

## Розділ 1

# ТЕОРЕТИЧНІ ПОЛОЖЕННЯ СОЦІОЛОГІЧНИХ РОЗВІДОК

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## Paradigms of Statehood and National Sovereignty in Sociological Discourse

**Iryna Dolia** –  
*PhD in Political Sciences, senior researcher of the Branch of the Research Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Germany, Chemnitz, Germany.*  
E-mail: [fortel2222@gmail.com](mailto:fortel2222@gmail.com)  
ORCID: 0000-0002-1189-7728

**Ірина Доля** –  
*к. політ. н., ст. наук. співробітник філії Науково-дослідного інституту українознавства в Німеччині, м. Хемніц, Німеччина.*

**Sholpan Alpeissova** –  
*PhD in Economic, Professor of the Department of Management, S. Seifullin Kazakh Agro Technical University, Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan.*  
E-mail: [sholpan761@mail.ru](mailto:sholpan761@mail.ru)  
ORCID: 0000-0002-3034-3165

**Шолпан Альпеісова** –  
*к. ек. н., професор кафедри менеджменту, Казахський агротехнічний університет імені С. Сейфулліна, Нур-Султан, Казахстан.*

The article aims to study the paradigms of statehood and sovereignty in sociological discourse. Studies of statehood, national sovereignty and national security are important areas of modern sociology, especially in the context of globalization processes that significantly affect these concepts. The authors of the article examine the prospects of sociological research on these issues by analyzing a number of factors, including methodological approaches, the impact of international politics, new security challenges and the transformation of political institutions. The article analyzes in detail two key sociological paradigms – «world-systems» by Immanuel Wallerstein and a four-level model for studying the phenomenon of statehood by Neil Joseph Smelser, that allowed us to describe the role and functions of nation-states in the new realities of the global political crisis, in particular the impact of globalization on sovereignty, economy, politics, and social structures, as well as the search for effective models of political and social governance. The authors attribute the growing scientific interest in the study of geopolitical processes to the specific features of the development of the nation-state institution and the transformation of state sovereignty, which in today's realities is accompanied by a change in worldview paradigms. The active introduction of scientific discourse on the role and place of the nation-state in the modern world contributes to the intensification of sociological research on nation-building.

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**Key words:** sovereignty, statehood, nation, national security, political systems, threats and challenges.

**Доля Ірина, Альпеісова Шолпан. Парадигми державності та національного суверенітету в соціологічному дискурсі.** Метою статті є вивчення парадигм державності та суверенітету в соціологічному дискурсі. Дослідження державності, національного суверенітету й національної безпеки є важливими напрямками сучасної соціології, особливо в контексті глобалізаційних процесів, які значною мірою на них впливають. У статті розглянуто перспективи соціологічних досліджень зазначеної проблематики шляхом аналізу низки факторів, що включають методологічні підходи, вплив міжнародної політики, нові виклики безпеки та трансформацію політичних інститутів. У статті детально проаналізовано дві ключові соціологічні парадигми – «світ-системи» Іммануеля Валлерстайна та чотирирівневу модель аналізу феномену державності Ніла Джозефа

Смелсера, що дало змогу описати роль і функції національних держав у нових реаліях світової політичної кризи, зокрема впливу глобалізації на суверенітет, економіку, політику та соціальні структури, а також пошук ефективних моделей політичного й соціального управління.

**Ключові слова:** суверенітет, державність, нація, національна безпека, політичні системи, загрози та виклики.

## INTRODUCTION

Increased scientific interest in understanding geopolitical processes is due to the peculiarities of the development of the nation-state institution and the transformation of state sovereignty, accompanied by a change in worldview paradigms provoked by Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine. In contemporary political thought, the scientific discourse on the role and place of the nation-state in the modern world, which could be consistent with the realities of the Ukrainian present, has gained particular relevance. This discourse takes into account the challenges arising from the Russian-Ukrainian war: deepening political and economic contradictions, growing interdependence of ethnic groups, nations, and states, as well as the emergence of new institutions (veterans, volunteering, etc.) against the backdrop of the global crisis. All of the above has led to the transformation of the nation-state institution and determined the next stage of society's development – the struggle to preserve the nation's sovereignty. This, in turn, actualized the problems of national security at the international level, which made it possible to talk about the emergence of a new framework for global development in which nation-states form modern history and identity – national, state, political, social, cultural, etc. In such circumstances, the main task of the sociologist is to study and comprehend the peculiarities of the development of national statehood and sovereignty.

