

## Політико-економічний підхід до створення самокерованого суспільства в Україні

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**Анотація.** Актуальність визначення неолібералізму насамперед пов'язана з потребою суспільства у визнанні національної ідентичності, створенні конкурентоспроможного самокерованого суспільства на принципах рівності та гідності. Ліберальна демократія є найуспішнішою моделлю у державотворчому процесі, однак у часи розквіту корупції та нерівномірного розподілу влади, так звана «ліберальна демократія» стикається із неоліберальною кризою. На сучасному етапі економіки виникає низка проблем, серед яких концентрація капіталу в природних олігополіях і корпоративний контроль стають фактично невіршуваними. Мета статті – проаналізувати політичні передумови трансформації українського суспільства, визначити можливості переходу від ізольованих монолітів олігополій до екосистеми модульної економіки, яка базується на малих або середніх конкурентоспроможних гнучких підприємствах, що є сприятливими для громади. Відповідно до цього відбувається розвиток самокерованого суспільства, яке здатне аналізувати політико-економічну ситуацію та отримати вигоду з глобально доступних можливостей. У статті були використані аналітичний та історичний методи, за допомогою яких проаналізовано перебіг історичних геополітичних подій, зокрема передумови виникнення ліберальної демократії в Україні за радянських часів. У результаті дослідження визначено концептуальну модель саморегульованого суспільства та його основні характеристики. Було розглянуто напрями розвитку економіки країни за допомогою взаємозв'язку систем бізнесу й освіти, що є передумовою економічної стабільності

**Ключові слова:** підприємство, національна ідентичність, неолібералізм, економічна система країни, ліберальна демократія

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# Political and Economic Approach to the Creation of Self-Governing Society in Ukraine

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(Received: 23.09.2020, Revised: 21.10.2020, Accepted: 20.11.2020)

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**Abstract.** The relevance of the definition of neoliberalism is primarily related to the need of society to recognise national identity, create a competitive self-governing society based on the principles of equality and dignity. Liberal democracy is the most successful model in the state-building process, but at a time of flourishing corruption and uneven distribution of power, the so-called “liberal democracy” is facing a neoliberal crisis. At the present stage of the economy, numerous issues arise, among which the concentration of capital in natural oligopolies and corporate control become virtually unsolvable. The purpose of this study is to analyse the political prerequisites for the transformation of Ukrainian society, to determine the possibilities of transition from isolated monoliths of oligopolies to an eco-system of a modular economy based on small or medium-sized competitive flexible enterprises that are favourable for society. In accordance with this, a self-governing society is developing, which is capable of analysing the political and economic situation and benefit from globally available opportunities. This study uses analytical and historical methods that analyse the course of historical geopolitical events, namely the preconditions for the emergence of liberal democracy in Ukraine during the Soviet era. As a result, this paper provides the conceptual model of a self-regulating society and determines its main characteristics. The authors also considered the development vectors of the country's economy through the interrelation of business and education systems, which is a prerequisite for economic stability

**Keywords:** enterprise, national identity, neoliberalism, economic system of the country, liberal democracy

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## Introduction

Ukraine is at the epicentre of geostrategic problems and not only because of the country's geopolitical location, but mainly because it raises issues that are relevant to all liberal democracies in the world, which are concerned about the consequences of neoliberal politics. Even with the high risk that Ukraine may eventually return to systemic corruption, there is also hope to see the current neoliberal system transform into a new self-governing society that can solve the country's security and employment issues. However, it is better to start this study with the events that took place in Ukraine almost six years ago, from the Revolution of Dignity.

Before the Revolution of Dignity, Ukraine had almost 300 years of strong close relations with Russia, but not such as in most other states that were frankly

not interested in being under the Moscow dictatorship. Ukraine was the key partner in all Moscow's affairs, and until recently, many key, vital, and strategic Russian production resources were situated in Ukraine. Therefore, the split was much more painful than expected. But why did it happen? Six years ago, Ukraine decided to follow the Eurocentric path. Interestingly, there were no leaders organising the Revolution; it happened almost spontaneously. The Ukrainian people suddenly and unexpectedly realised that they were different from the neighbouring Russians. The difference was in the nature of people, in the understanding that they can stand up for themselves not only as Ukrainians fighting for political change, but also as individuals who have rediscovered their dignity.

## Suggested Citation:

Svirgis, Ž.R. (2020). Political and economic approach to the creation of self-governing society in Ukraine. *Scientific Bulletin of Mukachevo State University. Series "Economics"*, 7(2), 50-65.

Although the memory of poverty and self-doubt has not disappeared, the struggle for human dignity is changing the political and economic environment in this region. In other words, the Ukrainian revolution is based not only on economic or political reasons; this revolution is essential because of the recognition of the Ukrainian nation as a community of self-governing people capable of thriving in the modern world. The author of this study very well remembers the struggle to become worthy citizens of Lithuania, which almost 30 years ago led the Singing Revolution against the Soviet Union. Ukrainians have once again proved that the influence of a militarised despotic force on historical events in the world is decreasing and cannot stop the voice of people if they decide to change the country.

Ukraine has begun extremely intensive transformations and reconstruction of the country at all levels. The country's infrastructure is being updated with such intensity that it seems that in the past there was not even a precedent for such immense positive changes. Opportunities to reform the educational, economic, political, and other systems were long awaited after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Before the Maidan uprising, Ukraine was ruled by a central autocratic puppet government that depended on instructions from Moscow. These instructions were based on the idea that a person's true needs are much simpler than they are thought to be, and people only experience poverty when it turns out that their neighbour is living better. Thus, an autocratic, dictatorial regime cynically exploits this and keeps the population trapped inside the country's borders. Even today, only a small percentage of Russian residents can afford to get a foreign passport that allows them to leave the country. Furthermore, strict internet censorship and the spread of propaganda create apocalyptic stories about supposedly Western decadence, turning the autocrat into a saviour, master of the people and the nation. The exploitation of such a despotic regime kept Ukraine in backwardness, corruption, and kleptocracy. However, the population of the country understood that this could not continue and that all their difficulties had been overcome. They understood that their problems arose because of bad human decisions, but human decisions could change if the Ukrainian people fought for their dignity. Therefore, this does not refer to nationalism directed against Russians, as is sometimes

promoted in the media. This aspect should be covered in more detail.

