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POLITYKA SPOŁECZNA UKRAINY: CECHY FORMOWANIA W WARUNKACH NIESTABILNOŚCI

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Adnotacje. W artykule podjęto analizę problemu kształtowania polityki społecznej na Ukrainie. Konkretną definicją takiej polityki jest zwykle model państwa, który koreluje z jego typowymi cechami utrwalonymi w Konstytucji, podstawowymi zasadami funkcjonowania i systemem wartości ukształtowanym w społeczeństwie. Utworzenie takiego modelu wymaga stabilności. Ukraina natomiast jest państwem przejściowym, niestabilnym, w którym trwa proces przechodzenia od państwa typu sowieckiego do nowoczesnego państwa europejskiego. Jest to podsyćane utrzymywaniem się diametralnie przeciwstawnych poglądów na perspektywy rozwoju państwowości ukraińskiej, co nie pozwala na jednoznaczne przestrzeganie realizacji typu państwa ukraińskiego zapisanego w Konstytucji Ukrainy i utrudnia określenie podstawowych podejść w politykę społeczną państwa. Poważnym sprawdzianem na tej drodze stała się agresja militarna Rosji, która dotknęła wszystkie aspekty życia społecznego. W polityce doprowadziło to do «wędrowania» pomiędzy różnymi koncepcjami ideologicznymi rozwoju Ukrainy (liberalną, nieideologiczną, ukraińskocentryczną, autorytarną), które odpowiadają różnym typom państw o odmiennych zasadach polityki społecznej. A to stanowi przeszkodę w wypracowaniu jasnego modelu tego na współczesnej Ukrainie.

Słowa kluczowe: polityka społeczna, model polityki społecznej, społeczeństwo niestabilne, libertarianizm, centryzm ukraiński, państwo urzędniczo-prezydenckie, autorytaryzm.

SOCIAL POLICY OF UKRAINE: FEATURES OF FORMATION IN CONDITIONS OF INSTABILITY

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Abstract. The article analyzes the problem of social policy formation in Ukraine. The concrete definition of such a policy is usually the model of the state, which correlates with its typical features fixed in the Constitution, the basic principles of functioning and the system of values formed in society. The formation of such a model requires stability. Ukraine, on the other hand, is a transitional, unstable state in which the process of transition from the Soviet type of state to a modern European state is ongoing. It is fueled by the preservation of diametrically opposed views on the prospects for the development of Ukrainian statehood, which does not allow to clearly adhere to the implementation of the type of Ukrainian state laid down in the Constitution of Ukraine and hinders the definition of basic approaches to the social policy of the state. Russia's military aggression, which affected all aspects of social life, became a serious test on this

path. In politics, this led to «wandering» between different ideological concepts of Ukraine's development (liberal, non-ideological, Ukrainian-centric, authoritarian), which correspond to different types of states with different principles of social policy. And this represents an obstacle to the development of a clear model of it in modern Ukraine.

Key words: social policy, model of social policy, unstable society, libertarianism, Ukrainian centrism, office-presidential state, authoritarianism.

СОЦІАЛЬНА ПОЛІТИКА УКРАЇНИ: ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ФОРМУВАННЯ В УМОВАХ НЕСТАБІЛЬНОСТІ

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Анотація. У статті аналізується проблема формування соціальної політики в Україні. Конкретним визначенням такої політики звичайно виступає модель держави, котра корелює із закріпленими в Конституції її типовими ознаками, базовими принципами функціонування та сформованою в суспільстві системою цінностей. Формування такої моделі потребує стабільності. Україна ж є перехідною, нестабільною державою, в якій триває процес переходу від радянського типу держави до сучасної європейської. Його підживлює збереження діаметрально протилежних поглядів на перспективи розвитку української державності, що не дозволяє чітко дотримуватися реалізації закладеного в Конституції України типу української держави і заважає визначенню базових підходів щодо соціальної політики держави. Серйозним випробуванням на цьому шляху стала військова агресія Росії, яка вплинула на всі аспекти суспільного життя. В політиці це призвело до «блукання» між різними ідеологічними концепціями розвитку України (ліберальної, безідеологічної, україно-центричної, авторитарної), що відповідають різним типам держав з різними принципами соціальної політики. А це представляє перешкоду на шляху розробки чіткої її моделі в сучасній Україні.

