allocated to this¹⁷.

The EU regional policy is not isolated but organically integrated into the overall economic policy of the integration group. Therefore, the threats affecting the EU economy as a whole undoubtedly transform the EU's regional policy. It should be noted that a comprehensive study of EU threats to be monitored has received little attention in scientific literature. The importance of permanent monitoring of the level of regional development is increasing in the context of transformational processes concerning regional development policy and the manifestation of economic crisis processes, which are much easier spread around the world as a result of globalization. A permanent monitoring approach would allow to systematize and develop preventative measures for the

¹⁷ Полікарпова О. Регіональна політика ЄС: практичний досвід для України. *Вісник THEV*. 2015. № 3. С. 101-110.

¹⁸ European Commission. Regional policy Inforegio website: EU cohesion funding – key statistics, Available budget 2014-2020. URL: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/thefunds/funding/index_en.cfm

future. The current threats that already exist and the need of immediate resolution are identified most often.

Systematizing key threats and challenges of the EU functioning, L. Dorosh and O. Ivasechko distinguish their internal and external nature, while not forgetting their interdependence. Predominantly internal problems include the institutional crisis (the Brexit problem and making of a future vision for the EU's development) and the economic challenges that are partly influenced by the external factors. Key external threats include increased security challenges in the light of the latest hybrid conflicts in the region, the rise to power of D. Trump in the United States, terrorism as a way of destabilizing the internal situation in EU member states. Among the factors that undermine internal stability in the EU is, of course, the issue of the migration crisis. These factors indirectly affect the migration situation and politics, but are more concerned with social policy and the financial aspects of its implementation. Challenges of 2017 – 2018 include the possibility of launching a domino effect and increasing the tendency to withdraw from the Union of other states, the inability of its Member States to pursue a coordinated common domestic and foreign policy¹⁹.

Overcoming current threats, the institutional structures of the European Union are carrying out planned regional development projects, but are not able to pay more attention to regional aspects of the Union's economic policies. In other words, the challenges of modern EU development are hampering the effective development of EU regional policy. Without the current challenges and threats, it could be argued that European regional development policy would have developed at a much faster pace.

It is advantageous and worth considering to re-establish positive experience by developing priority directions for regional policy prospects for the next seven-year period 2021-2027. Such priority areas of

¹⁹ Дорощ Л., Івасечко О. Особливості функціонування та виклики розвитку ЄС у близькій перспективі (2017-2018 рр.). *Політичні науки*. 2017. № 3. С. 19-24.

development are being developed taking into account the strategic goals and the challenges of today.

One of the areas of investment of the European Regional Development Fund and the European Cohesion Fund will remain the sphere of innovation. The process of digitization of the EU economy, the development of industrial technologies, entrepreneurship, especially small business will continue too. Emphasis will be placed on education and the employment of youth, migration issues, climate change control and the development of a low carbon economy. Cohesion support policies will continue to be maintained for all EU regions, and further efforts will be made to reduce disparities and promote low-income and low-growth catching-up regions. A feature of the 7-year future policy is to simplify procedures for re-orienting funds to more urgent issues in the case of need and to simplify the administration of EU spending as a whole²⁰. The anticipated result of this approach is to make the European Union smarter, greener, carbon free, social more connected and closer to citizens²¹.

In the context of integration aspirations realization, Ukraine has been building its relations with the European Union for a long time. These relationships are multidimensional and are often characterized by activation or on the contrary by retardment. These are not just economic or in particular integration issues, and they have often geopolitical character.

The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement has become an instrument for bringing Ukraine and the EU closer. This Agreement is an opportunity for cooperation in the regional aspect, an opportunity for united confrontation to global challenges that are equally confronting both Ukraine and the EU.

As a result of signing the Association Agreement, it can be stated with confidence that regional cooperation between Ukraine and the EU is

²⁰ Куйбіда В. С., Федулова Л. І. Нова регіональна політика ЄС: уроки для України : аналіт.зап. Київ : НАДУ, 2019. 24 с.

²¹ New Cohesion policy URL: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/2021_2027/

not limited to the state level, but develops at the level of individual administrative-territorial units. It has been stated in the Article 446 of the Association Agreement that “the Parties shall promote mutual understanding and bilateral cooperation in the field of regional policy concerning the methods of formulation and implementation of regional policies, in particular multilevel governance and partnership, with particular emphasis on the development of backward territories and territorial co-operation, while creating communication channels and enhancing the exchange of information between national, regional and local authorities, socio-economic entities and civil society representatives”²².

The deepening of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU in the regional aspect implies active cooperation of regional and local authorities. This requires the development of a clear legislative framework that will assist Ukraine's European integration steps in the future, as well as deepening cross-border and border links between regional units, often in the form of joint programs and projects, meetings and exchanges of experience. The regional level has multidimensional directions for the development of integration processes. Such areas as transport, energy, communications networks, culture, education, tourism, health care and the coordination of emergency services are particularly effective in this regard²³.