Nationalism promoted top-down must be separated from the individual recognition of national dignity that originated in a bottom-up manner. Nationalism is a political tool designed to replace the true national identity and dignity of the individual with a political attitude that is hostile, chauvinistic, and offensive to other nations or countries. Autocratic politics uses nationalism as a tool to promote the rise to power and use one community of people against others. Viktor Orban in Hungary, Vladimir Putin in Russia, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Turkey, Marine Le Pen in France, and many other populist leaders use the nationalism argument to manipulate people's feelings and exploit them as a political tool. After all, nationalism makes society limited and weak. This is almost the opposite of true national dignity. The situation in Ukraine is quite different. National dignity and independence in Ukraine have grown from the grassroots levels, from the united initiative of the active people of the country, without a clearly defined leader.

National identity is naturally formed at the bottom and goes up; this must be recognised freely and without confusion. This is precisely what the Ukrainian people realised. Ukrainians have recreated their nation, not through becoming nationalists in the narrow meaning, but through regaining a bright, decent, and hard-working national character, as well as through deep national and ethnic roots in the language, customs, national cuisine, and famous attire. At the same time, modernisation processes transform not only the country's political and economic systems, but also traditional values and national identity. S. Huntington notes that many countries seek to import only modernisation and protect themselves from Westernisation [1]. This approach cannot be applied to Ukraine, as it seeks to become part of Western Europe, although not through assimilation or loss of national dignity in Westernisation processes, but rather by changing its political and economic structure and benefiting from liberal democratic reforms.

### **Analysis of the historical background of neoliberalism in Russia and Ukraine**

Why liberal democracy? Everyone knows that this political system does not guarantee that all groups of people in the country will achieve their goals. But

authoritarian politics is even worse; it goes much further, not satisfying any interests other than one – the interests of the autocrat. The main goal of an autocrat is to use power to protect the personal legitimacy, and they cannot take risks and share power with any competitor. Although it is still extremely difficult to solve all the issues, liberal democracy at least offers the possibility of a peaceful change of power from authoritarian to representative. Therefore, liberal democracy gives hope that the power of the state in Ukraine will be shared, and democratic procedures will open opportunities for positive reforms. Moreover, this is the first argument that positioned Ukraine on the path to liberal democracy. The second – an extremely high correlation between stable liberal democracies and the highest levels of economic, scientific, educational, legal development, and prosperity in the world. Democratic countries such as those in Western Europe, North America, and Japan are liberal democracies. Although, according to F. Fukuyama, who argues that liberal democracy can mean the end point of the socio-cultural evolution of humanity and become the final and best form of human rule, it appears that it is not enough just to proclaim liberal democracy to improve the national welfare and security [2]. Citizens of the country should develop a stable state, the rule of law and, most importantly, responsibility. In other words, the government should be held accountable for its decisions to independent citizens. A country's prosperity will not happen on its own; citizens must create and support this growth. Without the active involvement of citizens, even liberal democracy can become problematic.

When it comes to liberal democracies, there is a growing number of statements [3] and recognition that almost all liberal democracies in the modern world represent various forms of so-called neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is almost never clearly defined and has primarily become a term of condemnation used by critics. Neoliberalism requires the elimination of state interference in the national economy and the abolition of barriers to the free movement of goods and capital across national borders, and offers the foundations of a free market [4]. Advocates of neoliberalism have promised that this new era of carefree development will considerably improve economic performance in both developed and developing countries. Unfortunately, these promises were not fulfilled [5]. Neoliberalism has brought unexpected and devastating results, which are summed

up by the famous saying that everything the economy is doing fine, but people do not. There are no exceptions to the rule that neoliberalism generates growing inequality everywhere [6]. Historian D. Stedman [7] fairly notes that the term “neoliberalism” has become a common expression of the horrors associated with globalisation and periodic financial crises. It is widely recognised that corporations thrive at the expense of a broader community. The accumulation of private capital was concentrated in natural oligopolies, which were also places of implementation, if not always inventions, then the most productive economic innovations [5].

The disparities and deformities of communities caused by neoliberalism threaten to disrupt the very foundations of liberal democracy, since the growth of the country's economy and power does not bring prosperity and security to the citizens of this country. In other words, neoliberal politics is mostly created and supported by lobbyists representing very particular interests of certain groups of people. Many programmes are created to address the interests of a minority at the expense of the majority of society. This continues to widen the economic and political gap between the business elite and the vast majority of the population. The so-called oligarchs are trying to achieve their personal goals using the country's policies. Therefore, those with the most substantial influence on political and economic reforms at the same time make the greatest profit from them; they mostly hide under the umbrella of financial institutions, which have considerably grown in the times of the neoliberal reforms [3]. Without social responsibility, private or despotic forces have no limits to their concentration. The fundamental doctrine of neoliberalism was well expressed by A. Smith: “the vile maxim of the owners of humanity is everything for ourselves, and nothing – for others. If the masters are given free rein, then we should expect a social and economic catastrophe”. Most corporate businesses are focused on generating value, narrowly optimising short-term financial performance, and ignoring the broader impact that determines long-term benefits for society, including all initiatives to improve working conditions.