Ключові слова: соціальна політика, модель соціальної політики, нестабільне суспільство, лібертаріанство, український центризм, офісно-президентська держава, авторитаризм.

Introduction. The problem of developing a model of social policy in Ukraine is one of the key aspects of internal state policy, designed not only to ensure the appropriate social standards of life of citizens provided for by the Constitution of Ukraine, but also to help minimize the prerequisites for the emergence of internal social contradictions and ensure a state of stability in society. This problem becomes particularly acute during periods of crisis in society, when the conditions of society's existence change radically, the entire system of social relations is transformed, which requires new and theoretical-methodological approaches, and normative-legislative regulators, and practical organizational-management solutions. For Ukraine, which actually became the object of a targeted armed attack by Russia from 2014, to which was added the massive epidemic of COVID-19, and the attack itself grew to a full-scale military invasion of Russian troops from February 2022, the choice of a model of social policy has become extremely relevant.

It is no coincidence that the problem of developing a model of social policy in Ukraine that meets the challenges of the time is in the center of attention of a significant number of domestic scientists. Various aspects of this problem were reflected in their works, including: foreign, in particular, European experience of social policy formation in the conditions of various models of social states (T. Tokarskyi, I. Zherybylo, M. Okladna, Kh. Yakymenko, 2015); peculiarities of Ukraine's orientation towards the European experience of social policy (M. Mnykh, 2015, I. Bondarchuk, 2017); the connection between social policy and the social state model (D. Skovronskyi, 2016, O. Kushnirenko, 2017, O. Kucherenko, 2019); searching for ways to finance the social sphere (Z. Gontar, 2021); analysis of the main conceptual foundations of social policy in modern Ukraine (L. Pavlova, 2015, S. Kudlayenko, 2018); the issue of improving the social insurance system (L. Prystupa, 2017, O. Lobova, 2017, O. Kryvytska, 2017); social consequences of the COVID-2019 pandemic (L. Males, Y. Saveliev, O. Borovsky, 2021); mechanisms of employers' investment in social policy and prevention by the state of negative consequences for social policy of the spontaneity of the market in the conditions of market relations (T. I. Bogdanova, 2018); the ratio of economic and social development (V. Medyanyk, 2021); analysis of the features of existing models of social policy (A. Mykhnenko, V. Namchuk, 2017) and others.

Taking into account the need to form a social policy model in the context of Ukraine's European integration choice, attention is drawn to problematic issues arising on the way to the implementation of social policy in the EU: the influx of migrants, which increases the burden on the social sphere and creates a danger for the preservation of the national, cultural and religious identity of European peoples; constant growth of the number of pensioners, which already exceeds the number of the working population; a large number of unemployed, especially among young people; an increase in the tax burden, which forces many to hide taxes; political and social instability, permanent economic crises, etc. (O.Shymko, T.Kvasha).

One of the important aspects of the process of choosing the most effective form of social policy for any state, in our opinion, is the state of its stability, due not least to the clear functioning of its defined and constitutionally fixed typical features, which contain not only a set of basic values, inherent in this society, but also the basic principles of social policy corresponding to them, as well as provide mechanisms for its implementation.

Therefore, **the purpose** of this article is to determine the problem of the formation of the social policy of the state in the conditions of instability of Ukrainian society, which significantly increased during the active phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

The task is to show the problematic nature of choosing a model of social policy against the background of the peculiarities of the state-building process observed in Ukraine today.

Presentation of the main research material. Social policy is the most important social mechanism for the transformation of society. The purpose of social policy is to regulate relations between society and individual social entities, communities, and social groups. It is designed to resolve contradictions between the interests of various subjects, between the current and prospective interests of society.

