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INTEGRACJA GRUP PREKARYJNYCH W PROCESACH SPOŁECZNO-POLITYCZNYCH W WARUNKACH WSPÓŁCZESNYCH DEMOKRACJI

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Adnotacja. Ujawniono treść i fokus poszukiwań naukowców i polityków w zakresie integracji grup prekaryjnych z procesami społeczno-politycznymi. Ustalono, że zjawisko prekaryzacji i utraty tożsamości klasowej w warunkach pierwszej ćwierci XXI wieku jest obiektywną konsekwencją rozwoju cywilizacyjnego i zmiany systemów technologicznych. Na podstawie uogólnień udowodniono, że aktywizacja procesów prekaryzacji politycznej jako długoterminowy trend kształtuje w społeczeństwie żądanie przekształcenia instytucjonalnej matrycy epoki przemysłowej i utworzenia systemu nowych stosunków społecznych społeczeństwa postindustrialnego. Należy zauważyć, że biorąc pod uwagę perspektywę zwiększenia liczby prekaryjnych grup politycznych, poszukiwanie skutecznych mechanizmów ich integracji z procesami społeczno-politycznymi odbywa się teraz zarówno za pomocą narzędzi współczesnych demokracji, jak i ich politycznych alternatyw.

Perspektywy dalszych badań są postrzegane w ujawnieniu udanych przypadków państw o stabilnych demokracjach w znalezieniu odpowiedniej odpowiedzi politycznej na problem dalszej intensyfikacji procesów prekaryzacji i żądania zabezpieczenia społecznego przez coraz większą część populacji o niestabilnej działalności zawodowej.

Słowa kluczowe: precariat, nowoczesna demokracja, polityka alter, transformacja, grupy polityczne.

INTEGRATION OF PRECARIOUS GROUPS INTO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROCESSES UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF MODERN DEMOCRACIES

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Abstract. The content and focus of scientific and political researches for the integration of precarious groups into social and political processes have been revealed in the article. It has been determined that the phenomenon of instability and loss of class identity in the conditions of the first quarter of the 21st century is an objective consequence of civilizational development and changes in technological systems. On the basis of generalizations, it has been proved that the activation of the processes of political vulnerability as a long-term trend forms demand in society for the transformation of institutional matrix of the industrial era and the formation of a system of new social relations of the post-industrial society. Taking into account the prospects of increasing number of precarious political groups, the search for effective mechanisms for their integration into social and political processes should be carried out both through the tools of established modern democracies and their political alternatives.

Prospects for further research can be seen within the disclosure of successful cases of states with stable democracies through finding relevant political response onto the problem of further intensification of vulnerability processes and the demand for social security for an ever-increasing part of the population with unstable professional activity.

Key words: precariat, modern democracy, alter-politics, transformation, political groups.

ІНТЕГРАЦІЯ ПРЕКАРНИХ ГРУП В СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПРОЦЕСИ В УМОВАХ СУЧАСНИХ ДЕМОКРАТІЙ

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Анотація. Розкрито зміст та фокус пошуків науковців та політиків щодо інтеграції прекарних груп в суспільно-політичні процеси. Визначено, що феномен прекаризації та втрата класової ідентичності в умовах першої чверті XXI століття є об'єктивним наслідком цивілізаційного розвитку та зміни технологічних укладів. На основі

узагальнень доведено, що активізація процесів політичної прекарізації як довгостроковий тренд формує запит у суспільстві на трансформацію інституційної матриці індустріальної епохи та формування системи нових суспільних відносин постіндустріального суспільства. Зазначено, що ураховуючи перспективи збільшення чисельності прекарних політичних груп, пошук ефективних механізмів їх інтеграції в суспільно-політичні процеси наразі здійснюється як через інструментарій сучасних демократій, так і їх політичні альтернативи.

Перспективи подальших досліджень вбачаються в розкритті успішних кейсів держав із сталими демократіями у знаходженні релевантної політичної відповіді на проблему подальшої інтенсифікації процесів прекарізації та запиту на соціальне забезпечення все більшої частки населення із нестабільною професійною діяльністю.

Ключові слова: прекаріат, сучасна демократія, альтер-політика, трансформація, політичні групи.