On the other hand, taking care of long-term benefits for society is also an indirect cost of the enterprise. Therefore, the price of a service or product must contain an additional value that is used to improve working conditions. However, these additional costs often make the product uncompetitive

in a market dominated by a price war. Consequently, it is becoming increasingly difficult to encourage long-lived profitable investments in an unprofitable and uncertain environment that generates destructive competition [5]. Furthermore, to the surprise of a proponent of Western neoliberal policies, the growing globalisation of markets has led to increased competition. Eastern “miracles” brought particularly fierce competition in almost all possible areas, which led to considerable economic and social tensions. Neoliberalism has changed more than just product prices. Notably, by rejecting the tradition of improving working conditions, neoliberalism has dramatically reduced social obligations. Accompanied by the growth of terrible and predatory financial institutions that only care about their survival in a competitive market, this has led to a crisis in the social sector. Instead of working for people and distributing resources evenly, corporate institutions care about concentrating these resources and investing in corporate power. Powerful economic elites, especially in the United States, survive in the market rather than serve the public interest. Thus, instead of ensuring prosperity for countries, neoliberalism brought tension, anger, and fear, accompanied by a disregard for the population and the dignity of the country's citizens. J. Crotty concludes that neoliberal theory has deep flaws in all its forms; it is a deceptive and dangerous guide to building institutions and shaping national economic policy [5]. In other words, global neoliberalism is driving the world towards a disappointing and possibly disastrous economic future.

After the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1991, Ukraine's ties with Russia remained very close in almost all areas. Both countries decided to try the neoliberalism experiment and once again demonstrated what happens if all the conditions of a free-market utopia are actually met. The analysis proved that nowhere has the neoliberal mission been more successful in destroying social and economic trends than in Russia, where President Boris Yeltsin took simplified neoliberal theory seriously and did everything possible to comply with neoliberal prescriptions. The result of the neoliberal experiment in Russia was economic destruction, unprecedented anywhere else in peacetime after World War II. In just a few years, according to official statistics, Russia's GDP and investment in new factories and equipment have plummeted [4].

The same thing happened in Ukraine. Shock therapy, in the form of a free-market policy recommended by American advisers, destroyed the economies of Russia and Ukraine and created a corrupt semi-criminal ex-communist oligarchic system united with a clan of autocratic political bureaucracy. The unbridled nature of the oligarchs in Ukraine has reduced the population to the level of almost immense poverty. The term “oligarch” refers to a post-Soviet industrial and/or financial tycoon who “controls enough resources to influence the national policy” [8]. Most retirees receive a pension of 42 euros [9], which limits their chances of survival if they do not own fruits and vegetables on their small plots of land [4].

In other words, the neoliberal reforms in post-Soviet Russia and Ukraine were extremely destructive. They pushed countries into a much broader crisis than when they were in an isolated Soviet system. These reforms have increased the number of deaths due to increased alcoholism, suicide, and homicide, infectious diseases and stress-related illnesses. Like other countries that have dared to take part in the neoliberal experiment, Russia and Ukraine are facing the incredibly devastating consequences of sharp inequality between rich and poor. Thus, the Revolution of Dignity is not only a political revolt against despotic autocrats, the manifestation of national dignity, but also an uprising of the Ukrainian population against poverty. Neoliberal reforms destroyed the conditions necessary for productive, symbiotic relations between the government and the economy, the state and the market, as well as between micro- and macroeconomic activities [5].

### **Conceptual approach to creating a self-governing society in Ukraine**

The restoration of normal conditions for safe life and recreation in the country begins with the normalisation of relations between the authorities and society. It is worth remembering that the success or failure of liberal democratic reforms in Ukraine are closely linked to such aspects of everyday life as security, employment, accessible healthcare, education, and social costs. This critical opinion should be thoroughly investigated. The intensive transformation of Ukraine began as an uprising of the country's residents, who demonstrated that they had enough gunpowder to protect their dignity. However, the country's weaknesses, especially security and poverty, cannot be identified solely by addressing the issue of dignity.

The restoration of normal living conditions and security in the country can be achieved through the restoration of educational, political, and economic foundations.

It is vital to emphasise that optimistic expectations for the activation and reform of a democratic society in Ukraine should be built not on corrupt bureaucracy and oligopolies, but on social principles that focus on equality and human dignity. Ukrainian ambassador to Canada A. Shevchenko fairly notes that there is such a danger that “having killed a dragon, you can turn into a dragon yourself” [2]. While there is no doubt that political change is rapid and irreversible, the situation is slowly changing. It is crucial to maintain the enthusiasm of society, seeking opportunities to direct it towards new progressive measures in science, politics, economics, and other areas. However, even if citizens are united and have good intentions, they often do not understand the political and macroeconomic processes. There is no trust in any new system unless it provides security, a chance of survival, and a living. Therefore, it is of paramount importance for the government to take care of improving the living conditions of people, without waiting for a better economic situation. The government should enable people to solve their personal problems. How to achieve this?

Ukraine houses many projects that plan investments to be transferred to mega-industrial and agricultural projects that strengthen the country's economy and use the potential of large corporations. However, the key project and the key potential of any country is its people. It is highly important to treat people as equal citizens, and while no country has achieved perfection on this matter, some societies are doing much better than others. If people see that they are ignored and oppressed, their hope for the future will decrease, and their contempt for political and financial institutions will increase. Therefore, it is necessary to invest in the country's residents, especially those beginning to see themselves as capable of becoming self-governing. It is important to educate those who can create jobs instead of using them, those who can create a productive and positive environment not only for themselves, but also for others. Even a small percentage of inspired and enthusiastic people can determine the well-being of a city or region.

Ukrainians have already started creating communities that independently solve their local issues,

as people take part in decision-making. Instead of an amorphous mass of people, active communities arise, which create a vision of their future and implement it. Creating local communities is a fundamental component of a good society [10]. This is especially true in Ukraine, where new leaders are trying to eliminate corruption schemes and try to change the situation. The country can solve problems faster thanks to those openly and actively involved in transformational processes, who are motivated to change living conditions. The role of such leaders and propagandists of radical reforms is to say: “Look, you can find another way out”. It is essential to support people who want to change the country for the better [11].