In general, the European Union's experience in the field of regional policy points to the importance of certain aspects²⁴, in particular:

1. **High importance of economic framework conditions.** The success of economic development depends on ensuring of equal conditions for economic actors of different levels. Within the framework

²² Угода про Асоціацію між Україною, з однієї сторони, та Європейським Союзом, Європейським співтовариством з атомної енергії і їхніми державами-членами, з іншої сторони. URL: http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_011

²³ Куриляк М.Ю. Еволюція концепції «Європи регіонів» у рамках регіональної політики ЄС. *Економічний вісник Донбасу*. 2018. № 2 (52). С. 60-67.

²⁴ Європейська регіональна політика: натхнення для країн, що не входять до ЄС? Застосування принципів та обмін досвідом. URL: https://ec.europa.eu/international/external_uk

of regional policy, it is advantageous to combine the cooperation of entities at the micro and macro levels within the framework of joint implementation of the general economic strategy.

2. Strategies and programs should be adapted to the current state of affairs. Prospective programs and strategies should be tailored to the needs and current challenges of the regional level. Otherwise they are doomed not to be successful.

3. The importance of the stable budgets and consistent programming. The advantage of the European Union is the development of a seven-year budgetary strategy that allows the planning and implementation of long-term investment into regional development and policy. This approach allows a more careful planning and adjustment of expenditures in program implementation and budget expenditures.

4. The need for international cooperation. EU experience shows that the implementation and promotion of cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation, which are important elements of regional policy, contribute to the development of constructive interaction between regions within and outside the neighboring countries. This in turn gives benefits not only in the economic and political spheres, but also in the social, cultural, spiritual and others.

5. Economics of agglomerations and urbanization. It is also an important component of European regional development policy. Although the region of Europe is a central focus of economic policy, particular attention is paid to the development of large cities as centers of innovative development and key drivers of economic growth.

6. The role of small and medium-sized cities and local centers. In the context of regional policy, the EU pays much attention to the polycentric development, where identical attention is given to small and medium-sized cities alongside to large cities. They provide connectivity with major cities and the dissemination of economic developments that have passed their lifecycle in major cities and continue them in downtowns with lower levels of urbanization. The EU is spending a lot

of effort to develop rural areas and prevent significant depopulation processes, understanding all the threats that may be posed.

7. Local employment and capacity building initiatives. First and foremost such initiatives are connected with the development of the backward regions where the poverty issue is particularly actual. Overcoming the imbalances of regional territorial development implies an increase in the level of employment and, accordingly, the well-being of citizens living in these regions, and in general the level of their economic development, which lays the foundation for their future development, taking into account the challenges of today.

8. Strong institutional support. In order to achieve the successful implementation of regional initiatives, the institutional mechanism should function coherently and be well coordinated. The institutional mechanism includes both the institutions directly or indirectly involved in the implementation of EU regional policy, and the links between them, the activities of which are aimed at achieving the set of goals of regional development and securing the interests of actors of different levels and fields of activity.

9. Multilevel management. This type of management includes vertical and horizontal elements that activate integration processes.

Within the vertical management system, various levels of European, national, regional and local governments are being promoted through a plan and program development system that has developed over the years to provide information sharing and one-way traffic for local benefits. Within the horizontal management system of the company, social groups and civic organizations are actively involved in the process and activities of governing bodies²⁴.

CONCLUSIONS

The EU's regional policy has undergone significant transformations during its existence, evolving from a policy of a united Europe to create a favorable economic environment to a policy of united potential of a strong player in the international arena. The strategic goals of EU regional policy were to ensure the economic

growth of the community as a single integration group and a correspondingly high level of citizens' well-being. The overarching goals remained unchanged, while the interim goals that ensured the implementation of the chosen strategy were adjusted according to the current situation and the global economic environment. The European Union is making continuous efforts to minimize the disproportionate and asymmetric development of EU regions, facilitating the management and regulation of individual processes. The main tools are the EU Structural Funds financial mechanisms that implement regional development programs differing in several levels of development. It is important to take into account the inconsistency of individual myths about the inefficiency of regional policy and the overriding focus on underdeveloped regions. Indirect benefits also come from developed regions, which are more involved in the financing and implementation of EU regional policy. Certain regional policy approaches may be exemplary for countries, including Ukraine, for the interaction of regions in order to strengthen the integrity and economic potential of the subject of international relations.

SUMMARY

The main aspects of the EU regional policy transformation have been considered by the author. The essence and main characteristics of the region have been analyzed. Today the region is of great importance in the global economic environment, so much attention has been paid to regional policy. The transformation of the goals of EU regional policy during 2000-2020 has been analyzed by the author. The Structural Funds are the financial mechanism for the implementation of EU regional policy. They help to reduce imbalances in the levels of development of the regions, to support the high level of development of the rich ones, which affects the unity and cooperation of the regions. The EU regional policy is an integral part of the overall economic policy of the integration grouping and is influenced by the threats of the EU economy as a whole. The importance of permanent monitoring the level of regional development in the context of transformation processes and the

manifestation of economic crisis phenomena in the era of globalization has been emphasized by the author. That will allow timely response to threats and preventive measures working-out. Some elements of the EU regional policy experience can be applied to regional development policy in Ukraine.