Social policy is a component of the state's internal policy. It is aimed at ensuring the well-being of citizens by providing them with the opportunity to obtain the necessary material, cultural and spiritual benefits, which acts as a guarantor of maintaining internal social stability in the state. The social policy of the state reflects the basic value priorities on which the state-building process is based, in particular in the political (type of political system), economic (type of economic system), legal (level of personal freedom), social (the role of the humanistic component), spiritual and cultural (orientation towards educational level) etc. areas. And at the same time, the social policy of the state is an indicator of the effectiveness of the latter's functioning.

So, in each specific case, social policy always depends on historical, socio-cultural and economic conditions, and is also determined by a specific type of socio-political system of the state, its ideological, spiritual principles, features of the historical stage experienced (Бутник, 2018) and is fixed in a certain model of it. The latter may have common features with the models of a separate group of states that coincide in terms of value-orientation indicators, but at the same time retain significant national-specific differences, due to which such indicators are refracted. Europe is a clear example of this.

In the scientific literature and official documents, such a concept as the «European social model» is actively used today, which is based on the most common values for European countries, and the achievement of which can generally be considered significant successes in many areas of social development of these countries, in particular: raising the level employment, strengthening social protection of an individual and overcoming poverty. Although the nomenclature of tasks for solving social problems here is much broader: development of a common social policy strategy for all member states of the European Union; strengthening sectoral, regional and local approaches to solving social and environmental problems; promoting social dialogue and strengthening partnerships at various levels with the aim of improving work organization systems; improvement of social protection systems; prevention of social risks, including expansion of opportunities for inclusion of citizens in public life to promote social cohesion of citizens; ensuring universal access of citizens to basic social services; strengthening the role of civil society in the implementation of the social policy of the state; achieving gender equality in all spheres of life; identification of common problems arising in social policy and development of mechanisms for overcoming them, etc. (Токарський, 2017).

However, in reality there is not one, but several models of social policy that correspond to the specifics of national European states. Traditionally, they include Anglo-Saxon (Great Britain, Ireland), continental (Austria, Belgium, Germany, France, Switzerland), southern European (Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal) and Scandinavian (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, Netherlands).

The differences between them are determined by many factors: attitude to property and social inequality (social differentiation); sources of funding of social programs; the role of the state in the distribution and redistribution of income; degree of involvement in social programs of the private sector and public organizations; ratio in the implementation of social policy of the state and local budgets; understanding the essence of social guarantees; features of the insurance policy; sources of formation of insurance funds and their place in the social protection of citizens; among categories of citizens in need of social protection; priorities in social assistance to certain population groups; instead of social guarantees in social support; availability of targeted social programs; the level of social protection; attitude to the content of the concept of «solidarity»; peculiarities of taxation systems, etc. (O. Shimko, O. Kvasha) (Шимко, Кваша, 2021).

Social policy in Ukraine is considered one of the priority directions of the state's internal policy and has a clear orientation to the example of European countries. This determines the search vector for the appropriate model of the social policy of our state.

At the same time, for Ukraine, the problem of choosing the most effective model of social policy is not only extremely relevant, but at the same time quite difficult. So, on the one hand, we have chosen the European system

of values, which include the basic approaches to choosing a political system for the organization of society. Indeed, the main parameters of the political model of the Ukrainian state are clearly spelled out in the Constitution of Ukraine. There, in particular, it is said that Ukraine is a sovereign and independent, democratic, social, legal state (Article 1). A person, his life and health, honor and dignity, inviolability and security are recognized in Ukraine as the highest social value... Human rights and freedoms and their guarantees determine the content and direction of the state's activities (Article 3). Ukraine is a republic. The bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power in Ukraine is the people... No one can usurp state power (Article 5). State power in Ukraine is exercised on the basis of its division into legislative, executive and judicial (Article 6). Local self-government is recognized and guaranteed in Ukraine (Article 7). The principle of the rule of law is recognized and applied in Ukraine. The Constitution of Ukraine has the highest legal force. Laws and other normative legal acts are adopted on the basis of the Constitution of Ukraine and must correspond to it... (Article 8). Social life in Ukraine is based on the principles of political, economic and ideological diversity. Censorship is prohibited. The state guarantees freedom of political activity, which is not prohibited by the Constitution and laws of Ukraine (Article 15) (Конституція України, 2021). That is, we are talking about Ukraine, which, according to the Constitution, is oriented towards a European-style state. It is not by chance that the basic documents devoted to the prospects of the economic and social development of Ukraine emphasize that the European choice of Ukraine primarily involves the creation of conditions for realizing the social potential of a person, bringing our country closer to the norms and standards of a developed democracy, civil society, a socially oriented market economy, social security, human rights and freedoms, improvement of well-being, implementation of the principle of social justice, formation of a high level of social and legal culture (Токарський, 2017). So, ideally, the Ukrainian model of social policy should clearly correlate with the European principles of solving social problems.