Ukraine already has interesting initiatives to create a society that is guided by its individual efforts. One of them was created in 2015 in Novopskov, Luhanska Oblast. The newly formed community of Novopskov can use the regional budget for its local needs [12]. Previously, only a small part of the budget was provided to residents of this region, but now the community decides for itself what to use the budget for. In the same year, the community of the area decided to eliminate the bureaucratic nomenclature, which was disproportionately large, expensive, and inefficient. Furthermore, instead of sending taxes to Kyiv, they now use these funds for local needs. The local population of the village, which had been treated as a hopeless province, changed dramatically. Now citizens are exploring their new opportunities and finding more and more of them. People there get more jobs and are motivated to improve their living environment. Chairman of the Novopskov community V. Haiev notes that the number of active citizens has increased, because they realised that they are important for society, that they can influence the quality of life and security of their district, and also realised their capabilities.

Local residents have created projects and found ways to make their city more comfortable to live in. Financial independence and the independence of local regions are crucial because thanks to the development of communications, logistics, and other infrastructures, it hardly matters where someone is located. The activities of local communities substantially contribute to the uniform distribution of decentralised development of the country, and this is vital for all post-Soviet countries. This practice of regional self-government can be transferred further onto other regions to make people capable of

stabilising the environment, ensure security, and generate employment. Furthermore, this approach, which makes communities self-governing, should be extended to other areas, such as education, politics, and economics.

People all over the world are looking for a decent, independent life. There is a strong social tendency to become independent and self-sufficient citizens without requiring the favour of the authorities or bureaucrats. They are aimed at creating jobs, not finding affordable jobs in the market. This means that those who work also create jobs and control businesses. Creating and selling something created is not equal to selling oneself. Being a co-owner and co-author means that employees care about their business as much as they care about their personal well-being. New businesses are often built not on forms of exploitation and remuneration, but on creativity and a proportional share of workers' profits. People of such self-governing teams and communities create a completely different type of society. A society of creators, discoverers, and innovators who can motivate each other and put forward ideas that previously could not be implemented. Moreover, these same people are also a society of consumers who shape the market by choosing the trends, fashion, and preferences of tomorrow. Neoliberalism with one-sided opportunities favouring rich members already competes with the so-called post-Ford business models, which are mainly used by small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

Many great businesses often literally grow out of small teams that comprise several members, without considerable investment or external support from the very beginning. A small group of people with a good idea and enough perseverance can create a technological breakthrough. Their innovations can radically transform the entire economy sector. Such teams create generally accepted solutions in many areas of human activity that can spread around the world in seconds, which not only brings high profits, but also changes the understanding of the living world. Because of their efficiency, these solutions eliminate old technology, approaches, and obsolete forms of infrastructure in an incredibly short span of time.

The abandonment of old methods is happening so quickly that even academic books and courses at many universities often lag behind the pace of technology development. However, this happens naturally,

as some developers grow faster than others. Changing the world's leading technology preferences often comes from the creativity of small or medium-sized development teams that can quickly attract attention and funds. Notably, it is no coincidence that SMEs are the backbone of the EU economy. Not only do they dominate, but they also make up over 99% of all businesses. The trend of developing small teams in the EU is also growing due to full automation of production. The number of employees who perform manual operations and transfer these operations to suppliers in lower-paid locations is constantly decreasing. EU and US employees are increasingly working on marketing and innovation, building infrastructure, testing systems, giving lectures, or contributing to retrospectives. Very often, the vast majority of enterprises take part in research processes in one way or another. Modern industry already adheres to the idea that all manual operations should be automated. Economic growth is becoming more synonymous with inventing new approaches, products, and services that are rapidly transforming into models of activity in almost all areas and are rapidly spreading around the world.

### **Modern relations between universities and business in the context of globalisation**

Even small businesses can operate globally. The constant decline in transport and communications costs has led to the realisation of the global economy on a scale greater than was possible several generations ago. The new generation of creators no longer needs to be located in one place. Conferences and meetings are being held on the Internet increasingly often. Industry should not be located in urbanised areas; it moves not only from major cities, but also to different countries or continents. New forms of division of labour and social mobilisation are becoming incredibly flexible, and team members located geographically in the most remote parts of the world can develop projects together. The main players in the new economic era are not only large corporations, but even more SMEs that can effectively generate innovative ideas. Each enterprise occupies a niche that becomes part of a much larger division of labour and characterises the global creation of new economic opportunities for other enterprises. Solving particular issues and reaching a global audience considerably increases opportunities. A stagnant and limited mentality is no longer competitive in the global market

and can only survive through corruption schemes. It goes without saying that any clandestine policy is decided in the future with open and creative approaches. Isolated corporations that do not become modular and flexible will not become competitive anytime soon. Consequently, the new opportunities of global markets that have been opened up for Ukraine, along with extensive opportunities, also bring strong competition.

It is worth emphasising that global markets are extremely saturated and require a lot from those who enter them. A high level of automation and well-designed products render the quick entry into most EU or US markets impossible. Competition in global manufacturing markets is so intense and fierce that a manufacturer without a unique product has almost no chance of survival. Profits usually account for only a small fraction of turnover, and if it is not regularly invested in innovation, it can lead to bankruptcy. The development and innovation of the company is not just the goal of the initial stage, but the key to survival in global markets. The global economy is not only about expansion across countries and continents, but also about overcoming political and economic barriers; more importantly, a global economy means a new global vision that meets the needs of every person on the planet. Therefore, the creator must keep in mind cultural diversity and different mentalities when creating products for global markets. Such groups of creators are multinational not by chance, but intentionally. Furthermore, the multi-ethnic aspect becomes a real source of creativity. Differences between members of a multicultural team create much broader opportunities to look at the same world with different eyes. Notably, such a creative work environment contributes to the enrichment of national identity and dignity, since the creative process makes everyone equal, and no nation is "bigger" than the other; each participant enriches the team with fruitful information. These team members are guided by a scientific approach based on technology, which allows them to spread ideas to the global market through the Internet, media, and mass production. Technology is becoming an important tool for generating wealth and a safe society.