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Information about the author:

Palinchak M. M.,

Doctor of Political Science, Professor,
Dean of the Faculty of International Economic Relations,
Uzhhorod National University
14, Universytetska str, Uzhhorod, 88000, Ukraine

COMPETITIVENESS AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN MODERN WORLD ECONOMIC PROCESSES

Tsalan M. I.

INTRODUCTION

The processes taking place nowadays in the world and national economies necessitate a review of the mechanisms and approaches to managing and regulating particular activities. It is important to take into account such challenges in the context of reforming the main lines of business. Nowadays the principles of work and cooperation between countries, regions, enterprises are changing. This must be taken into account while developing long-term development strategies. New trends in the national and international economic environments place new requirements for reorientation of activities and implementation of measures system for timely adaptation to these changes before subjects of different levels and nature, including enterprises of different ownership, particularly state-owned ones. While private enterprises carry out these activities faster, focusing on their own vision, market research and their own capabilities, state-owned enterprises are often forced to comply with government regulation and state support measures. Kyrylov Yu.Ye. emphasizes that in the context of globalization, a new paradigm of competitive development is being formed, when every economic entity of different level and sphere of activity should focus on its level of development and competitiveness¹. Over time, this issue will become more urgent, for this reason, mechanisms for reorientation of forms of economic activity to the principles of competitive development should be urgently formed.

¹ Кирилов Ю.Є. Конкуентоспроможний розвиток аграрного сектору економіки України в умовах глобалізації: теорія, методологія, практика : дис. ... д-ра екон. наук : 08.00.03. Херсон, 2015.

1. Competitiveness as a basis for competitive development ensuring

According to M.A. Khvesyk and A.M. Sunduk, the competitive development of the economy is the process of improving its quantitative and qualitative characteristics. Such a process takes into account the constancy of functioning, the characteristics of which are conditioned by the influence of a complex of socio-economic and other factors of endo- and exogenous orientation². The basis of competitive development is the economic category of competitiveness. In general, it is important to note that competitiveness is studied and determined not only at the level of the national economy, but also at the level of regions, industries, enterprises and goods. This concept is studied in a broad and narrow sense. In a broad sense, competitiveness is the presence of strong, stable positions in the market³. According to the definition of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, competitiveness should be understood as the ability of companies, industries, regions and nations to generate high levels of income and remuneration, while remaining open to international competition¹.

L. Kyrylenko points out that competitiveness is especially relevant in the conditions of a market economic system. This is an important socio-economic category of a market economy, which reflects the universal properties and relations of market interaction of economic entities and patterns of a market organization of economic activity development in general⁴.

S. Mochernyi, T. Siudek, A. Zavojska, and others formulated their views on competitiveness through the prism of market and market relations. Competitiveness as “the ability to act in the conditions of market relations and at the same time to obtain a profit sufficient for scientific and technological improvement of production, stimulation of employees and support of products at a high quality level” defines

² Хвесик М.А., Сундук, А.М. Управління розвитком національної економіки в контексті дії глобальних процесів. *Економіка України*. 2013. № 3. С. 4-16.

³ Румянцева Е.Е. *Новая экономическая энциклопедия*. Москва, 2005. С. 218.

⁴ Кириленко Л. Конкурентоспроможність як категорія ринкової економіки. *Вісник Київського національного університету*. 2011. № 124-125. С. 49-52.

S.V. Mochernyj⁵. In another scientific work competitiveness is also considered in market conditions⁶. On the other hand, competitiveness is the property of a product, a service, a subject of market relations to act on the market on an equal footing with similar goods, services or competing subjects of market relations⁷. In view of the above definitions, it is possible to make such generalizations that competitiveness is the ability to withstand competition in the market and to generate profit that enables an entity to develop.

In the study of competitiveness V.L. Korinev and R.I. Zhovnovach distinguish macro-level (country competitiveness), mezzanine (regional and industry competitiveness) and micro-level (enterprise and product competitiveness)⁸. The levels of competitiveness research are shown in Figure 1.

Today, another level of competitiveness, namely the nanolevel, is a relatively new approach. N.M. Kuprina adds the nanoscales to the overall structuring, where they consider the competitiveness of the products of a private entrepreneur (individual) and the level of the cluster structures competitiveness as an intermediate level between the level of the enterprise competitiveness and the level of industry and region competitiveness⁹. In recent years, the cluster organization of activities¹⁰ has become increasingly important in the economy, and therefore we fully support the need to expand the scope of scientific research on the competitiveness of clusters as subjects of economic activity, as well as

⁵ Мочерний С.В. *Економічний словник-довідник* / ред. С.В. Мочерний. Київ, 1995. С. 164.

⁶ Siudek T., Zavojska A. Competitiveness in the economic concepts, theories and empirical research. *ACTA Scientiarum polonorum*. 2014. № 13 (1). P. 91-108.