However, today, as noted in numerous studies of this problem, there is no clearly defined model of social policy in Ukraine, and the form in which it exists conflicts with the goals of post-crisis modernization of the economy and society. The inertia of adaptation mechanisms contributes to the spread of poverty, which leads to the reproduction of the costly nature of the social support system. Moreover, our country does not even have a single law that would define the purpose, principles and basic principles of social policy (О. Вутник) (Бутник, 2018). It is not by chance that social policy in Ukraine is characterized by inconsistency, imprudence, and most importantly, a lack of orientation towards maintaining high standards of living of the population.

And here the second side of the mentioned problem plays an important role – the content of real socio-political processes in Ukraine, which characterize the implementation into practice of the parameters of the socio-political system of the country declared in the Constitution. It is about the fact that Ukraine is by definition a transitional state, remaining so throughout the entire post-Soviet period – that is, from 1991 to the present day. In this case, transition is understood as the process of transforming a truly socialist society into a capitalist-democratic one. Transitivity is often defined through the concept of transitivity, where transit is an interval between two different political regimes, it is the process of entry of the Ukrainian post-communist society into the global capitalist system of Western liberal democracy (В. Буден) (Буден, 2015). Transitivity is a manifestation of the incompleteness of the process, resulting in socio-political instability in the state.

Such a trend clearly demonstrates the presence of diametrically opposed positions in Ukrainian society regarding the understanding of the basic principles of the development of Ukrainian statehood – their organic connection either with the European value system or with the modernized Soviet system (which is actually oligarchic), and without an obvious advantage of one of the parties. Such a split also exists at the level of the Ukrainian political elite, part of which is organically connected with the previous Communist Party system and represents the interests of large Ukrainian capital, the nature of which is firmly based on Russian raw material and industrial sources, and at other levels of the social structure of Ukrainian society.

One of the indicators of such a confrontation can be considered the lack of consistency in the implementation of a clear state development policy in accordance with the norms of the Constitution, which can be traced, in particular, due to the lack of heredity during the transfer of power from one political leader together with his political entourage to another. Social revolutions in Ukraine can be considered the most dramatic manifestations of such an internal value split in the state.

In fact, even if we do not take into account the First (On the Granite, October 1990), which happened on the eve of the collapse of the USSR, the Second (Pomarancheva, October 2004) and the Third (Gidnosti, November 2013 – February 2014). The revolutions, on the one hand, confirmed the fact of social instability in the state due to social conflict based on divergent value priorities, but on the other hand, they demonstrated the desire of the most creative part of Ukrainian society to defend the country's course to join the European system of values as the most perfect for comprehensive human development and achieving social stability in society. The war that was launched by the Russian Federation against Ukraine in 2014 and led to the temporary occupation of Crimea and part of Donbas is the support of internal pro-Russian forces in the country by the external, most reactionary political entity – Russia – for the final consolidation of the value system of imperial Russian peace on the territory of Ukraine (Шурхало, 2021).