In the context of Russia's armed aggression, these problems are becoming even more urgent. The challenges facing national security are becoming more acute and require adequate responses, forcing states to seek new approaches to preserving sovereignty and ensuring national security, which may involve temporary restrictions on the rights and freedoms of citizens. At the same time, this also requires nation-states to maintain a balance between the need to protect themselves from external threats and adherence to democratic principles.

The study of the above issues is relevant, but researchers face the problem of insufficient development of this area in sociology. To date, there are no systematic sociological studies devoted to the study of the institution of the nation-state, sovereignty, and national security in Ukraine. The development of scientific interest in the nation-state and sovereignty in the context of Russian armed aggression requires in-depth research and detailed understanding of the challenges facing the European community, radically changing the paradigms of existence and functioning of modern Ukrainian society.

### 1. ANALYSIS OF BASIC RESEARCHES OF THE ISSUE

Various aspects of the problem of the nation-state, state power, and the prospects for the decline of the state as a social institution or the development of new subnational or supranational entities have been the subject of the attention of many well-known scientists. These issues have been studied:

– Ulrich Beck, authored the concept of the «risk society» and described the modern world as being in a state of constant change and unpredictable risks. He analyzed how these risks affect state institutions and their ability to ensure the safety of citizens (Beck, 1999). In addition, U. Beck actively criticized his colleagues I. Wallerstein and N. J. Smelser, whose scientific work will be the subject of our sociological research.

– Zygmunt Bauman studied the phenomenon of globalization and its impact on nation-states. His work highlights how global processes blur national borders and cause the decline of traditional state structures. His studies of social movements and new forms of social organization point to the possibility of replacing or transforming traditional state institutions (Bauman, 1997).

– Alain Touraine focused on the impact of social movements on state power. He considered the possibility of new forms of social organization that could replace traditional state institutions. According to the scientist, the modern world is characterized by growing instability and risks that affect the ability of states to provide security and be a guarantor of stability (Clark, & Diani, 2006).

– Alvin Toffler in his theory of the «third wave» described the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society, accompanied by significant changes in social structures, including state institutions. The

researcher drew attention to the fact that in a post-industrial society, there is a tendency to reassess the role of the state in the light of new social, economic, and political realities, which calls into question the traditional functions of the state (Toffler, 1980).

Among Ukrainian researchers, Klymenko (2022) and Salnikova et al. (2022) paid attention to the development of sociological discourse on the study of the paradigms of national statehood, sovereignty and the development of the institution of power in the digital society and the growing role of national movements; Fedorchenko-Kutuev et al. (2023) consider possibilities and capacity for democratic development in the post-war Ukrainian society in the context of geopolitical realities and imperatives of modernization. A detailed analysis of the transformation of the national identity of Ukrainian youth under the influence of the military-political conflict and the high risks of losing national statehood was made by Klymenko, Chepak, and Chepurko (2023).

Therefore, the research of the issues of the nation-state, state power, and their prospects in the context of the development of society is a topical area of modern sociology. The works we have analyzed provide a basis for further research and identify the main trends in the study of these issues.

## 2. THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

**The Methodological Framework** of the article includes the analysis of quantitative sociological research, in particular:

**1. Sociological Research:** «Assessment of the Impact of Foreign Policy Factors on Ukraine. Attitudes towards Foreign Countries and Certain Initiatives of Their Leaders» conducted by the Razumkov Center sociological service from March 21 to 27, 2024, which covered 2020 respondents (n=2020) aged 18 and older, citizens of Ukraine? was conducted by face-to-face method and was conducted only in the territories controlled by the government of Ukraine where no hostilities are taking place.