Introduction. The modern stage of development, which either countries of the world vanguard or countries of the periphery are currently experiencing, is characterized by the break in technological eras. The industrial model is inferior to the post-industrial model, which is still often called digital. This leads to changes not only within the economy, but also in the politics and social life of the states. In particular, the structure of employers' demand for professions is changing systematically, and the share of so-called structural unemployment is increasing, employment and income prospects for existing work force and those just entering working age are becoming increasingly shaky and unpredictable. Within the social structure, the share of stuffs whose class identity is being eroded, as well as confidence in the future, is soaring. The issue under consideration is quite about the processes of class marginalization and precarization of some part of the population. The phenomenon of precariousness creates new challenges for political parties in view of the rapid erosion of the traditional social base on their electoral field. More and more actively in the conditions of the 21st century, experts and politicians point out to the formation and expansion of a new class, not just like social group, the precariat (from the English precarious – "unstable", "vulnerable" and work force – "proletariat"). The scale of precariousness is to continue growing, and active steps are needed to integrate new layers of the population into social and political processes. After all, this is an issue of social stability in society, and the representation of the interests of vulnerable sections of the population in politics. These aspects are extremely relevant for the countries with different levels of economic development and various political systems. Since economically developed countries are moving in the direction of technological changes, it is precisely inherent for countries with stable democracy, that the issue of political integration of precarious population groups becomes acute and needs to be resolved.

Literature review. The question of relevant political representation of the interests for the new precarious communities is still debatable both in the expert environment and among practitioners. After all, on the one hand, the existing political institutions are products of the old political system of the industrial age, so the possibility of articulating the demands of the precariat through them is limited. On the other hand, it is rather difficult for alternative types of policies, according to the opinion of some scientists (Kioupkliolis, 2021), to compete with the established system. Additional difficulties in their spread have a whole set of restraining factors, either internal or external, in particular, the preservation of stable positions of the neoliberal tradition on the level of state management and in politics.

The analysis of the specialized scientific literature on the relevant direction has proved that the focus of research reflecting investigations for political mechanisms of marginalized strata integration into the social and political life of states like Norway, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Poland, Spain, Great Britain, etc. has been both directed through established political institutions and new ones, which are just forming and being related to several aspects, which are as follows:

- on the one hand, the request to reduce social tension and destabilization, because the number of precarious groups in developed democracies has a constant trend of growth;
- on the other hand, by assessing new opportunities for political parties and movements (Mershon, 2021; Bal-lafkih, etc., 2017; Schulten & Müller, 2019; Ilsøe, Larsen & Felbo-Kolding, 2017; O'Reilly, Nazio & Roche, 2014; Emmenegger, Marx & Schraff, 2017).

The determination of the potential and effectiveness of the existing institutional and political matrix for expressing demands of marginalized communities, in particular the precariat, are raised in the work "Understanding labor politics in an age of precarity" (Lazar & Sanchez, 2019). In addition, it is enlightened in the scientific work "Anti-elite parties and political inequality: How challenges to the political mainstream reduce income gaps in internal efficacy" (Marx&Nguyen, 2018).

Despite a wide range of research and in-depth analysis, issues on the ability of established political institutions and systems, especially in states with mature democracies, to respond relevantly on the latest challenges.

Main part. The purpose of the research is to reveal the conditions, possibilities and mechanisms of involvement of new precarious groups into the social and political life of modern democracies.

Materials and methods. To achieve the goal of scientific research, general theoretical and specific research methods were used, in particular descriptive, systemic, structural and functional. The deductive method was used to substantiate the findings of the study.

Results of the research and their discussion. Our analysis over a number of scientific publications allows us to point to the following aspects of the integration of marginalized groups into political life and social processes:

- identification of relationships between social and economic status of a person and his/her personal political activity, recognition of the special role of the social state policy for the political integration of marginalized communities (Shore, 2020);

- assessment of the institutional capacity of the state and its sectoral policies to timely form effective mechanisms to support marginalized strata in conditions of COVID-19 (Mershon, 2021; Daud, 2021);
- problems of identification and permanent monitoring for political and social needs of marginalized strata and groups, implementation within social and political processes (Wallerstein, etc., 2019).