If we talk about the legal and legal component of such a confrontation, it is a constant effort at the level of the Parliament to make appropriate amendments to the existing Constitution of Ukraine. Moreover, it is not only about the changes that were made in accordance with the laws (Боровик, 2020). Systematic violations of the Constitution by the President of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and the Cabinet of Ministers have become commonplace for us. In fact, the most important document for a democratic country in Ukraine has turned into a formality,

which gives reason to talk about the prerequisites for the formation of legal nihilism and the usurpation of power. In this regard, it is possible to single out a number of essential reasons that underlie the mentioned phenomenon and manifest themselves in different ways in different power structures. For officials, it is, firstly, the fact that each government tries to expand its own powers and does it in an unconstitutional way (this was observed in the parliaments of almost all convocations); secondly, it is beneficial for the government to have loyal officials in key positions and to fire disloyal ones, because loyal and controlled officials are the key to maintaining power; thirdly, despite the desire to concentrate power, no one wants to take responsibility for their actions. The president is resorting to violation of the Constitution, arguing for the need for more prompt and effective adoption and implementation of important decisions for the country (in his opinion), overcoming rather complex mechanisms provided by the Law, which slow down the process of achieving the goal (O. Savychuk) (Савичук, 2021).

Against this background, the mismatch between the declared aspirations and the actual actions of both the authorities as a whole and those responsible for certain areas of work of the administrative and management structures has become quite natural. Moreover, it has become a common phenomenon to avoid punishment for making erroneous or even purposefully harmful decisions that affect all components of state policy, playing a destructive role in relation to the social state and political stability in the country.

It seemed that the aggression of the northern neighbor should give impetus to the political forces in Ukraine regarding the clear choice of those value priorities that determine the constitutionally fixed course of reforms in the state. However, the tragic experience was not finally taken into account. In 2019, representatives of the political force «Servant of the People» came to power in the presidential elections in a completely democratic way with very vague ideological preferences, which, moreover, changed significantly over a certain period. This became an indicator of the uncertainty of the authorities regarding the final adoption of the model of the political organization of the state with corresponding consequences for all components of its policy, including the social one.

Initially, the political leaders of the new government declared an orientation to the principles of libertarianism, which was based on «a liberal model of the economy, a liberal model of relations with the corresponding national characteristics» (Стефанчук, 2019). In the detailed platform of the ideology of the ruling party, it was noted that in its activities it is guided by the national interests of Ukraine, relies on the opinion and will of the Ukrainian people, relies on science, expert conclusions and common sense. It concentrates not on seductive slogans and ideological clichés, but on specific cases – which allow us to make positive changes in cities, villages, regions and the country as a whole every day. In a more concrete form, its principles were recorded as follows: market economy and economic freedom for business, local self-government and decentralization, true democracy and political dialogue, free and responsible media, diversity of opinions and positions, fight against corruption and lies, cessation of war and return peace, real people's rule, renewal of the country's political elite, movement towards Europe, respect for the historical and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, and patriotism – how to create a better future together. And the final creed: neither to the left nor to the right – only forward and up! (Ідеологія партії СН, 2019).

By the way, during the war, respect for liberal values increased in Ukrainian society: a strong commitment to individualism and freedom as the main principles of life; treating people's lives as the highest value; tendency to decentralize power, trying to take responsibility in critical situations into one's own hands. This reflected a clear tendency to replace the outdated totalitarian-post-Soviet system of values with a neoliberal one. An important feature of this process was the attempt to get rid of the shortcomings of classical liberalism, which carried the consequences of imperial thinking. For this purpose, postmodern features, postcolonial resistance were partially used – their adaptation to overcome cultural traumas and use to rid Ukrainians of the colonial inferiority complex (Отрешко, 2022).

In reality, the opposite was observed – pressure on economic freedom and freedom of speech, avoidance of political dialogue, persecution of the opposition, an increase in the income gap between the government and the people, which was also reflected in social policy. This indicated the departure of the authorities from the declared pre-election political platform. It is quite natural that in less than a year, the government abandoned libertarianism and liberalism with socialism. The opinion was expressed that it is not worth «resting on ideology» at all, because it can hinder the construction of the party's structure (D. Rozumkov). But still, the party members agreed on the need to follow the «third way», which for the pro-presidential party became the niche of centrism in its specific expression – «Ukrainian centrism», or «active centrism», which denies political extremes and radicalism, while remaining creative. Therefore, in order to build a society of wealthy people and depending on the specific sphere of politics, the government representatives should act as nationalists, liberals, socialists, libertarians, humanists or statesmen (O. Kornienko) (Голубов, 2020). However, this does not clarify the situation with the choice of social policy model.