In a global environment, technology is evolving so fast that the capital invested in new technologies is becoming irreversible in a shorter time than ever. The question of choosing the right technology to invest in is crucial, mainly when investing in economies

of scale entails a substantial risk of significant losses. Any investment should consider that profit rates can fall below average in a short time, and there will be no chance of exiting, except in cases of capital loss or bankruptcy. Obviously, large businesses that are unlikely to depend on a particular product or service are becoming risky in present-day rapidly changing market for many reasons. There are many stories about market leaders who have been pushed out of leading positions in a short time. For example, Kodak did not develop a digital camera and went bankrupt. Nokia has been supplanted by smartphone manufacturers, and the same is happening with petrol cars and many other outdated technologies. Even minor changes in consumer preferences can create or close certain markets; for example, taxis that have built an entire infrastructure over the years are forced to shut down due to the more convenient option of calling a taxi using the Uber app. The same happens with supermarkets that have started selling online. They have overcome such nuances as a good location and well-known popular supermarkets because they deliver purchases right to the door. One must remember that the market is unpredictable, it is a living organism that reacts to an almost infinite number of factors.

Moreover, the humanity is facing the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, which has a much broader vision of industries where processes are controlled by various innovative methods, including artificial intelligence. Fully automated industry scaling is not the future. Nowadays, there are many businesses where people simply test systems and improve them, rather than working with production and the product itself. In other words, people are increasingly working with technology and system development. Consequently, those currently enrolled in schools are unlikely to ever work in manual operation, as they are already uncompetitive. The overwhelming majority of industrial production in all sectors is already on track to be reorganised into a new industry standard. Robotics and artificial intelligence perform many functions where there are not enough people. This dramatically changes the structure of industries and the economy. This approach allows increasing production capacity incredibly quickly in almost any industrial sector, if necessary. The only real limitation is usually market demand, which is mainly related to consumer preferences, promotion, and price levels. Developing a product that meets consumer quality and price

expectations can lead to increased demand in the short term. However, it usually takes years to develop a well-known brand. Consequently, Ukraine can accelerate the reform of the old industrial infrastructure through cross-border investments in production on Ukrainian territory, which will initially be produced for non-Ukrainian brands. This approach has rapidly developed the economy of the Far East and can be successfully applied in Ukraine as well. It is currently a good time for this approach, production prices in China are rising due to rising living standards and domestic consumption. Cross-border investments would create sustainable employment and an understanding of innovative approaches for the further development of the industrial sector. However, such investments will not transpire without qualified and active specialists who are ready to introduce new technologies. The educational level is key in the era of modern technology.

The Ukrainian educational system still cannot train modern professional specialists, and this is the most critical issue, where many other problems are rooted. Although Ukraine has one of the best rates of higher education in the world, the current higher education system in Ukraine is mostly a legacy of the Soviet era. According to the newsletter of the Ministry of Education and Science (August 2015), 70% of 18-year-olds in Ukraine have entered higher education institutions. That is 1.7 million students in a country with a population of 45 million. Centralised, stagnant, and isolated Soviet education was built on hopeless backwardness. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, bureaucratic structures and low teacher salaries further reinforced the post-Soviet understanding (which still dominates Ukraine) that education is not a professional development, but a formal procedure for obtaining a diploma.

Another myth is that one can get a job not because of technical skills or professional knowledge, but only because of connections and personal relationships. Therefore, there is no data on the employment of graduates. Universities are not interested in such information. Links between universities and business are emerging in Ukraine today, with almost no history of their creation. Most employers have little ability to influence universities, and there have been almost no initiatives to link university education to jobs [13]. Students have no support or help in finding a job. For many, parental connections or the black market are the reality of job search [13]. This situation demonstrates how universities pre-programme a new generation for membership in a

corrupt society. Universities in Ukraine continue to suffer from international isolation, deep corruption, and incredibly inefficient use of funds. Ukraine needs modern European and non-marginal post-Soviet universities.

After the Revolution of Dignity, revolutionary reforms also began in the field of education. A massive reduction in teaching positions has dramatically reduced the number of higher education institutions (from over 800, with a target of 100). Introduction of new legislation to combat educational issues in Ukraine by abandoning the control system of the central ministry and replacing it with financial, academic, and administrative autonomy for universities [14], which contributed to the development of a new type of higher education institutions. The main purpose is to transform the concept of higher education focused on the diploma into centres of innovation and independent thought. Instead of creating clerks and workers who are submissive to the old bureaucratic systems, universities should train inspired, creative, and open people who can quickly adapt to changes in the world. They should be self-sufficient, capable of creating new jobs and earning a living unassisted, instead of depending on the system and expecting it to take care of them.

Universities need to be transformed into powerful centres where the creators of the future country study. Students should become active and responsible citizens who can take care of their country. They must create and promote initiatives that address people's needs; these initiatives must be able to compete with the corporate and political interests of lobbyists. This would make universities real centres of thought, a concentration of the country's potential, places where a new generation learns to create the well-being of the society in which they live. At present, this potential in Ukraine is still being mobilised on behalf of oligopolies, which, instead of generating the wealth of society, shamelessly rob it. The present-day asymmetry of information, the incredible contrasts of poverty and wealth, the inability to solve the problems of society and other negative issues of Ukraine are mainly rooted in the lack of qualifications and education of society. The most successful EU countries, such as Denmark, Sweden, Germany, etc., are educating new generations with a strong emphasis on creativity and entrepreneurial spirit. How do they do it?