The survey was based on a stratified multi-stage sampling with random selection at the initial stages and a quota method at the final stage, where respondents were selected according to gender and age quotas. The structure of the sample population reflects the demographic structure of the adult population of the territories as of the beginning of 2022, taking into account age, gender, and settlement type. The theoretical sampling error does not exceed 2,3 % (Razumkov Centre, 2024).

The survey results indicate the importance of foreign policy factors in the context of Ukraine's national security and stability. The support of Western countries, including military, economic and political assistance, is perceived as a key factor in countering Russian aggression and ensuring national security. These results emphasize the importance of continued international cooperation and support of Ukraine by Western partners to ensure its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

**2. Sociological Research:** «Hope Index» of Kazakhstanis, their values, life guidelines and forecasts for 2024», conducted from December 1 to 25, 2023 by the Center for Business Information, Sociological and Marketing Research BISAM Central Asia (BISAM Central Asia, 2024), The research methodology is standard for the study of the International Happiness Index (Happy PlanetIndex), proposed by the New Economics Foundation (NEF) in 2006, which allows measuring objective indicators of “conditions for happiness” – life expectancy and environment, which are combined with the results of answers to traditional questions about life satisfaction. The field stage in Kazakhstan was conducted by BISAM Central Asia, the survey was conducted from December 1 to December 25, 2023 using CATI (computer-assisted telephone interviews) based on a random sample of mobile phone numbers. The sample is representative of the adult population (aged 18 and older). The survey included 2000 interviews (n=2020), the statistical sampling error does not exceed 3,5 %.

**The Purpose of the Article** is to study the key paradigms of statehood and national sovereignty in sociological discourse.

## 3. THE RESEARCH RESULTS

### 3.1. The Concept of the State in the Scientific Paradigm of «World-Systems» Immanuel Wallerstein

The modern interpretation of society as a social phenomenon, according to Immanuel Wallerstein (1996), divides social reality into three spheres, namely the state, the market and civil society. At the same time, the boundaries of the concept of the state define and limit the space of the other two spheres. At the

same time, such restrictions can be changed in the event of the emergence of other existential factors (war, armed aggression, epidemic of socially dangerous diseases, etc.) as a fact of social reality. Therefore, in the sociological discourse, it is considered quite normal and desirable when a national state, national market and national society emerge and function in close interaction in a country under the following conditions:

1. The state, the market and civil society are the three main spheres of social life.
2. The boundaries of the state define and limit the space of the other two spheres.
3. There is a possibility of functional dysfunction when the state does not meet the expectations of society and the national market due to the inadequacy of the legal framework to the needs of civil and economic affairs.

The stereotype of the autonomy of these spheres is reflected in I. Wallerstein's work «SOCIAL CHANGE? Change is eternal. Nothing ever changes» emphasizes the importance of understanding the relationship between the state, the market and civil society, as well as the possibility of changing the boundaries of these spheres and their functional disorder (Wallerstein, 1996).

The sociologist assumes the possibility of a certain autonomy of these spheres of social life, and thus the possibility of a certain functional disorder in their interaction. Thus, I. Wallerstein managed to create a scientific paradigm of «world-systems» that describes the world as a single, dynamic and hierarchical system based on a certain division of labor. It is characterized by the following key aspects:

1. Unity – the world-system is not just a collection of individual states or societies, but is a holistic organism with interconnected components.
2. Dynamism – the world-system is constantly changing and developing, going through cycles of formation, development and decline.
3. Hierarchy – within the world-system there are different levels of power and inequality, which leads to inequality and leads to social stratification.
4. Labor market – different components of the world-system specialize in certain activities, which creates interdependence between them.
5. Social inequality – the world-system usually has a center that controls resources and production and dominates the periphery that supplies raw materials and labor.
6. The freedom of economic interaction and the breadth of economic relations that are the driving force of the modern world system, which allows the exploitation of the periphery in favor of the center.
7. Variability – world-systems are not eternal, they can change or collapse due to internal contradictions or external influences.