The next stage of ideological search was the year 2021, when the leaders of the «Servant of the People» got acquainted with Xi Jinping's ideas on socialism with the Chinese specificity of the new era in his program book «Xi Jinping on Public Administration» and the practical experience of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) in managing the economy. and development of the state with all components of state policy (D. Arahamiya) (Арахамія, 2021). Such interest had an objective basis to some extent – COVID-19, and later a full-scale war with the Russian Federation, are extremely serious tests for the state, which, as world experience shows, often requires a greater concentration of power in one hand to adopt quick and often unpopular solutions capable of ensuring the most effective functioning of all components of state administration and preserving the physical existence of this state.

In any case, as reality shows, certain components of such experience have already become quite noticeable. This was manifested, in particular, in the fact that «we actually have two forms of government at the same time: presidential and office-presidential. Thus, noting the fact of extreme concentration of power in the hands of the president,

some admit that now the form of government in Ukraine is similar to a presidential monarchy, when formally we have both a government and a parliament, but they are completely dependent on the will of the president (O. Kornienko) (Заболотна, 2023). At the same time, in addition to the official presidential power, somewhere on the side there is the power of the presidential office, which is not prescribed anywhere and by anyone. And this is a very real power to which the entire executive vertical is forced to obey. «The head of the office, advisers, middle-ranking officials from the OP have more power today than ministers and governors. Councilors, i.e. people who do not formally bear any responsibility for their actions, often determine the foreign policy course of the state, give imperative orders to the executive power, conduct important negotiations, manage votes and entire factions of the parliament, the entire Verkhovna Rada in general» (Офісно-президентська республіка, 2023).

It is no accident, according to some experts, that in Ukraine today, contrary to the current Constitution, the model of an «office-presidential» state with a «manual» parliament, or a «new oligarchy» is being reproduced in Ukraine, which is an «oligarchy (mafia) of the bureaucracy» with total control over all spheres of public life, but primarily over the economy, law enforcement and security systems (Paul Starobin) (Старобін, 2023). As evidenced by reality, this created favorable conditions for the growth of corruption, which «eats away» the entire system of social relations and negatively affects the quality of life of citizens.

The essence of the new corruption model is that here a high-level official actually turns into an oligarch himself and manages the relevant structures, the consequences of which are personal (and those around him) enrichment. Based on this, we can talk about the presence in the management system of all the signs of the mafia with the corresponding consequences. It is indicative that this system becomes sacral, and any attempts to express critical remarks about it are interpreted by the authorities as «playing along with enemy propaganda» (Старобін, 2023).

So, we are talking about the attractiveness for state building of an already authoritarian system of political government and a command form of economic management. The latter, by the way, is characterized by the dictates of the Communist Party, the submissiveness of the people, the lack of ownership of land, etc. And also – lack of concern for the environment, weak social policy, birth control, low exchange rate of the national currency, an extremely high share of GDP that goes to savings – what, according to analysts, promises problems for the Chinese economy in the future.

The movement towards such a model inevitably involves the collapse of democracy. The factors of such collapse usually include: populism as a political position and style of rhetoric, economic inequality and social discontent, personalism, weakening of political institutions, violation of individual rights and freedom of thought, which call into question the effectiveness and stability of democratic systems (O. Tkach) (Ткач, 2021). And as a result – ineffective representation of citizens' interests, low level of political participation outside of voting, abuse of laws by state officials, elections with uncertain legitimacy, low level of public trust in state institutions and ineffective institutional indicators of the state, deformation of the principle of justice, etc. And another feature of the initiators of the «new oligarchy» model is their mental and value-worldview kinship with the Russian-Soviet regime, which determines their style of behavior and management style (Старобін, 2023), and the way of solving social problems.