Students have the best opportunity to start developing in various fields while studying at universities. They can learn technology by practising and

taking part in development. Universities in Ukraine create workshops and development centres where active students begin to develop their start-ups and, most importantly, they enter the world market. Universities create a place for start-ups where students enter into their first contracts, even while studying. As self-driving citizens who do not use, but create jobs; they begin to build not only their future, but also the wealth and prosperity of the country. Universities are centres of a creative atmosphere that motivates and encourages the next generation to be able to build the country of tomorrow. In 2018, almost 20,000 European start-ups are expected in various workshops. They will try to destroy industries in the harsh reality of an already extremely saturated market. However, what are these workshops for?

Experts have noticed that experienced industries have very well-organised processes for developing new technologies, services, or products from concept to multiple tests and prototyping to final implementation. The same approach is professionally supported and maintained in start-up workshops. Furthermore, there is no need to invest in resources and assets for each start-up separately, since the success rate of a start-up is usually under 10%. Investing in a workshop can cover many start-ups. Some workshops in Europe host thousands of start-ups every year. These investments have very high returns because they are not only small, but also because many ideas and tests can be tested on one platform: in other words, these investments are reversible. However, investing in one corporate business, in case of an incorrect strategy, is irreversible and will bring losses. Workshops are usually equipped with new digital technologies, prototyping mechanisms, frameworks, and studios that make creating, prototyping, testing, and promoting new products incredibly fast.

There is no need for unnecessary bureaucratic schemes and considerable investments in each start-up individually, since many start-ups can use the same workshop for everyone. In post-Soviet countries, there is a massive gap between those who are proactive, active, and capable of taking risks, and those who do not do it. However, start-up success stories dramatically change the mentality of society, as public attention is focused on positive and fruitful ideas that shape the future of the country. It appears that the Ukrainians have already realised this. The workshop culture started in Ukraine and has already reached a high level thanks to start-up centres in Kyiv, Lviv, and Kharkiv. They are promising. These workshops are already receiving certain funds. The lack of funds

for start-ups and the deliberate creation of new modern jobs in Ukraine can lead to a wave of emigration to other European countries to find more paid jobs. Access to global markets and jobs outside the country is an important option for low-income people who cannot find work locally, especially for those who cannot support themselves or their families. In any case, emigration will considerably increase, but without creating a start-up culture and supporting new entrepreneurs in Ukraine, this can be devastating. What can one expect from the start-up trend, and how will it change the situation in Ukraine, when wealth is still disproportionately concentrated in oligopolies?

### **A new strategy for a powerful engine of the Ukrainian economy**

Wealth in Ukraine is still concentrated in the hands of several owners of oligopolies. But no company can operate without healthy and skilled workers. Therefore, the same oligopolies inevitably depend on human resources. It is worth mentioning that workers are the same citizens who have decided not to suffer from poverty and crime anymore, those who have enough character to make choices and fight for their dignity. Employees may demand attention to their requests. They can stop the business if the owner is too busy to meet with them and take the workers' requests seriously. They have already learned how to create communities and are learning how to create jobs. Furthermore, they are opening more and more opportunities to emigrate to other European countries to find better-paying jobs. In fact, they do all this, but the scale is still small compared to what would have happened if the oligarchs had not factored in the change in the situation. Employees are beginning to address the issue of a safe living and working environment. They already have all the options to remove the roadblocks hindering the potential of society and the growth of the country's wealth. Interaction with the culture of trade unions and communities that seek to solve their problems with the support of the government and the involvement of corporations is the most effective accelerator of the country's wealth growth.

The creation of effective communities can contribute to the constantly updated improvement and development of problem-solving programmes. This can lead to significant stabilisation of the environment in terms of security, prevention of corruption, reduction of crime rates – even if the wealth of society grows slowly. Instead of concentrating wealth

disproportionately, it will be evenly distributed among communities, among those who actively solve their everyday problems. In other words, to stabilise the situation and establish security in the country, there is an inevitable need for active and responsible people who support each other through relations and activities in the community. But where is one supposed to begin, what can one do to overcome this difficult period with minimal losses?

The Ukrainian economy is largely dependent on Soviet heritage factories, built as vertical organisations that are inefficient, not competitive on the world market, risky, and costly to maintain and transform. Internal structures are completely corrupt and entangled in personal relationships that are almost impossible to transform without changing the staff entirely. It is often more optimal to build a new technological structure with new codes and rules from scratch, instead of taking the old infrastructure with old codes and regulations and transforming it. It is also important to note that instead of preserving isolated corporate monoliths, a more optimal way is to create open modules that would contribute to a safer and more sustainable production environment in Ukraine. This approach is similar to creating “Lego” parts that provide almost unlimited opportunities for growth, large industrial formations, instead of a few centralised isolated oligopolies, which may look simpler in the short term, but can quickly become obsolete and cause many difficulties in reform in case of a change in market preferences.

Vertical integration itself has lagged behind, as many modern corporations (Apple, Adidas, Nike, etc.) do not have production lines. They are engaged in development and marketing, not in production itself. It is too risky to depend on a set of production constraints because technologies rapidly change. Changing a supplier is easier than giving up production when the technology becomes obsolete. Even in very conservative markets, such as the automotive industry, where safety and quality are of particular importance, today every car has elements from thousands of suppliers (Audi has over 1,200, Tesla has over 2,000 different suppliers in each model). Instead of focusing on one state-of-the-art production, corporations have become well-organised modular vendor structures, investing in innovative teams of brand developers and marketers.

There are also strong trends in the use of modular structures within industrial enterprises.