The scientific paradigm of «world-systems» Wallerstein's paradigm provides a powerful tool for analyzing global processes such as colonialism, imperialism, global economic crises, and globalization. It helps to understand how different parts of the world are interconnected and how global economic and political processes affect people's daily lives. However, the paradigm has been repeatedly criticized in the scientific community for its excessive determinism and the inability to take into account the role of culture in shaping key processes, the importance of which has been confirmed by modern sociologists. Thus, according to a sociological survey conducted in December 2023 by the «BISAM Central Asia Business Information, Sociological and Marketing Research Center», the demand for the development of the Kazakh language, national and cultural traditions, and political sovereignty has increased in Kazakhstan (Fig. 1).

The geopolitical model of «center-periphery» proposed by I. Wallerstein is too simplistic, as it does not reflect the complexity of economic development in the modern world (Wallerstein, 1996). Despite the above criticisms, the scientific paradigm of the «world-systems» reveals the mechanisms of influence on the state, market and civil society by transformations in social institutions. At the same time, all such institutions (economic, political, socio-cultural) operate simultaneously politically, economically, and socio-culturally, since they cannot be recognized as effective under other conditions.

According to the «world-systems» scientific paradigm, the following key factors influence the emergence of changes in social institutions:

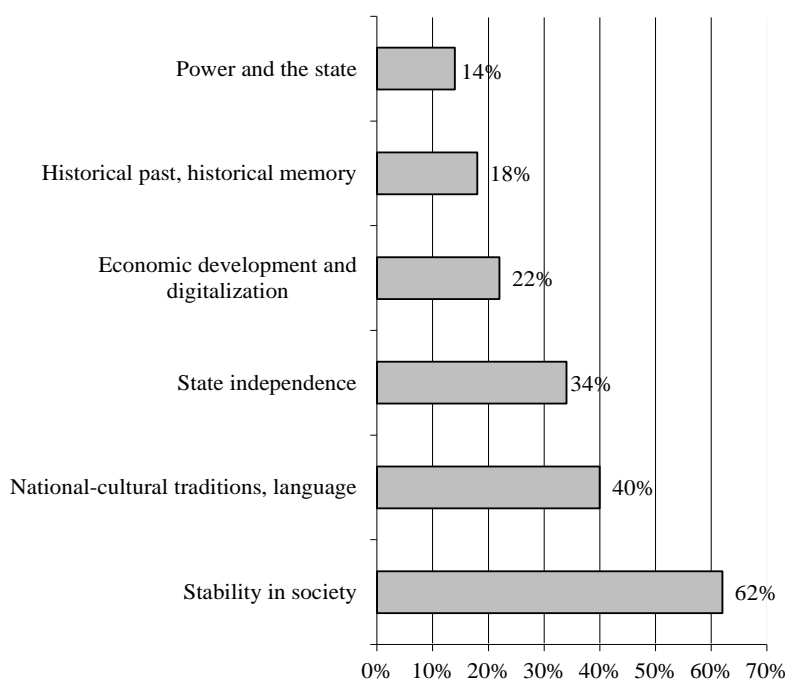
1. Changing the model of labor division, which is related to governance models, since the division of labor requires different mechanisms for regulating and controlling social relations. For example, capitalism requires strong state institutions to protect property rights and ensure a free market, as well as new forms of social stratification based on income.

2. Crises and upheavals – wars, revolutions and other shocks can lead to significant changes in social institutions, destroying old institutions that no longer meet the needs of the times and creating conditions for the emergence of new ones.

3. Social movements, such as those for minority rights and environmental safety, can also play an important role in changing social institutions, acting as a driving force that generates new ideas and values that challenge the existing order and force ruling elites to compromise and reform. For example, the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s led to the abolition of racial segregation and the expansion of African American rights.