⁷ Абалкин Л.И. *Экономическая энциклопедия*. / ред. Л.И. Абалкин. Москва, 1999.

⁸ Корінев В.Л., Жовнович Р.І. Оцінювання конкурентоспроможності об'єктів і суб'єктів господарювання. *Вісник Запорізького національного університету: Збірн. наук. праць. Економічні науки*, 2011. № 2 (10). С. 45-52.

⁹ Куприна Н.М. Конкурентоспособность деятельности предприятия: виды и уровень. *Формування ринкової економіки: зб. наук. праць. – Спец. вип. Регіональний розвиток України: проблеми та перспективи: у 2-х ч. 2011.* (Ч. 1). Київ.

¹⁰ Tiits M. *Competitiveness of Estonian forest and wood cluster* / Ed. Tiits M. URL: <https://www.ibs.ee/en/publications/competitiveness-of-estonian-forest-wood-cluster/>

instruments of competitive development of industries, regions and countries.

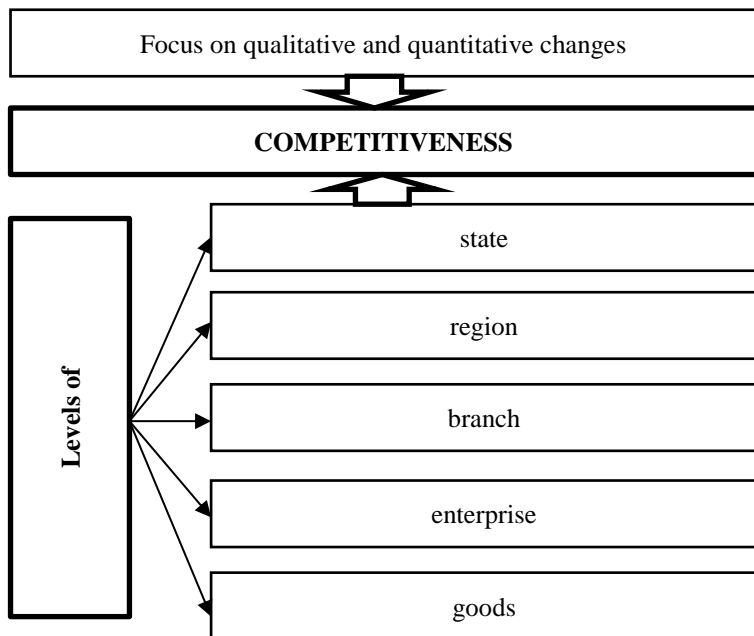


Figure 1. Levels of research and study of the “competitiveness” concept

V. Andrianov notes that there is a correlation between all levels, because the competitiveness of the country and the industry depends on the ability of competitive manufacturers to produce competitive goods¹¹. B.M. Kurganskaya emphasizes the connection between the concepts of product competitiveness and the enterprise competitiveness¹². Scientists

¹¹ Андрианов В.Д. Конкурентоспроможність Росії у світовій економіці. *Світова економіка та міжнародні відносини*, 2000. № 3. С. 47-57.

¹² Курганська Б. М. Організаційно-економічні механізми забезпечення конкурентоздатності підприємства (на прикладі швейної промисловості) : дис. ... канд. екон. наук : 08.06.01. Львів, 2002.

in their theory of mezzanine levels proceed from the definition of the middle link, which, without losing the signs of the original object, at the same time acquires the signs of the next link, which gives it additional socio-organizational energy. Based on this hypothesis, they proved that the intermediate level, located at the boundary of the micro- and macroenvironment, accumulates the advantages of both the lower and upper levels¹³. P.R. Putsentejlo emphasizes on the synergistic effect, assuming that the competitive advantages of the industry as a subject of mezzanine level do not only combine the strengths of firms and the external macroeconomic environment, but also enhance them¹⁴. On this basis, we believe that the competitive development of economic activity in the region will depend on the competitive development of enterprises in a particular industry and will be one of the components of the region economy competitiveness as a whole.

Competitiveness is a complex phenomenon that has its own specific meaning depending on the level at which it is examined and investigated. In addition, it should be noted that the interconnectedness of levels is due to the fact that each lower level is a component of a higher level. Therefore, we have reason to argue that providing competitiveness at the lower level contributes in part to the competitiveness at the higher level. Competitive enterprises are contributing to the competitiveness of the region, and in turn, to the competitiveness of the country. Therefore, in order to reach the maximum level of competitiveness of the country, it is necessary to maximize the efforts of increasing the competitiveness at all previous levels.

2. Factors of competitive development in the regional dimension

Today, along with globalization processes, processes of regionalization are being actively pursued, which is often seen as a stage

¹³ Демченко А. А., Кузбожьев Э. Н. Управление конкурентоспособностью предприятий отраслевого комплекса: моногр. Курск, 2002.