It is clear that such an approach categorically does not coincide with the principles of Ukraine's internal policy, enshrined in the basic state-forming documents. And it also contributes to the inefficiency of social policy. And here one of the first problematic issues is the financing of the social sphere in conditions of falling GDP, which is caused, on the one hand, by the massive destruction of economic objects by Russia, but on the other hand, by miscalculations in economic policy. This forced Ukraine to live in debt for the first two years of the great war (2022, 2023). The state received all kinds of aid worth tens of billions of dollars (B. Davidenko) (Давиденко, 2023). It is no coincidence that the main source of social policy implementation for the near future is financial aid, primarily from the EU and the USA (S. Marchenko) (Марченко, 2023). At the same time, it is claimed that there is a risk of delayed payments to certain social categories (Yu. Sviridenko) (Свіриденко, 2023). However, it is known that in the case of a significant deterioration of the financial and economic situation, the introduction of martial law, the country can in a certain way redistribute its own expenses in order to maintain a balance between personal and public interests, but the mechanisms of such redistribution are largely determined by the model of the political system.

At the same time, it must be recognized that the implementation of the social policy of the state in this difficult historical period for Ukraine takes place against the background of active searches by scientists and practitioners for mechanisms to solve its most acute problems and to find the most relevant model. Such attempts are officially based on the principles of the European Union in accordance with the Preamble of the Constitution of Ukraine and other legal acts that confirm the European identity of the Ukrainian people and the irreversibility of Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic course. At the same time, attempts are made to take into account Ukrainian national features of social problems caused by military actions on the territory of our country, their destructive consequences not only in the present, but also in the long term. Among the most urgent problems are: the need to develop new conceptual approaches to the formation and implementation of social policy, the implementation of completely new standards and approaches in public administration (V. Medyanuk) (Медяник, 2021); the perspective of applying the symbiosis of liberalism and social orientation, which will allow overcoming the problematic issues of social and market transformation, including fueling the process of forming a rational system of social protection of the population through the use of social shock absorbers (S. Wegera) (Верепа, 2011); the need for maximum focus on the main principles of the European Union's activity in the field of social policy: increasing the amount of pension payments, improving the social sphere on the basis of digitalization, social assistance to the poor, ensuring the unhindered participation of all members of society in the life of communities (T. Grenj) (Грень, 2022); comprehensive support

for internally displaced persons (IDPs) through simplified registration, financing assistance to IDPs and provision of shelters where possible; application of e-government to coordinate charity and support various initiatives; balancing fiscal constraints and supporting war-affected populations, focusing on existing social protection programs and income-based assistance (Інститут економічних досліджень та політичних консультацій, 2023) etc. Among the specific Ukrainian social problems, it should be noted: the sluggishness of political and economic reforms, the imperfection of the pension system, state social standards, increasing differentiation of society, the problem of population migration, catastrophic demographic prospects, low employment and the mass nature of unemployment, poverty, homelessness, etc.

The same can be said about legislative and legal provision of social policy. Thus, only in the last period have a number of important documents appeared that touch on various aspects of social policy: On the decision of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine dated May 14, 2021 «On the Strategy of Human Development»: Decree of the President of Ukraine dated June 2, 2021 No. 225/2021; Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine «On the peculiarities of payment and delivery of pensions, cash benefits for the period of martial law» dated February 26, 2022 No. 162; Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine «Some issues of payment of housing allowance to internally displaced persons» dated March 20, 2022 No. 332; Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine «On approval of the Procedure for compensation of costs for temporary accommodation (stay) of internally displaced persons» dated March 19, 2022 No. 333; The Law of Ukraine «On Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine Regarding the Provision of Social Services in the Event of a State of Emergency or Martial Law in Ukraine or Some of Its Localities» dated April 14, 2022 No. 2193-IX; Order of SMEs of Ukraine «On approval of standard information cards of administrative services in the field of social protection of the population» dated October 30, 2023 No. 413; Order of the Ministry of Health of Ukraine and the Ministry of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises of Ukraine «On approval of the Plan of measures for the return of children who are in children's homes to their families or placement in family forms of upbringing» dated December 4, 2013 No. 2051/468-H; Order No. 486 of the MSP of Ukraine dated 13.12.2023 and a number of other documents that generally specified state measures aimed at providing social assistance to citizens of Ukraine during the war.