4. Globalization can lead to the spread of new ideas, values, and technologies, as well as to increased competition between countries and companies, forcing governments and other social institutions to adapt to new conditions in order to maintain their legitimacy and effectiveness. For example, the emergence of transnational corporations, which have a significant impact on national economies and domestic politics.

5. Changes in worldviews – systems of values, beliefs and perceptions of the world - can also lead to changes in social institutions, influenced by factors such as scientific discoveries, religious reforms or cultural revolutions (Balibar, & Wallerstein, 1991).



**Fig. 1.** *Distribution of Respondent's Answers to the Question: «What is a Priority for You Today?» (Select the Three Most Important Items for You) as of December 2023*

**Source:** (BISAM Central Asia, 2024).

It is important to note that the above factors do not operate in a vacuum, but are interconnected and reinforce each other. A change in one factor can trigger a chain reaction that will lead to changes in others and, ultimately, provoke a transformation in social institutions. Therefore, Wallerstein's concept gives us a powerful tool for understanding how the «world-system» is changing and how these changes affect the life and development of states in the modern world.

### 3.2. Neil Joseph Smelser's Four-Level Model for Analyzing the Phenomenon of Statehood

An important approach to sociology is that of the American scientist Neil Joseph Smelser (1995) to the analysis of the problems of nation-building in the context of new social realities provoked by the ongoing Russian armed aggression. It is concentrated as a view of the sociology of the new modernity in the work «Problematics of Sociology. The Georg Simmel Lectures». Suggesting his own picture of contemporary sociological theorizing, he emphasizes the need for basic approaches to the analysis of social problems and phenomena at four sociological levels, namely: micro-, meso-, macro-, and mega-levels. His introduction of the macro-level as a global level of sociological analysis is due to the need to develop such a branch as international or global sociology (Smelser, 1995).

At the same time, one of the central subjects of sociological analysis by N. Joseph Smelser is the new security relations between nation-states in the context of new social realities. Therefore, the sociologist proposes to use a four-level model of analysis of social problems and phenomena: micro-, meso-, macro- and mega-levels, in which the author:

- insists on taking into account global processes in the scientific analysis of social problems and phenomena;
- draws attention to the problem of encroachment on the security of national states by multi-ethnic states;
- encourages research into new forms of global governance and cooperation.

Some critics, in particular W. Weck, argue that N. J. Smelser's model is too simplistic and does not take into account the complexity of modern global processes, but he was the first to draw attention to the leading role of the state in protecting national interests and preserving statehood as such (Beck, 1999). Therefore, despite the reasoned criticism, N. J. Smelser's approach remains relevant today and stimulates new research in the field of sociology of the new modernity (Beck, 1999).