¹⁴ Пуцентейло П. Р. Конкурентоспроможний розвиток галузі тваринництва як найвищий рівень прояву конкуренції. *Інноваційна економіка*, 2014. № 3. С. 55–61.

and response to globalization processes¹⁵. Kurakov V. defines regionalization as the development, strengthening of economic, political and other ties between regions or states within one region; the emergence of regional associations of states¹⁶.

This approach points to the multifaceted notion of “region”, which may encompass the administrative units of an individual country, country by itself, or the totality thereof. In view of this and the diversification of ties configuration between regions in modern international relations, increasing attention was paid to the competitive development ensuring of the regions themselves. When the processes of powers decentralization, and the levers of management and development are transferred to the regional level, the subjects of economic activity of a particular region should take care of their current economic problems and prospects.

In today's environment, only competitive entities can provide active management in the region, thereby maintaining their competitive position in the market and improving the position of the region and the country as a whole. Each region, on the basis of natural, economic and other advantages, has priority types of economic activity, at the expense of which it can increase the level of its development. Within one work, it is difficult to consider several sectors of the economy and the factors that determine competitiveness at the regional level. For example, we have selected the forestry sector, which is of strategic importance both in the European Union and in Ukraine, according to the economic, environmental and social components of its development. Forests are an important part of the national wealth of states and regions. It is a favorable ecological, healthy environment of human activity and a source of raw materials for economic development. By-products are valuable both for meeting human needs (nutrition, treatment), and for supporting production processes (food, medicine, etc.).

¹⁵ Дергачев В.А. *Геоэкономический словарь-справочник*. Одесса, 2004. – URL: <http://politike.ru/dictionary/973>

¹⁶ *Экономика и право: словарь-справочник* / Л.П. Кураков, В.Л. Кураков, А.Л. Кураков. Москва, 2004. 1288 с. – URL: <http://www.twirpx.com/file/1539752>

The competitive development of forestry is influenced by a number of general and special factors. Factor is the driving force or condition of any process or phenomenon. D.A. Panasenko defines a factor as the set of conditions by which one or another process is carried out, one result or another is ensured¹⁷. Factors often mean the parameters, the nature and effectiveness of economic processes depends on, and which determine the quantity and quality of the manufactured economic product¹⁸.

Scientists separately define the concept of competitive factors. In this regard, S.M. Bondarenko and V.I. Bokiyy argue that competitive factors are the driving force that shapes and determines the nature of competitiveness¹⁹. L.A. Zaytseva summarizes that the competitive factor is the driving force acquired in the effective economic processes, which allows to stand in competition²⁰.

The basis of forest management is the activity of forestry enterprises, therefore, among the factors of competitive development of the forest industry factors of enterprises competitiveness should be considered.

As A. Marenych and I. Astakhov point out, competitiveness as a complex characteristic of the activity of enterprises is based on the analysis of various aspects of production and economic activity (production potential, labor resources, availability of materials, financial results of activities, etc.), and allows to identify companies strengths in competition, find ways to achieve an advantage over competitors²¹.

¹⁷ Панасенко Д. А. Системний підхід до показників конкурентоспроможності. *Формування ринкових відносин в Україні*, 2008. № 3(82). С. 19–24.

¹⁸ Жовновач Р. І. Системний підхід до управління конкурентоспроможністю підприємства. – URL : www.nbu.gov.ua/portal/natural/npkntu_e/2010_18_1/stat.../50.pdf.

¹⁹ Бондаренко С. М., Бокій В. І. Про механізм формування конкурентоспроможності продукції промислового підприємства. *Економіст*, 2001. № 9. С. 58–59.

²⁰ Зайцева Л. О. Класифікація факторів конкурентоспроможності підприємства. – URL: <http://dspace.luguniv.edu.ua/jspui/bitstream/123456789/525/1/zaitseva%201%2012%20052012.pdf>

²¹ Маренич А., Астахова І. Управление конкурентоспособностью предприятия. *Бизнес-Информ*, 1996. № 5. С. 23-27.

Scientists often include the factors of the internal economy organization, as well as those formed in the external environment of their activity, as components of the analysis of enterprises competitive development. A.H. Bydyk, believes that the competitiveness of an enterprise is determined by the resource potential, the results of economic activity, the financial and economic state of enterprises²². On the other hand, competitiveness depends on the market in which the company operates. D.V. Malashchuk believes that in order to compete successfully in the domestic and foreign markets, businesses need to have such “competitive arguments” as: tax legislation aimed at stimulating business activity, production productivity, reducing capital cost, developing productive forces, infrastructure, technical and technological instruments, business information support and other means of exporter support²³.

From the above competitive advantages it is evident that D.V. Malashchuk includes to them both those which depend on the enterprise itself, and those which depend on the environment in which the enterprises operate. The degree of influence of the environment on the internal organization of the enterprise depends on the functioning of the market, which in turn depends on the well-being of consumers and their solvency, i.e. demand, market capacity, including the scientific and technological achievements, which contribute to diversification of commodity positions and growth offers in terms of quantity and quality, as well as the creation of an appropriate entrepreneurial environment in the region and the country as a whole (opportunities to enter the market, favorable conditions for starting own business, tax policy and others). The influence of the external environment is determined by the potential of the internal organization of work of the business structure to withstand this influence, which is governed by the leadership and management qualification, financial potential of the entity, opportunities for

²² Бидик А.Г. Підвищення конкурентоспроможності аграрного виробництва. *Економіка АПК*, 2003. № 6. С. 115-121.

