

STRENGTHENING POST-WAR SOLIDARITY OF UKRAINIANS THROUGH THE SOCIAL CONTRACT UPDATING

Tatyana BURLAY, Doctor Habilitated in Economics,
Leading Researcher,
Department of Economic Theory,
Institute for Economics and Forecasting,
National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
E-mail: btv2008@ukr.net
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4530-9151>

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Abstract. *The Summit of the Future 2024 and the World Social Summit 2025, which will be held under the UN auspices, show that the social contracts renewal is among the global agenda priorities. This issue is of great importance for post-conflict and war-torn societies, similar to Ukrainian society. Even in pre-war times, a significant deficit of social justice and the entrenchment of destructive institutions such as strong corruption, the shadow economy, precarization, etc., were observed in Ukraine. This led to the social contract erosion, which in the post-war period can accelerate and slow down reconstructive recovery. The relevance of the study is dictated by the need to preserve the high level of Ukrainians solidarity, which was revealed during the Russian-Ukrainian war, and to direct the potential of solidarity to post-war reconstruction. The research purpose is to clarify the framework and instruments of Ukraine's post-war renewal of the social contract and its potential for strengthening the solidarity of society, which should heal the social traumas of the war. Our research involves the use of an interdisciplinary approach, as well as institutional and comparative methodology. The key research results are related, firstly, the reveal the role of society-wide solidarity as a factor of Ukraine's societal resilience during the warfare and its effective post-war reconstruction recovery. Secondly, the substantiation of the main principles for the post-war renewal of the Ukrainian social contract, which is the foundation for strengthening the solidarity of the country's citizens after the end of the war. The article presents the results of the research carried out within the Project "Socio-Economic Challenges and Prospects for Reproducing the Potential for Solidarity of Ukrainian Society during the War and Postwar Development of Ukraine" (state registration No. 0124U003262).*

Keywords: *Ukraine's recovery, societal challenges, postwar cohesion, well-being, public agreement.*

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Introduction. The solidarity of Ukrainian society is a guarantee that the country will be able to withstand a protracted full-scale war and effectively recover

in the post-war period. This is precisely what was emphasized by the participants of the high-level Ukraine Recovery Conference (URC2024), which took place on 11–12 June 2024 in Berlin and at which 110 international agreements worth 16 billion euros were concluded. In a societal context, it is especially significant that one of the four key directions of the URC2024 is defined by the Ukrainian Government as “Human Dimension – Social Recovery and Human Capital for the Future of Ukraine” and stated that the human dimension is key to recovery, it includes the mobilisation of human capital for reconstruction as well as issues of citizens' solidarity, social cohesion and inclusiveness (URC2024, June 2024).

At the beginning of the Russian invasion in February 2022, there was a rapid rise in the Ukrainians solidarity, but nowadays domestic sociologists observe diverging positions of representatives of different age groups regarding the ways of development of post-war processes. Considering this, as well as the tasks of Ukraine' reconstruction after the end of the war, the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) is currently implementing a targeted interdisciplinary project "Socio-economic challenges and prospects for reproducing the potential for solidarity of Ukrainian society during the war and postwar development of Ukraine", which is aimed at researching the phenomenon of Ukrainians solidarity in one of the most critical moments of Ukrainian history – the period of the Russian-Ukrainian war, as well as the identification of potential dividing line capable of disrupting societal unity (NASU, 2024). If we consider the problem at the societal level, it is quite obvious that the most important instrument for strengthening solidarity in the country is the post-war renewal of the social contract. At the same time, the identified issues of internal society-wide solidarity and renewal of the social contract are extremely relevant for Ukraine, as a candidate country for joining the EU, in the context of building a more social, inclusive and mobile Europe.

Based on the above, the aim of the study is to clarify the framework and instruments for post-war renewal of the social contract in Ukraine and its potential for strengthening the solidarity of Ukrainian society, which should heal its social traumas of the war. The current scale of these social traumas can be partially assessed based on relevant information from authoritative international institutions regarding the monitoring of the consequences of large-scale hostilities in Ukraine.