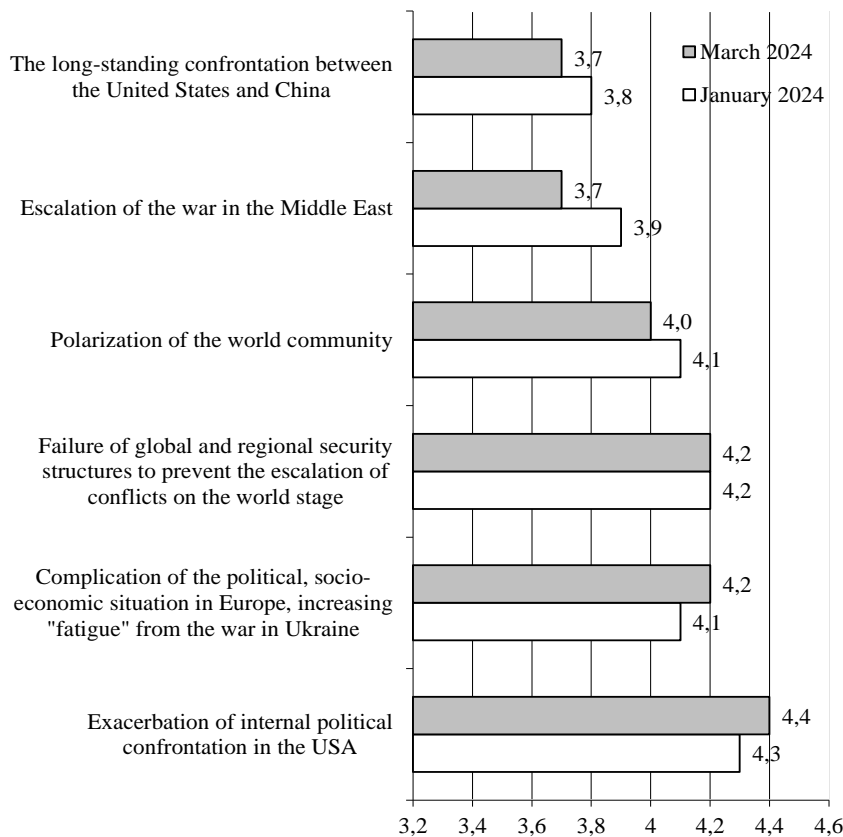
According to N. J. Smelser, international or global sociology which focuses on the study of relations between states «...considers the world or a specific subsystem of it as its unit of analysis – is the least developed area of sociology» (Smelser, 1995, p. 91). In today's realities, it is becoming one of the most important branches of sociology, mainly as a result of the constant transformation of the world due to the intense emergence of new social realities caused by certain interrelated crisis phenomena – Russian armed aggression against Ukraine, polarization of the world, and high economic risks. One of the characteristic features of his discourse on nation-states and their security is the focus on the complexity of the interaction between social, economic, and political factors within nation-states. The sociologist emphasizes that in order to understand national security, it is important to take into account not only political aspects but also economic, social, and cultural factors. Therefore, the characteristic features of N. J. Smelser's scientific discourse are as follows:

1. The role of economic factors in the process of forming national security is leading and decisive for social stability, as economic crises can provoke social conflicts.
2. Social determinants of security are social integration and cohesion. Societies with high levels of social inequality and lack of social cohesion are more prone to internal conflicts and may face serious national security challenges.
3. Global challenges create new crisis situations for nation states and their security. N. J. Smelser pays special attention to the fact that modern nation-states are interdependent and must cooperate to solve global problems, such as encroachment on territorial integrity, terrorism, environmental threats and economic crises (Smelser, 1995, p. 93).

This statement is confirmed by the results of a survey conducted by the Razumkov Center sociological service from March 21 to 27, 2024: «Assessment of the Impact of Foreign Policy Factors on Ukraine. Attitudes Toward Foreign Countries and Individual Initiatives of Their Leaders», in particular, it was determined that the impact of foreign policy factors on Ukraine during the Russian armed aggression is one of the leading ones. The influence of international relations and foreign policy on the situation in Ukraine is one of the decisive factors in the liberation struggle against the aggressor country. The majority of respondents (80,7 %) believe that the support of Western countries is critical for stabilizing the situation in Ukraine and ensuring its security. Military assistance from Western partners, such as the United States and the EU, has a positive impact on Ukraine's ability to counter Russian aggression. Economic sanctions and

financial support from international organizations contribute to Ukraine's economic stability (Razumkov Centre, 2024).

Changes in public opinion in the distribution of answers to the question: «What extent do the following external events and processes negatively affect Ukraine?» (each item was rated on a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means no impact and «5» means a strong impact) for the period from January to March 2024 indicate an increase in the role of geopolitical factors (Fig. 2).



**Fig. 2.** Comparative Analysis of the Distribution of Respondent's Answers to the Question: «What Extent Do the Following External Events and Processes Have a Negative Impact on Ukraine?» (on a 5-Point Scale Where «1» Means no Impact and «5» Means a Strong Impact) for the Period from January to March 2024

**Source:** made by the authors based on the data of the Razumkov Centre (2024).

Assessing the negative impact of external events and processes on Ukraine, respondents most negatively assess the impact of the following factors (Razumkov Centre, 2024):

1. Russia's armed aggression is the most significant factor causing a negative impact with a high level of threat to Ukraine's national security and territorial integrity, and received 4,9 points.