²³ Малащук Д.В. Пріоритетні заходи щодо забезпечення конкурентоспроможності економіки України. *Актуальні проблеми економіки*, 2005. № 1 (43). С. 22-31.

innovation (Innovation is represented as the ability to update itself, as internal organizational processes of restructuring by the criteria: rhythm, adaptability, minimal cost)²⁴, the effectiveness of the strategic vision of economic development in perspective. According to Yu.F. Yaroshenko, the system of the enterprise competitiveness increasing should include a subsystem providing adaptation to environmental conditions, which is expressed in such concept as adaptability (Adaptability of the organization is the property of adaptation, a form of relations between the enterprise and the external environment, as a process of organizational restructuring)²⁵, the subsystem of providing flexibility of management structure and production system, subsystem of ensuring of the effective enterprise and the market potential utilization, which are interdependent and at the same time are relatively autonomous. Therefore, the better the internal environment of the enterprise is organized, the easier it adapts to the “challenges” of the external environment and functions more successfully.

The criteria for competitive development are also determined in the world practice, focusing more on the external environment, and they include the enhancement of technological advantages, the increase of innovative advantages, the development of benefits under the influence of globalization.

Summarizing the different approaches, it should be noted that the opinions of scientists are divided: some emphasize on the provision of resources, the level of the production process cost, the organization of the business structure activity and its management, others – on the environment in which the enterprise operates. We have summarized the views of scientists in the competitive development of enterprises researching and ensuring in Figure 2.

²⁴ Хамазіна Т.О. Розвиток підприємницької організації в конкурентному середовищі. *Держава та регіони. Серія: Економіка та підприємництво*, 2005. № 1. С. 305-311; с. 306-307.

²⁵ Ярошенко Ю.Ф. Формування організаційно-економічного механізму підвищення конкурентоспроможності підприємства : автореф. дис. ... канд.екон.наук : 08.06.01. Харків, 2001. 19 с.

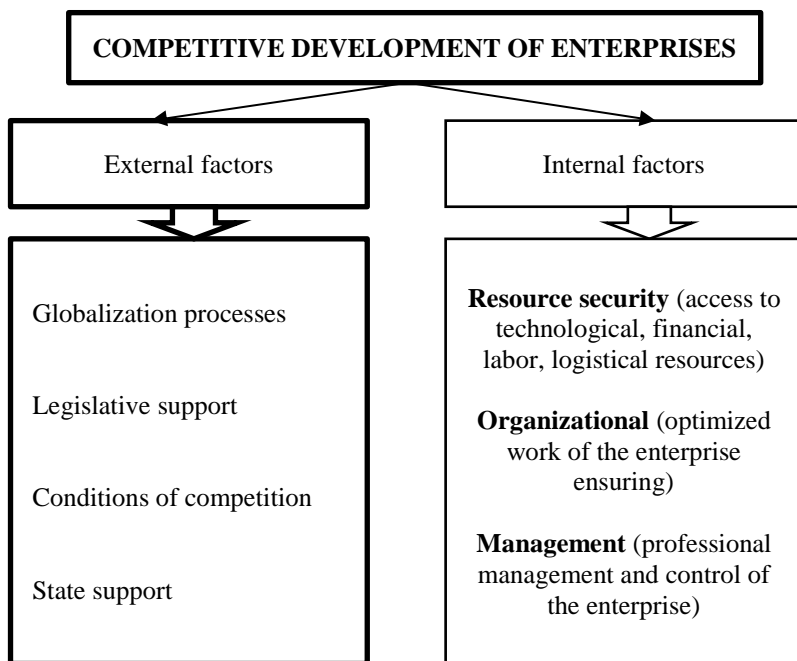


Figure 2. Factors for the competitive development of enterprises ensuring

Competitiveness factors shown in Figure 2 are common to different sectors of the economy, while in the forest industry, competitive enterprise development should be adjusted to the rational use of forest resources, taking into account the conservation and restoration conditions of the forest fund of the region and the country as a whole.

T.I. Posvyatenko notes that at the enterprise level the following factors contribute to competitive development ensuring:

- resource factor (physical consumption of resources per unit of finished product – feedback from partial and overall performance indicators);
- price factor (level and dynamics of prices for all used production resources and finished products);

– “environmental factor” (economic policy of the state and the level of its influence on the market counterparty)²⁶.

The factors influencing the competitiveness of an enterprise research makes possible to determine which of them increase it. Arthur A. Thompson, Jr. and A. Strickland among “factors of the company success”, focusing on the internal component, determine the following: quality and characteristics of products, reputation (image), production capacity, use of technology, dealer network and distribution opportunities, innovative capabilities, financial resources, costs compared to competitors, customer service²⁷.