Such measures can be considered as an important component of building a modern model of social policy, which, taking into account both European and domestic principles and standards, would make it possible to significantly increase the effectiveness of social policy as a whole and strengthen public trust in the state and authorities. At the same time, without the final determination of the horizons of the political system in the state and the creation of prerequisites for achieving socio-political stability in it, it is problematic to talk in such conditions about the possibility of developing and implementing a clear model of social policy in the state. After all, it is precisely from the model of the political form of government and the corresponding ideology that the following depend: the sources of funding for social policy, the understanding of the role of the state and state institutions in solving social problems, the attitude towards the extent of polarization of society according to the level of material support, the determination of priority categories of citizens in need of social protection, operational efficiency reactions to radical changes caused by the negative consequences of social catastrophes (war, natural disasters, mass epidemics), etc.

Conclusions. Social policy is the most important component of the internal policy of a state, which ensures the stability of the state and at the same time is an indicator of its functioning effectiveness. Social policy always depends on historical, social and cultural as well as economic conditions, and it is also determined by the specific type of state's social and political system, its ideological and spiritual principles, and features of its historical experience and is fixed in a certain model of social policy. Each model, despite the presence of certain basic characteristics common to a number of related states, must correspond to the national specificities of the state. Thus, within the framework of the European social model, the Anglo-Saxon, continental, southern European and Scandinavian ones are distinguished, which are determined by the differences between the states in terms of the features of their political and economic system.

In Ukraine today, the model of social policy is unformed, and social policy is characterized by inconsistency, imprudence, and the lack of orientation to support high standards of living standards of the population. This largely correlates with the state of Ukrainian society, which is characterized by permanent transience, the reverse side of which is instability.

One of the key reasons for such instability is the presence in Ukrainian society of two diametrically opposed approaches to understanding the basic principles of building Ukrainian statehood – either based on the European value system or the modernized Soviet (oligarchic) system. This confrontation has existed throughout the entire post-Soviet period; it covers almost all social structures and periodically takes acute forms – social revolutions. It revitalizes the process of progressive European integration shifts, which can lose the momentum and are replaced by regressive trends. As an indicator of such value fluctuations, there is a lack of heredity in the political and economic course, which often allows the authorities to violate the constitutionally fixed horizons of the political and economic type of Ukrainian state. As a result it has a negative impact on social policy, causing its uncertainty.

In this regard, the stage of development of Ukraine after 2019 became extremely dramatic, when the uncertainty of the type of state was determined by a constant change in the ideological preferences of the authorities – libertarianism with elements of socialism, rejection of any ideological system (from every bit depending on the circumstances), Ukrainian centrism (creative), an authoritarian model with a single-party political system and a controlled economy. It is clear that none of the above-mentioned ideological systems as the basis of the state system provide for different models of the political and economic organization of society. These systems do not coincide significantly

in terms of the basic principles of conducting social policy. They create problems in understanding of the sources of social policy funding, the state's and state institutions' role in solving social problems, the attitude to the scale of polarization in society according to income level, determination of priority categories of citizens in need of social protection, promptness of reaction to radical changes caused by negative consequences of political, military, economic, social nature etc.

At the same time, social policy in Ukraine remains one of the prime areas of the state's internal policy. It can be proven by active scientific, theoretical, legislative and normative activities, which are carried out within the framework of the paradigm that combines the experience of the countries of the European Union and the peculiarities of the Ukrainian national specificity of social issues. It is important that this framework makes practical steps on the way to building Ukrainian state according to European standards. Otherwise, the choice of social policy model will remain problematic.

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