Thus, according to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, since the beginning of the war and as of the beginning of July 2024, only officially recorded victims of the full-scale military conflict in Ukraine have become 33,878 civilians, including 11,284 dead, among which 622 children. At the same time, as a result of hostilities in the country, 66 healthcare institutions and 280 educational institutions were destroyed, and 453 healthcare institutions and 958 educational institutions were damaged (UNU, July 2024).

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs estimates that a total of 14.6 million Ukrainians will need humanitarian support in 2024. During the first half of this year, humanitarian organizations provided at least one type of aid to 5.6 million people in Ukraine. At the same time, more than 500 humanitarian organizations provided assistance, more than 380 of which were Ukrainian non-governmental organizations (OCHA, July 2024).

Following the updated international consolidated assessment, as of the beginning of 2024, the total cost of reconstruction and recovery in Ukraine over the next decade is \$486 billion, including almost \$162 billion for its social sector (United Nations, February 2024).

Literature review. In Miller's (2017) article, the phenomenon of solidarity, including its sources, is examined through the prism of associational theory, identity theory, and institutional theory. The foundations and features inherent in classical and modern approaches to the solidarity study are systematically presented in the scientific works by Goffman (2015), as well as Sorokin and Popova (2021). The evolution of scientific ideas, the issue's conceptualization and the key factors in the formation of the social contract, – including the principles of social and institutional order organization of society, people's value orientation, etc., – are comprehensively investigated in meaningful articles by Horodnytskyi (2017) and Toschenko (2023a). Also very significant is the study of the social contract as a noumenon ("intelligible essence"), as well as the process of the emergence in social knowledge of the social contract ideas, first put forward and substantiated by the Enlightenment thinkers (Toschenko, 2023b). Bussolo et al. (2019) substantiate the path to a new social contract in the countries of Europe and Central Asia through overcoming distributional tensions by increasing the efficiency of national social security systems. The study by Golovenko (2010) shows the process of building civil society in Ukraine with regard to such an important factor as the interaction of authorities and public associations. For a deeper understanding of the formation and changes of the social contract in transit societies, the results of the study of the political order in the crisis discourse are great useful (Mayboroda, 2022). Tasks and problems of modernization of the social contract in Ukraine in the context of European integration are thoroughly considered in the article by Koroliuk and Chashchyna (2017). Researchers Zelenko et al. (2024) substantiated and systematized the main tools of legitimization of power during the period of martial law regime in Ukraine. The scientific (re)interpretation of the Ukrainian social contract in the trials of war provides an understanding of the principles, tools and potential consequences of its renewal in the post-war period (Rechyskyi, 2023).

Research methodology. Our research involves the use of an interdisciplinary approach, as well as institutional and comparative methodology. Assessments of the dynamics of social cohesion in Ukraine in the pre-war period and during the war with the Russian Federation were made using sociological methods. At the same time, the applying the statistical techniques made it possible to quantitatively characterize the war impact on the Ukrainian economy and society. Institutional approaches are the basis for determining and evaluating the tools necessary for the post-war renewal of the country's social contract as a factor in maintaining the current high level of Ukrainian citizens solidarity.

Main results. A clear sign of the final formation of Ukrainian civil society in the face of an unprecedented military threat was a significant surge of social solidarity, simply put, unity and solidarity in opposition to the military invasion of the Russian Federation on February 24, 2022. In particular, the solidarity of Ukrainian society is demonstrated by the data of the nationwide sociological monitoring of the Institute of Sociology of the NAS of Ukraine. According to these data, already at the end of 2022, in the conditions of a full-scale Russian invasion, the greatest decrease in the level of anomie demoralization of Ukrainians was recorded for all time, and simultaneously in all regions of the country. The strengthening of national solidarity is also evidenced by the fact that civic self-identification – the share of those who self-identify themselves primarily as a citizen of Ukraine – increased by 17 percentage points during 2023 and reached almost 80%. In addition, sociologists are considering the decrease in perception of social (un)justice to be a sign of the solidarity of Ukrainians in their readiness to bear the burden of war. Thus, in February 2023, after a year of war, Ukrainian society is perceived by citizens less pessimistically than in 2019: the share of those who consider it unjust decreased from 51.8% to 35.5%, and those who characterize it as fair, increased from 10.7% to 17.3% (Golovakha & Makeev, 2023).