Thus, in the work "How social policy impacts inequalities in political efficacy" an important and urgent question is raised concerning mechanisms of achieving political efficacy in conditions of social turbulence and, accordingly, political disorientation (Shore, 2020). At the same time, it is proposed to define political effectiveness as a subjective feeling that a person can effectively participate in politics, and that his personal contribution is worth it. Moreover, the author claims that political effectiveness should be considered an important prerequisite for an individual's political activity, primarily when voting as the mechanism of will expression. An interesting emphasis should be noted further more: in addition to individual resources influencing the political activity of marginalized communities, there is increasing evidence that the social policy of the state to ensure access to public goods can influence the deepening of inequality amidst political effectiveness.

In their turn, some researchers (Marx & Nguyen, 2018) prove that focusing attention on political efficiency can be the most relevant approach to reveal the way for some social and economic status of a person, and primarily at the level of precarious political groups, is able to influence political activity. Although the relationship between education, well-being, professional activity and participation in elections is quite understandable, unambiguous and unveiled. The focus of attention on issues of political effectiveness may give, according to the above-mentioned researchers, a clearer picture of the causal and consequential chain, which links resources and participation in political processes.

Scientists (Emmenegger, Marx & Schraff, 2017) also emphasize on the importance of the content, algorithm, and form of implementation of bureaucratic interactions offered by state institutions regarding marginalized strata and groups. It is argued that their readiness for political integration, as well as previous experience of successful professional activity, depends on state policy, procedural actions that mediate the communication of state institutions with precarious strata that count on help. In particular, basing on the analysis of cases on the labor market in states with stable democracies, the conclusion is formulated as follows: young people with their history of unemployment, who currently in the USA and in most EU countries make up a significant share of the precarious community, are not only prone to the risk of economic isolation, but also are more likely to experience greater political marginalization than people whose career paths have had successful experiences. In addition, cooperation with public services can be of particular importance for young people's political effectiveness, as it can be their first independent experience of communicating with a state institution.

The described approaches allow us to put forward the hypothesis that the personal life cycle of an individual must be taken into account when developing a strategy to activate the participation of precarious groups in political processes. The readiness of an individual is significantly differentiated with regard to age, which, in its turn, is a factor influencing the psychological subjective perception of unemployment as a practice of social exclusion. Those resources (status, economic benefits, self-awareness, etc.) to which the employed one primarily have access to, actually influence a person's political activity, mainly in adolescence and early adulthood, but not in later life.

Thus, ignoring the stages of the life cycle leads to underestimation of the consequences of unemployment for young workers and overestimation of them for older workers. The use of panel data on the German labor market allowed us to justify the thesis that unemployment definitely suppresses the growth of political interest in early adulthood, but actually does not affect it at later stages of life. The early experience of unemployment has extremely destructive consequences not only for individuals, but also for society and significantly reduces the level of political interest and activity in political processes in the long term.

In our opinion, the analysis of Norwegian researchers (Mershon, 2021) regarding the mechanisms of political integration of marginalized and precarious groups from the standpoint of the influence of exogenous factors is interesting. The issue of political integration is primarily related to the necessity for development of differentiated strategy for a marginalized group, which, in its turn, depends on two factors. Firstly, from the activity of competition between political elites, and secondly, the potential of the group to act as a center of the elite.

Let us pay attention to one more debatable point in determining the political potential of the precariat. By far the dominant view is that the precariat as a class is not yet identifiable, the views and interests of its representatives are too diverse. This means that the political potential is low. To some extent, other views are alternative to the general statement about the political passivity of marginalized groups (Lazar & Sanchez, 2019). Contrary to the dominant approaches regarding the passivity of the precariat due to its weak class identification and lack of experience in articulating its own interests, they assume that workers who are included in the list of precarious groups are not always politically inert. Moreover, professional activity and employment format are not defining attributes of political identity. This means that the precariat cannot be identified as a certain amorphous formation, existing at the stage of its formation only. Researchers argue that practice already demonstrates a number of convincing ways of collective organization of people to improve the conditions of informal work: from traditional trade unions and cooperatives to certain professional associations. Undoubtedly, they all influence politics as an institution of power in different ways and understand the political potential of the precariat in different ways. At the same time, in their opinion, in any case, the decades-long practice of protecting the interests of employees should not be neglected, but it makes sense to apply it in the future as well, taking into account the growing scale and influence of the informal economy, for which the processes of turbulence and precariousness will become permanent.