Departments are transformed into self-managed modules that can be easily transformed or sold if necessary. Small teams of entrepreneurs are flexible and have high investment irreversibility, as investments can be reused in a changing situation. Even in case of a failure, small teams can quickly adapt and restart to meet new market challenges with new approaches using relatively small resources. The probability of success in this case is higher. Therefore, creating smaller and more flexible parts of large self-managed businesses can lead to much more optimal investments in the long run. This trend can be traced in all sectors, among which the most noticeable are software corporations (Google, Wix, etc.), where changes require complex and fast forecasts and are very predictive of the rest of the market. Hardly any people in horizontal organisations make up the hierarchy. Instead, they follow the family-owned company model. Fast-growing organisations follow a so-called flat structure, combined into their own companies and guilds. The trend of horizontal organisations comprising relatively small self-managed modules is a growing organisational trend of the world's largest companies. This contributes to openness, innovation, allows “staying tuned” and enables rapid growth. Everyone has their personal area of responsibility and can make quick decisions. Furthermore, it leaves room for equal human relationships, since everyone is factually on the same level. One of the key aspects of this approach is that it corresponds to the aforementioned trend of dignity and focus on human self-esteem. Even new products in corporations often start out as new start-ups that eventually gain worldwide recognition.

Small and medium-sized start-ups could grow even faster than universities if they had access to professional resources of technical potential and could get know-how from experienced enterprises. If inefficient Ukrainian enterprises, especially those that are owned by the state and are an insurmountable burden for the country or factories that lose profits and survive from subsidiaries, would support the creation of workshops, then start-up formations would begin to appear next to them. These large businesses would benefit from small, dynamic, self-managed start-ups that do not cost the enterprise anything, but can develop innovative technological solutions, render quality services, or create marketable products. Smaller start-ups can be quickly restructured, sold, or closed if they are no longer required, without

affecting the underlying enterprise. Each start-up team can decide how many employees it needs, how to organise itself to be profitable, where to get sources, and what product or service to focus on. Thanks to large enterprises, there would be no need to invest in the assets of start-ups that are part of the industrial sector. Workshops and shared resources would enable various start-ups to get rental-based opportunities, equipment, and services. In addition, the growth of a certain number of such start-ups would ensure the profitability of such workshops and further expansion of shared resource systems. At present, many large factories in Ukraine are on the verge of bankruptcy. In 2017 alone, the implementation of the government's economic policy led to a decrease in the number of economically active enterprises by 4%.

Without changing its economic policy, Ukraine is on the verge of becoming a cemetery of dead factories with gigantic losses of industrial capacity. In difficult situations, any business will try to sell or close unprofitable departments or divisions and start transferring these services or products to other suppliers if necessary. However, in case of inefficient allocation of resources, the Ukrainian government subsidises or refines these enterprises to save jobs in the region and guarantee economic stability. Many large enterprises in Ukraine survive thanks to subsidies and support mechanisms initiated by the country's government. At the same time, this is a good opportunity for the government. These non-profit divisions, such as laboratories, logistics, or marketing departments, could be evaluated in terms of working not only for one corporation, but also for the global market, if they could be transformed into independent and profitable enterprises with professional consultants from universities. Maximum value can be created if such a programme is combined and integrated with academic potential through tendering process for higher education institutions. The university that prepares the best scenario and strategy for a block, technology, or product wins the tender. Each subsequent graduate would become better than the previous ones and better prepare plans for the preservation and growth of the country's economy. If universities could get the necessary funds for start-ups in such a fashion, these funds would be much smaller and much more efficient than those usually invested in large enterprises and dissolved through corruption schemes with very little, if any, lasting positive effect.

The development or support of large enterprises, their divisions, their products, or services would be reliable and safe, provided that they develop as self-managed, profitable modular units that can survive independently of a large enterprise. Before bankruptcy, inefficient, large businesses could be transformed into smaller, easily managed divisions. Such divisions could act as a separate and independent profitable business, providing each other with the necessary services and materials, naturally fighting for profitability, the best prices, and quality. They could actively seek new opportunities and new global markets for their products or services. This could substantially protect the country from bankruptcy of oligopolies in a highly competitive environment. There is no single rule for different situations, because each enterprise is different, but it is clear that each division must become modular and profitable. Such a strategy can save valuable resources of large enterprises from losses, which are currently being processed as monoliths, and can create an ecosystem of strong clusters. Instead of stagnating in isolated monolithic industries, this approach will change the development of clusters with a concentration of interconnected businesses, suppliers, and related institutions in a particular industry. Parallel development of independent private structures could compete and complement each other. Thus, even in strategic sectors, such as the construction of new roads or security services, there is no need for dominance or strict state control.

Government support and regulations should only be needed to adjust taxation or other regulations to track excessive deviations from the socially optimal balance, deviations that disrupt democratic and liberal relations. Despite the fact that there can be no single rule for all situations, such norms must always correspond to the highest social benefit. Therefore, the market is not a source of good or evil, but a powerful economic engine that needs to be given enough space to do its job, as well as properly protected [10], since any business needs a community, and any community needs a business. No business can operate without workers, and no community can survive today without salaries that are somehow generated by the business. Businesses generate taxes and wealth creation opportunities for the country's citizens. Communities provide public assets and a supportive environment [15].

If these connections are not valued, both sides

suffer. People go in search of a better place with better opportunities, to another city, or emigrate to another country. A region without people is losing its former potential. This happened on a large scale in Poland and Lithuania. Recovery of lost human resources is incredibly slow. The same rules apply for a business, without the necessary resources, it downsizes or goes bankrupt, creating cascades of losses for owners, partners, employees, and the entire country. Restoring a business infrastructure takes a long time. Ukraine has already witnessed neoliberal economic programmes that had been directed top-down and contributed to the growth of corrupt systems at the expense of society. Such strategies are synonymous with the destruction of both the economy and society. Therefore, it is necessary to consider a different method not from the top of the political sphere and oligopolies, but from the grassroots level of society, the development of sustainable communities and a positive social environment. This direction creates not personal, but shared value.