It is very significant and revealing that many domestic and foreign experts are united in the opinion that it is the solidarity of Ukrainians in their readiness to defend the country (by fighting or helping the defenders and their families), to endure a decrease in the standard of living and material well-being, and to refrain from criticizing state economic and social policy, that has become one of the most effective factors of Ukraine's societal resilience during a full-scale war.

Bearing in mind the institutional significance of society-wide solidarity, as well as the macroeconomic and social dynamics of Ukraine in recent years, the solidarity of the Ukrainian population appears to be a highly effective factor in the processes that determine:

1. Ukraine's societal resilience in wartime;
2. Its reconstructive socio-economic recovery in the post-war period;
3. In the perspective of full-fledged integration of Ukraine into the EU as a candidate country, with which official accession negotiations will begin at the end of June 2024.

In turn, the above determines the particular importance of scientific research devoted to the substantiation of central tools of influence on the solidarity of Ukrainian society. According to our convictions, the post-war renewal of the social contract in Ukraine should be considered the most important tool and, moreover, the objectively necessary foundation for strengthening the solidarity of Ukrainians after the end of the war. The semantic essence of a social contract is considered as a unity of the participants' goals, aimed at maintaining mutual trust, coordinating interests, and constantly using feedback. The main characteristics of a social contract include: a mutually acceptable community of development ideas; the existence of a mechanism for interaction between the people and the state; how and in what way the main aspirations, value orientations, and interests of people are coordinated with the policy of state power, what is their consent based on; whether a balance of power and a balance

of interests is ensured, whether there is feedback that shows how much the government not only listens to, but also hears the people. (Toschenko, 2023a; 2023b).

In this regard, it is important to note that today “we are living in an age of insecurity” and in post-crisis times, renewing the social contract is essential to restore a sense of security and maintain political support for open economies and open societies (Shafik, 2018). In the institutional dimension, a very important structural part of the social contract is the sphere of economy and social and labor relations. The movement towards balancing the forces, interests and responsibilities of various economic actors determines the state's capabilities to strengthen the potential and stability of the national socio-economic system. With this in mind, the strategic report "Towards a Renewed Social Contract" presented by the Director-General of the International Labour Organization in May 2024 rightly states that "... Through these contracts, societies strive to strike a balance between individual and collective responsibilities. Achieving this objective is not without its challenges. Power imbalances and divergent interests can complicate efforts to balance the elements that make up the social contract." (ILO, May 2024). The report also emphasizes that in these times of crisis, a renewal of the social contract is necessary, as it will help to meet the growing demand for social justice in almost all societies.

In response to the global trends of increasing geopolitical confrontation, economic fragmentation, multidimensional inequality and society's demand for social justice, in recent years the renewal of the social contract is on the global agenda, particularly at the level of UN institutions. Moreover, the Summit of the Future 2024 (which will be held on September 22–23, 2024 under the motto "Multilateral Solutions for a Better Tomorrow") and the World Social Summit 2025, which will be held under the UN auspices, show that the social contracts renewal is among the global agenda priorities. At the same time, it is expected that the renewal of the social contract will provide new incentives, resources and new capabilities for states to become more socially just, resilient, economically competitive, environmentally responsible as well as to advance on the path to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals for the period up to 2030.

The topic of the post-war renewal of the social contract in Ukraine is currently being actively discussed in expert, scientific, and political circles. Perhaps the most important main issue of such discussions is the question of substantiating the key principles on which the new social contract of Ukrainians will be formed. Taking into account the relevant research outcomes, as well as the initiatives and strategic approaches of the institutions of the global management architecture, it seems appropriate to single out the following principles that specifically relate to the social development of the country:

- the principle of societal resilience, which means society's ability to withstand shocks, which involves the combination of three components: the ability to overcome difficulties, the adaptive ability to learn from adversity for the future, and the transformative ability to create institutions and implement social security measures to build society's resilience to future shocks. According to the rationale of Ukrainian academic researchers, ensuring Ukraine's societal resilience is crucial both in wartime and in the postwar period, for the preservation of the Ukrainian nation under

the modern global hybrid "peace–war" system (Heyets et al., 2023).