Although the institutional matrix of the new age remains only at the stage of its formation, a number of existing political parties and movements are trying to use the political potential of the newly marginalized communities by attracting them under own political slogans and values. The Ukrainian scientist A. Shulika, in particular, points this out. He notes "...political consequences of exclusion from the labor market... reflected in the revival of populist political movements, as well as ultra-left and ultra-right parties in Europe and the world" (Shulika, 2019: 53).

Considerable skepticism regarding the possibilities and expediency of integrating precarious communities into the political transformational system of the post-industrial economy is presented in the work of A. Foti, a representative and one of the founders of Italian activism. (Foti, 2017). "Radicalization of imperialist structures", the renaissance of right-wing nationalism as a response to the financial crisis of 2008 in order to preserve political and economic control by the ruling political elites, A. Foti considers it as not a solution to urgent problems, but a postponement of the opportunity to do so. At the same time, A. Foti is increasingly expressing ideas that seem, especially from the perspective of the concept of radical activism, to be at least innovative. As a hypothetical model, A. Foti calls the possibility of effective interaction between political actors (social movements) and institutions (the state), on the one hand, and methods of economic organization (various paradigms, which the scientist puts on to discussion throughout the book), on the other one.

However, in what way does A. Foti assess political potential of the precariat? Does he relate the prospects of strengthening its role through social and political processes of the new post-industrial era? It can be affirmed that A. Foti is to some extent disappointed by the weak activity of precarious communities to regain their own positions. Moreover, according to him, "...the precariat lost some of its anarchist and communist purity as for experimenting with forms of radical democracy based on popular mobilization and voter harmony" (Foti, 2017 : 112).

In his book, A. Foti stands in solidarity with other radical democrats like E. Laclau and S. Mouffe, who have recently attracted attention in Italy. Many of his points resonate with the book titled "For Left-wing Populism" (Mouffe, 2018), where the formula of "the people against the establishment" is being the axis through which the left can radicalize democracy in order to offer more welfare.

For A. Foti, whose work reflects the search for a balance between autonomism, Marxism, and the concept of European integration, this view of the growing role of the precariat is an important step. He admits that the left as a political force needs new tools to restore its appeal at the international level. Growing precarious groups can become such an object of enlargement of their own expansion. However, whether populism is the solution or the problem is currently an open question taking into account A. Foti's own political past and the way "populist moment" causes disagreements among social movements.

The search for relevant strategies on the involvement of precarious communities in political processes requires an objective picture of their requests, needs and interests. Thus, in particular, the generalization of the research results in the work "Power dynamics in community-based participatory research is a multiple-case study analysis of partnering contexts, histories, and practices", conducted by the team of authors (Wallerstein, etc., 2019). That made it possible to demonstrate the need to create algorithm for the attention strengthening process of the state through the tools of social policy as for the problems of precarious groups. This can be achieved through several consecutive steps:

- to identify numerous ethnic, racial and other marginalized groups in order to ensure adequate social assistance in the field of health care and to determine their specificities;
- determine the causes of inequality in access to medical services in order to eliminate drawbacks and ensure quality.

At the same time, despite its applied value, which consisted in finding answers to the optimization of technologies for the implementation of the state social policy within the chosen field, in particular medical sphere, the research itself also demonstrated the likelihood of certain cognitive traps. They are not intentional, but there can be achieved absolutely opposite results, namely, the reproduction and reinforcement of stigma and power imbalance.

The course of recent events, in particular COVID-19, has demonstrated around the world a new and stronger demand for a more active role of the state through various policy instruments, in particular in the field of health and social security, especially from side of the precarious, the most vulnerable strata that do not have proper protection system. Moreover, according to experts' assessments, it is worth expecting yet some political consequences of COVID-19, which may have long-term manifestations and go beyond the duration of the pandemic. Some of them like in "From COVID-19 to the end of neoliberalism" look quite courageous. Due to ineffectiveness of the political concept of neoliberalism, which has demonstrated helplessness and vulnerability to global challenges, it is going to be replaced by a political model where the role and intervention of the state is significantly greater. Therefore, the author concludes that under such circumstances, the only possibility to preserve political status quo of modern elites was to demonstrate at least temporary concessions. "...It has been already quite quickly, from ideological point of view, that all those neoliberal proclamations regarding the imperative of "rigid budget economy" and the limitation of state policy were forgotten. Neoliberals of all sorts have successfully reverted to "half-raw Keynesianism" to preserve their position, as they usually do when the economy collapses: no one is currently charmed by negative externalities or purl sides of the "free market". In the conditions of economic necessity, the intervention of the state is criticized only for that it has not yet done (Saad-Filho, 2020:478).