The classification of the factors influencing the competitiveness of enterprises is also made by B.M. Kurganska. By the scope she divides them into internal and external, by the form of influence – direct and indirect, by the nature of the action – on economic, political, organizational etc.¹²

Under the factor of enterprise competitiveness M.M. Halelyuk offers to understand the factors of the internal and external environment of an enterprise that affect its ability to increase competitiveness in a particular market²⁸. He classifies them according to different classification characteristics, namely: the level of influence (microeconomic, macroeconomic), the nature of manifestation (explicit, hidden), the possibility of prediction (random, regular), the nature of influence (negative, positive, neutral), the possibility of measuring impact (non-measuring, low-measuring, measuring), dynamic of action (static, dynamic), period of influence (discrete, continuous), degree of complexity (single, complex), scale of distribution (general, specific), controllability (managed, poorly managed, unmanaged). According to the medium of influence M.M. Halelyuk distinguishes internal and

²⁶ Посвятенко Т.І. Фактори конкурентоспроможності суб'єктів на товарних ринках. *Держава та регіони. Серія: Економіка та підприємництво*, 2005. № 4. С. 202–206.

²⁷ Томпсон-мл. Артур А., Стрикленд, А.Дж. Стратегический менеджмент: концепции и ситуации для анализа /12-е изд., пер. с англ. Москва, 2003. 928 с.

²⁸ Галелюк М.М. Чинники та стратегії конкурентоспроможності машинобудівних підприємств : автореф. дис. ... канд.екон.наук : 08.00.04. Львів, 2010. 28 с.

external factors of enterprise competitiveness. External factors are important, but internal factors should not be overlooked. Even the most favorable external factors will not be able to provide highly efficient development, if ineffective internal organization of activity takes place. M.M. Haleluk divides external factors into two groups according to the direction of their action, namely, direct and indirect factors²⁸. The factors of direct action include the level of competition in the industry, the capacity of the main competitors, the level and peculiarities of demand, the availability and competitiveness of suppliers, availability of resources, legal regulations in the country. Indirect factors include climatic conditions, geographical location of the country, regions, tax and interest rates in the country, socio-cultural, demographic circumstances, national standardization and certification system, state support for business, peculiarities of economic management of the country, industry, region, political events in the country, openness of society and markets, quality of information support, level of integration in the country and within the world community.

V. Martsyn as external factors determines ones that company can not change and should perceive them as something invariable²⁹. In other words, these are the factors that an enterprise needs to adapt to its operations, optimizing costs and benefits, maximizing its competitive advantage in these circumstances. According to V. Martsyn, external factors include the following:

- *activity of state power structures* (fiscal and monetary policy, legislation);

- *economic conjuncture*. It includes the conjuncture of commodity and material markets, labor markets, means of production markets, financial resources markets;

- *development of the main supporting industries* (development of new technologies (resource-saving, deep processing technologies), new

²⁹ Марцин В. Умови виникнення та показники оцінки факторів, що формують конкурентоспроможність підприємства. – URL: http://www.anvou.org.ua/academy/herald_info/visnyk_61_5_08/visnyk_61_5_08_98-113.pdf.

materials and energy sources, their introduction into production increases the scientific and production potential of the enterprise);

– *demand parameters* (growth of demand for goods produced by the enterprise, its stability, consolidation of market position)²⁹.

In our opinion, the division of factors that influence the activity of the enterprise and its competitive development into external and internal is debatable. On the one hand, there are internal factors that determine the internal organization of the enterprise, and external factors that affect its operation from the outside. And from the point of view of foreign economic activity conducting by the enterprise, external ones may be those acting on the foreign market in relation to the national market, and internal ones may be those factors that take place directly in the national market in which the enterprise operates.

Thus, when analyzing export-oriented enterprises, external factors that affect the export activity of enterprises in the conquest of global industry markets are often identified. These are: the dependence on the global market conditions, aggressive competition policy, limited demand for products, insufficient solvency of key consumers from underdeveloped countries, and the global economic crisis. Internal factors, according to N.O. Filipova, are: insufficient budget financing, bureaucratic system of export control, depreciation of fixed assets, poor legal regulation, rigid tax policy, outflow and aging of personnel, lack of state support, a small share of closed-loop production³⁰.

It is important to note that the factors are general (which affect all components of the enterprise's operating environment) and specific (which affect the competitive environment of a particular industry or region). Given the limited coverage of factors affecting forestry activity in the literature, we consider it appropriate to divide them into state-level and regional-level influence factors. The first should include the following:

³⁰ Філіпова, Н.О. Розвиток експортної діяльності високотехнологічних підприємств в умовах загострення конкуренції : автореф. дис. ... канд.екон.наук : 08.00.04. Запоріжжя, 2008. 20 с.