2. A significant part of the population considers economic sanctions and blockades imposed on Ukraine, in particular by Poland, to be a strong negative factor. This limits economic growth, causes financial difficulties and complicates access to international markets – the average negative impact score is 4,5 points.

3. The forced migration of the population due to hostilities and the occupation of certain territories also received a high level of negative assessment. According to respondents, it is one of the factors that creates additional pressure on the country's social and economic structures and increases fatigue from the war – 4,2 points.

The survey results show that Ukrainian citizens consider external factors to be a significant threat to the country's stability and development. Military aggression, economic sanctions, political instability, migration crisis, and information warfare are the most negatively assessed. These factors require an adequate response from the government and the international community to minimize their impact and ensure Ukraine's stability.

Thus, a characteristic feature of N. J. Smelser's discourse on nation-states and their security is his multifaceted approach, which has not lost its relevance today, as it takes into account economic, social, political and global (geopolitical) factors influencing the development of the statehood of national countries. In this regard, special attention should be paid to the importance of integrating various spheres of social life to ensure national security, pointing out the complexity and interdependence of these processes. The need to find a balanced approach to national security management, including the maintenance of economic stability, social cohesion and political legitimacy, and taking into account global challenges and interdependence of the modern world, is a reality of the existence of countries in today's conditions.

### **CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

Today, it is safe to say that the views of sociologists such as I. Wallerstein and N. J. Smelser do not exhaust the discussion of national security and state-building. However, it is their ideas that underlie the subsequent paradigms of statehood and national sovereignty in sociological discourse:

The «world-systems» analysis recognizes that globalization has led to the loss of the influence of the nation-state on economic, political, and socio-cultural processes. Global corporations are destroying the foundations of nation-states, undermining their ability to function autonomously by using economic mechanisms. Therefore, national society is no longer seen as an analytical basis for organizing knowledge about social life. Also, sociological discourse is actively exploring the possibilities of analyzing social life at the international level by studying the nature and mechanisms of internationalization. Particular attention is paid, in particular by American sociologists, to economic growth, democratic change, environmental revolutions, and significant shifts in solidarity and identity. The author emphasizes the unity and interconnectedness of all spheres of society (micro-, meso-, macro-, and mega-levels) in the new social reality.

Thus, the sociological discourse presented by I. Wallerstein and N. J. Smelser laid the paradigmatic foundation for a new understanding of the role and functions of nation-states in the global world. They outlined the main directions of future sociological research, including the analysis of the impact of globalization on sovereignty, economy, politics and social structures, as well as the search for effective models of political and social governance in the new social reality.

Analyzing the sociological discourse on the existing paradigms of statehood and national sovereignty, the following prospects for further research on statehood, national sovereignty and national security were identified:

1. The use of a cross-cultural methodological approach that allows for a comparative analysis of the experience of different countries and regions is currently limited in studies of these issues, although it could help identify specific factors that affect statehood and national security, and would also allow for the identification of best international practices by obtaining a more comprehensive understanding of the problems of statehood and national sovereignty.

2. Since the globalization of the economy directly affects the development of nation-states, reducing their ability to control economic processes within national borders, which threatens economic security and sovereignty, sociological discourse is in dire need of developing new approaches to regulating and protecting national interests.

3. The emergence of supranational organizations and international regulatory regimes increases the interdependence of states while limiting their sovereignty. Research in this area aims to determine how



states can preserve their sovereignty, national identity, and cultural distinctiveness while participating in global political processes.

Further sociological research on statehood, national sovereignty, and national security has great potential for development. They can provide a deeper understanding of how states can function effectively in the context of globalization, preserving their sovereignty and ensuring the security of their citizens. The use of different methodological approaches, consideration of new security challenges, and analysis of the transformation of political institutions are key areas for future research in this area.

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