The orientation of the old political institutions to ensure the predictability of social and economic development in states with stable democracy under the pressure of the latest challenges, even somewhat migrating off ideological

paradigms established for decades, indicates the fact that dominant elites are striving to maintain their positions, even at the expense of ideological corrections.

The opposite approach, which distances itself as much as possible from the current governmental and traditional activism in the spirit of the Italian left, is the latest democratic so-called "alter-politics". It breaks all ties with stated political traditions and approaches and identifies itself as supporting openness, diversity, assemblage-based democracy, process-mindedness, egalitarianism, prefiguration, work in everyday life alongside mass mobilization and engagement with institutions to make changes. Many researchers, depending on the upward views, perceive its content and orientations in different ways. Despite rather noticeable differences, in common for them is to have understanding that exceptionally alter-politics should come to replace the established institutions neglecting transitional changes and processes that are currently experienced by mature democratic societies of the post-industrial era.

The origins and rise of this "different politics", or "alter-politics", if we use the term popularized by the anthropologist G. Hage, can be attributed to the 90's of the 20th century on the background of the global expansion of neoliberal governance (Hage, 2015). Mass movements, citizens' initiatives and new civic platforms, such as those of the "new municipalism" in Spain (since early 2015), have demanded new models of politics. They compete with current, centralized and "ideological" forms of political activity, which often influence public policy of government or party. Such "alternative politics" from below also departs from the typical forms of contemporary Italian activism and opposition, which are inclined to protest and demand against the traditional state; or they are locked into isolated communities. Proponents of other kinds of policies consider the weakness of typical activism to be its demonstrative aversion to important tools of political activity, such as aversion to the formation of structures and organizations, majoritarian activities, and strategy development.

There are "global" (global and local) connections and "dismemberment of inherited historical dilemmas" lying at the heart of alter politics (Lynd & Grubačić, 2008:157), such as reform or revolution, organization or spontaneity, capture of state/power or exit/complete autonomy from the state, opposition or proposal. Dogmatic and rigid antitheses have been replaced by new compositions.

Democratic alter-politics implements, according to Romand Coles, "far-sighted pragmatism", which should combine: (a) foreign policy and protests; (b) cooperation with established institutions to solve urgent problems (debt, health crisis, precarious situation of migrants, etc.), (c) long-term strategies for transforming society as a whole, which create the infrastructure of another world (Coles, 2016).

The alter-politics under consideration, according to the conclusion of a well-known researcher on issues of radical democracy, public welfare, social movements and philosophy of freedom (Kioupiolis, 2021), is the desire to find powerful democratic response to political crises and impasses of real "exhaustion" of liberal democracy and the rise of oligarchy, as well as climate crisis, patriarchal violence, rising nationalism and xenophobia, restrictions and growing inequality.

The so-called creative "other" politics, having been defined by Chris Dixon, "combines prefiguration is the establishment of new social relations and politics here and now with mass actions, the desire to build large-scale organizations, sustainable movements and counter-institutions that act strategically for systemic change. Its pragmatic compromises and failures, experiments, various tactics and strategic plans are contextual responses to the predicament on that visionary aspirations are going to be effectively translated into reality in the coming months and years based on specific diagnosis of specific circumstances" (Dixon, 2014:115).

Conclusions and prospects for further exploration. The analysis of the content and focus of searches regarding the potential of integration of precarious groups into social and political processes allows us to reach certain generalizations.

First, the phenomenon of precarization and loss of class identification is an objective consequence of civilizational development in terms of the transition from simpler to more complex models of social and economic reproduction. Second, the activation of precarization processes as a long-term trend is being the demand in society for the transformation of industrial era institutional matrix and the formation of a new social relations and connections of the post-industrial society system. Third, taking into account the prospects of increasing number of precarious political groups, there is urgent shift on finding effective mechanisms for the integration of marginalized communities and strata into the social and political processes of modern states, in particular those ones with sustainable democracy. Prospects for further research can be seen through the disclosure of successful cases of states with stable democracies in finding relevant political response to the problem of further intensification of precarization processes and the demand for social security for an ever-increasing share of the population with unstable professional activity.

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