- legislative – creation of a legislative framework that forms the conditions and regulates the implementation of forestry activities;
- economic – the economic situation in the state directly affects the implementation of commercial activities in general and forestry in particular;
- political – in the aspect of forest policy, taking liberalization or protectionist measures to develop forestry activities;
- institutional – creation of institutional support for the implementation of forestry activities;
- demographic – demographic situation in the countries and regions is a factor affecting the consumption of timber and by-products and to a lesser extent the employment in forestry;
- technical and technological factor – the level of development of this sphere in the state influences the technical and technological support of the branches of economy;
- socio-cultural factor – understanding of the role of forestry from the economic, ecological and social point of view in terms of cultural, mental and regional characteristics of the population and their willingness to participate in the conservation of the forest as a natural wealth.

This list of factors is suggested to be complemented by other factors affecting forestry and emerging at the regional level, namely:

- structure of the regional economy – the share of the industry in the regional economic system creates the preconditions for its development;
- historical – is a factor formed during the period of development of the industry and determines its peculiarities in the region;
- environmental – these are the components of the environment that determine the development of forestry in the region;
- geographical – location of the region influences the formation of economic relations in forest industry with foreign partners;
- logistic – promotes the formation of communication channels between forestry entities within the region and country;

– clustering factor – a factor of competitive development of forestry in the region through the creation of forestry clusters.

Specific factors determining the development of forestry include:- natural factor, which presupposes the location of forest resources in the territory, dependence on which determines the length of the production of wood period, and the production itself requires a specific material and technical base;- technical and technological factor, world and national level of development of wood processing technologies;

– human factor that determines the specific conditions of life and development of the rural population, which is the main provider of labor resources for forestry³¹.

The natural factor is of particular importance in forestry, which contains both the provision of forest resources in a whole and the type of dominant breed in the forest fund of the enterprise. That is, forestry, which is in an area with large reserves of forest resources that are of higher quality and value, will have better starting conditions for ensuring its competitive development. Although the availability of resources alone does not ensure the high efficiency of the enterprise activity.

If the company wants to support its development and reach the expansion of markets, it must, according to H.M. Skudar, constantly take care to add to the set of activities new ones and to stop in time those which no longer meet the strategic goals and new orientations³². Similarly, when it comes to the factors of competitiveness of an enterprise, it is necessary to focus on those that increase it and level out those that reduce. Indeed, factors can be both positive and a negative, that is, a risk effect that is specific for the forest industry and especially manifested in it, as negative processes of a natural character (winds, forest fires, illegal deforestation, which result as natural losses and economic losses), imperfection of mechanisms of organization of forestry

³¹ Овчарук В. В. Аналіз конкурентоспроможності лісгосподарських підприємств Хмельницької області. *Науковий вісник НЛТУ України*, 2008. № 18.9. С. 239–243.

³² Скудар Г.М. Організаційно-економічний механізм управління конкурентоспроможністю підприємства : автореф. дис. ... докт.екон.наук : 08.02.03. Донецьк, 2000. 40 с.

activities, conflicts of interest of socio-economic nature (enterprises seek to maximize their profits, but must act in the conditions of regional forest resources conservation for the benefit of the population). Therefore, forestry should maximize the impact of incentives (those that have a positive impact on the activity of the enterprise) and minimize the effect of disincentives (which impede the process of increasing the competitiveness of the forestry enterprise).

CONCLUSIONS

In the revitalization period of globalization, regionalization and integration processes, the concept of competitiveness with regard to macro, mezzanine and micro levels of economic entities activity is updated. Competitiveness is an economic category that reflects the subject's ability to compete. Higher levels of competitiveness provide stronger competitive positions in the market in which the business is conducted.

Competitiveness is a multifaceted and hierarchical phenomenon. Competitive entities of one level make a contribution to the competitiveness of another higher level. A feature of the regional dimension of competitiveness is that it depends on the competitiveness of industries, enterprises and goods, and contributes to the level of competitiveness of the country. It is important to investigate the factors that exert their influence at different levels. There are a large number of them. They are divided into several groups just at the regional level in the forestry sector. Among the factors that determine the development of forestry in the context of regional development, it is advisable to consider both factors that affect the competitive development of forestry enterprises, including a group of internal and external factors, and factors affecting forestry in the region formed at the national and regional levels. This approach allows for a comprehensive analysis of the forestry activities development, the identification of complexities and the development of appropriate tools to achieve the goals.

SUMMARY

The main theoretical approaches to defining the concept of competitiveness have been considered by the author. Attention has been paid to the importance of this economic category in the current conditions of the world economic environment transformation and the formation of a new paradigm of competitive development. Competitiveness implies the presence of strong, stable positions in the market and should be understood as the ability of a competitive entity to generate profits, maximize them and invest in their future development. The levels of competitiveness research have been analyzed by the author. The role of the region in the modern world economic environment has been considered. The factors of competitive development of enterprises on the example of the forest industry have been defined. The forestry industry has been selected in view of its importance in the context of current areas of ecological, economic and social development.

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Information about the author:

Tsalan M. I.,

Candidate of Economic Sciences, Associate Professor,

Uzhhorod National University

14, Universytetska str, Uzhhorod, 88000, Ukraine

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