A growing number of companies, such as GE, Google, IBM, Intel, Johnson & Johnson, Nestlé, Unilever and Walmart, Tesla, etc., have already made significant efforts to create shared value by restoring the intersection of society and overall company performance [15]. The concept of shared value is dedicated to establishing healthy relationships between business and society. The shared value strategy is inseparable from its social impact and understanding that the main business opportunities lie in the integration of business and society. This means that corporate benefits should be evaluated not just as the pursuit of profit in itself, but also from the perspective of society. Economic growth can be achieved through an egalitarian shared value strategy, where investment follows the lines of shared value and generates profit for society. This happens naturally when social factors are considered together with the economic and competitive results of the enterprise.

A thriving society can be created by realising that there are social issues that matter. The company should not look evil or harmful to the world where people live. The economic success of the enterprise and the future of the company can be achieved by creating a product that makes the enterprise innovative along with the shared value horizon. In other words, the boundaries between society and business

must be erased. The success of a company and community can be mutually reinforcing. Usually, the more closely a social problem is related to a company's business, the higher the ability to use the company's resources, opportunities, and benefits for society [16]. This is why joint value practices and responsible investments become difficult to distinguish from the day-to-day activities in successful modern companies. Modern companies create shared value because technological improvements naturally displace old inefficient approaches and bring environmentally friendly and community-friendly solutions.

It should not be mistaken that conversations about the economy, markets, and goods become important only when they involve a heavy industry. Not so long ago, the largest retailer in the world sold used books (Amazon). Another group of well-known entrepreneurs started by searching for text content on web pages (Google). The world's largest taxi service provider costs more than half of Ukraine's GDP and started less than a decade ago when two guys could not call a taxi late at night in winter (Uber). Furthermore, this does not refer to corrupt relations with governments or private ties with resources. Their rise to the world's most prominent entrepreneurs began without any protectionism or fraud schemes. Almost anyone can do this. There is an incredibly large market for almost every little thing in the world. A unique, thriving society can be created by encouraging people to create and sell their original products instead of selling themselves. To new generations, selling oneself is becoming synonymous with losing one's dignity. The sale of goods, not only in a narrow consumer meaning, but also in that of created objects of art, science, etc., stimulates the growth of an educated, creative and active, self-governing wealthy society. Therefore, motivation and education of a self-guided society generate the highest social value. There are ample opportunities to become self-managed for almost any profession: scientists write books and receive royalties; doctors have their private offices that people prefer over the state health-care system. The same applies even to teachers who give private lectures or sell online teaching courses, linguists who create grammar checking systems. Some, for example, open their own music and ballet schools. No boundaries between people cannot exclude their opportunity to express themselves and earn a living. All areas blocked for the population

by oligopolies, and even those that were monopolised by the state, should become accessible, except, admittedly, for certain public security organisations.

Ukraine can be recreated by new generations, who come with waves of new graduates every year. Thousands of students graduate, but only a few of them are ready for changes in their country. However, the potential of education is not being exploited. It is worth unlocking. Students should be taught to use their abilities for the benefit of themselves and the country, instead of leaving them trapped in bureaucratic and corrupt systems. Investing in research and innovation through universities will encourage a new spirit of education development. Such an atmosphere will develop a new economy and policy of the country based on science. This, for its part, would strengthen education's reputation as the country's new centres of power. Together with creating seminars and engaging students in start-ups and forums from the very beginning of their studies, this would create the foundations for the middle class and raise the standard of living. In this way, people grow not only in terms of qualifications, but also personally, becoming self-controlled, responsible for what they do and for the environment they live in.

Entrepreneurship is an excellent tool for creating employment and wealth. There is a way to use it by meeting human needs and rejecting the narrow concept of capitalism that has prevented businesses from using their potential to solve the broader problems of society. However, the business environment in Ukraine, which is still focused on inefficient schemes, must be transformed and prepared for investment. The current concentration of a country's resources in the hands of a few people is very inefficient and risky. Ownership should be distributed among new types of managers, those who are open, active, responsible, purposeful, and have the qualifications necessary. In Ukraine, there is a growing understanding that this can be done through education. Notably, encouraging a new generation of people is crucial because people feel capable and empowered when their opinions, initiatives, and decisions matter. Such people can eliminate any obstacles. They can change the country's environment. In other words, those who are now dominant and dependent on corruption can be replaced by educated people with a different mentality.

## Conclusions

The ideas, approaches, and solutions discussed should not be taken as the only possible or refined concept, but rather as considerations for further discussions. This review is an attempt to explain the ideas that guide the education of a self-governing society. While there are positive examples to learn from, there are no predefined patterns, because every society is a living and natural organism that needs to be respected and maintained. There are still many obstacles in Ukraine. However, it is also hoped that educational reforms and anti-corruption activities are not official bureaucratic ceremonies. These initiatives are based on the understanding of many Ukrainians that the future of their country is linked to a sustainable and decent society. Thus, the purpose of the new government is not only to rearrange the seats of the nomenclature, but also to support independent, self-governing active citizens. Consequently, the focus should be shifted from bureaucratic systems, politics, and oligarchs to the country's residents and their needs. People should take care of people.

In conclusion, while the situation remains very problematic, the reforms are so extensive and unprecedented that the country's growth in the coming years will not be unexpected. This will be a natural result of innovative and advanced processes in the country's society, economy, and politics. It would seem that Ukrainians understand what they are doing, and that it was not by chance that they chose the liberal-democratic vector. Political actions have demonstrated that the inhabitants of this country are mature enough and have what it takes to change not only the course of historical geopolitical events, but also their corrupt neoliberal model to a socially oriented liberal democracy. This is just the beginning, but it already demonstrates that Ukrainians can raise a creative, active, and self-governing generation through education. It is worth mentioning that undeveloped countries can develop rapidly due to the critical need to replace old corrupt inefficient schemes. Ukraine can transform and rise much faster than one might expect, and it has good foundations for taking part in international cooperation projects on both small and large scales. Ukraine has all the necessary conditions and support for fundamental and positive transformations. This can be implemented through the growth of a self-guided society and in its favour.

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