- the principle of social justice in its multifaceted interpretation according to the ILO. Even in pre-war times, a significant deficit of social justice and consolidation of destructive institutions, such as strong corruption, shadow economy, precarization, etc., was observed in Ukraine. This led to the erosion of the social contract, which in the post-war period can slow down or even inhibit its reconstructive recovery. Therefore, it is extremely important for Ukraine to move towards strengthening social justice in society, first of all, in line with the strategies and initiatives of the ILO. Clearly, the quest for social justice, at the heart of the ILO's constitutional mandate, goes beyond the world of work and requires the involvement of the entire multilateral system.
- In this context, the official establishment of the Global Coalition for Social Justice was announced at the 111th Session of the International Labor Conference in June 2023. The Global Coalition for Social Justice is the ILO ground-breaking multi-stakeholder Initiative aimed at intensifying collective efforts to urgently address social justice deficits and to accelerate the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Sustainable Development Goals and the Decent Work Agenda. The ultimate goal is to achieve a greater balance amongst the economic, social, and environmental dimensions of sustainable development, to significantly reduce inequalities and poverty, and to meet essential needs and opportunities worldwide (ILO, December 2023).
- the principle of social dialogue, which, according to the ILO, is a cornerstone in the formation of social partnership and an effective mechanism for solving current economic and social problems, overcoming crises, encouraging good governance and stimulating socio-economic progress.
- the principle of social quality of life as a component of the scientific social quality concept used to improve the social parameters of the development of the European Union. The experts argued that the introduction into the public governance of post-war Ukraine of the social quality concept, adapted to domestic conditions, should contribute to the social contract on the gradual finding of a reasonable balance between two priorities: the simultaneous increase of efforts to systematically eliminate the threats of external aggression and the accelerated reconstructive recovery of the national socio-economic space based on the principles sustainable inclusive development (Burlay et al., 2022).

Discussion and conclusions. As we indicated above, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine considers the substantiation of potential dividing lines in Ukrainian society to be an important research mission and to develop practical recommendations for national public governance, the implementation of which will strengthen society-wide solidarity in the (post)war period. (NASU, 2024). One of such "fault lines" of Ukrainians of social solidarity is due to the institutional failure to build an effective and efficient national system of social dialogue, which, within the

framework of the tripartism model, regulates the interaction in the field of social and labor relations of three parties – trade unions, employers and the state. The imbalance of the interests of the social dialogue parties in Ukraine characterizes insufficient protection and the lack of guarantees of decent work for workers, on the one hand, and dissatisfaction with the needs of Ukrainian business for a qualified and highly productive workforce, on the other. (Kostrytsia et al., 2024). It is clear that there are still a number of dividing lines in Ukrainian society, especially under the influence of deep-rooted destructive institutions such as high corruption, significant shadow economy and employment, precarization, etc. This determines the need for research on such dividing lines and the development of strategies and mechanisms for overcoming them.

Summarizing all of the above, we can come to the following conclusions:

- the strengthening of society-wide solidarity plays a primary role in order for Ukraine to withstand the war with the Russian Federation and to be able to effectively reconstruct itself in the post-war period;
- renewal of the social contract, as well as the principles of its formation, are of fundamental importance for strengthening national unity in Ukraine;
- among others, the following key principles necessary for the renewal of the social contract in Ukraine appear to be: societal resilience; social justice, social dialogue and social quality of life;
- in the context of the post-war development of Ukraine and its full integration into the EU, the relevance of the scientific substantiation of the most serious dividing lines in Ukrainian society and the creation of strategies and mechanisms for their gradual overcoming is increasing.

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