

Theory of Social Change in Post-Soviet Ukrainian Society

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Abstract

The significance of the issue lies in the observation that the experience of implementing neo-liberal market reforms during the 1990s in Ukraine reveals that disregarding the contributions of Ukrainian scholars led to detrimental consequences for socio-economic transformations. This study focuses on the theories of social change developed by Ukrainian scholars. The aim of this article is to consolidate and structure the concepts put forth by Ukrainian scholars that contribute to the theory of social change within post-Soviet Ukrainian society.

The methodology employed to examine the theory of social change in the context of post-Soviet Ukrainian society encompasses systematic, logical, historical, dialectical, and civilizational approaches and techniques. The findings of the research indicate that the theory of social change necessitates an interdisciplinary methodology. The primary criterion for evaluating the nature of social change is its orientation toward upholding societal cohesion. The emergence of crisis phenomena that present challenges to society serves as an indicator of social change. An essential element in understanding social change is an awareness of the socio-cultural distinctiveness of a given society. Effective management of social processes relies on the integration of theoretical principles with practical applications.

Several domains have emerged in the evolution of the theory of social change within post-Soviet Ukrainian society, including economic, demographic, civilizational, political, and security-oriented aspects. An analysis of indigenous concepts of social change within post-Soviet Ukrainian society highlights certain characteristics. Ukrainian social researchers consistently grapple with the task of constructing a comprehensive perspective on Ukrainian society. Amidst the multitude of social changes, a central issue pertaining to various concepts of social change has gradually arisen — the examination of the trajectory that society follows. Notably, a significant portion of scholars, predominantly economists, have regarded the economy as the primary determinant shaping the nature of social change.

The practical significance of these findings resides in the synthesis and organization of the concepts formulated by Ukrainian scholars, which contribute to the framework of the theory of social change in the context of post-Soviet Ukrainian society.

Keywords

theory, concept, social change, social processes, post-Soviet Ukrainian society

Problem Statement

Over the preceding three decades, Ukrainian society has undergone significant transformations, leading to a shift towards fundamentally distinct operational principles, an altered economic system model, a wholly different social framework, an alternative political system model, the operation of an alternative social governance model, the restructuring of socio-cultural connections, and notably, the emergence of a novel socio-cultural personality type for human identity. These outcomes of societal evolution necessitate comprehensive exploration across various domains of social and humanitarian knowledge. Undertaking research of this caliber requires substantial research groups or think tanks.

Although various publications by scholars, philosophers, authors, and artists have attempted to capture the essence of social shifts in post-Soviet Ukrainian society, the identified threats, hazards, risks, and challenges have not been adequately acknowledged by either the ruling faction (referred to as the elite) or the general populace. The Ukrainian ruling elite has struggled to transcend their narrow group-centric interests and prioritize the safeguarding of Ukraine's socio-historical integrity. The guiding theories that influenced Ukraine's ruling class have proven inadequate for the preservation and advancement of the nation, and the scientific developments of domestic scientists were not in demand. Those responsible for managing societal processes in Ukraine have overlooked the essential principle of dialectical harmony between social theory and social practice. Investigating the theory and application of governance within post-Soviet Ukrainian society stands as one of the most urgent tasks facing national academia.

Analysis of Research and Publications

To explore the theory of social change within post-Soviet Ukrainian society, a foundational step involves delineating the methodological and theoretical underpinnings necessary for selecting pertinent scholarly sources on social processes in Ukraine.

A prominent figure in the study of social change theory is renowned sociologist P. Sztompka, who undertook a comprehensive assessment of the entire historical lineage of theoretical sociology alongside contemporary dialogues concerning fundamental social theory concepts. Sztompka (1993) highlights in the preface of his book that sociology, over nearly two centuries, has engendered numerous concepts, models, and theories pertaining to societal evolution, with sociological approaches to understanding these changes also undergoing transformations. Central among these sociological tenets is the principle of historicism, which asserts that comprehending any present-day phenomenon mandates an exploration of its origins and the evolutionary trajectories that led to its manifestation. The same principle applies to the realm of ideas: comprehending contemporary perspectives on social change requires familiarity with their historical antecedents and the theories they contrast with (Sztompka, 1993).

Predominantly, the investigation into social processes within post-Soviet Ukrainian society has been steered by the scientific institutions under the umbrella of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, focusing on the social and humanitarian domain. The Institute of Sociology NAS of Ukraine, a pivotal entity within these establishments, has undertaken pivotal research endeavors such as the "Ukrainian Society. Monitoring of Social Changes,"

an ongoing initiative since 1992 (Vorona & Shulga, 2019, 2013). Notably, researchers affiliated with the Institute of Sociology have undertaken a study examining social changes in Ukrainian society amidst the backdrop of the Russian-Ukrainian war (Golovakha & Makeiev, 2022). Eminent scholars from the Institute of Sociology include V. Vorona, Y. Golovakha, N. Panina, M. Shulga, L. Sokhan, L. Bevzenko, V. Burlachuk, O. Vyshniak, O. Zlobina, S. Dembitskyi, N. Kostenko, S. Makeiev, V. Pylypenko, Pribytkova, O. Reznik, A. Ruchka, V. Stepanenko, V. Tarasenko, H. Chepurko, O. Shulga, and numerous others.

Prominent among the scientific institutions delving deeply into the study of social changes in Ukraine is the Institute for Economics and Forecasting within the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Distinguished academician V. Heyets (2009b), a long-standing leader of the Institute, has overseen a series of investigations concerning the Ukrainian economy and economic prediction. Notable works include comprehensive National Reports like “Socio-Economic Situation of Ukraine: Consequences for the People and the State” and “New Course: Reforms in Ukraine. 2010–2015” (Heyets, 2009b, 2012). The latter report was conceived to delineate a fresh conceptual trajectory for implementing overdue modernization transformations in Ukraine, with specific objectives and mechanisms shaped by the national academic community. Effectively, researchers have formulated a societal development strategy that has paved the path for Ukrainian modernization, grounded in the national interests of its citizens, while preserving unity and integrity.

Within the framework of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the Ptoukha Institute of Demography and Social Studies stands out as a specialized research institution uniquely focused on systematic exploration of demographic and social development concerns. The institute undertakes both fundamental and applied research, models emerging trends, generates comprehensive demographic forecasts, and establishes the conceptual foundations for state social and demographic policies. Among the institute’s notable accomplishments are the publications authored by eminent scientists such as S. Pirozhkov, E. Libanova, O. Gladun, and others.

The Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine has played a pivotal role in the examination of global societal advancement, matters of worldwide security, and socio-cultural progress across diverse communities. The activities of this academic institution encompassed international economic and political investigations, as well as the formulation of directions for Ukraine’s economic and foreign policy progression. The works authored by prominent scholars from this Institute, including O. Bilorus, S. Krymsky, Y. Pavlenko, and Y. Pakhomov, reveal a comprehensive analysis of social phenomena and processes that give rise to potential threats, hazards, risks, and challenges for the Ukrainian populace and other social entities.

In essence, a concise survey of scholarly sources underscores that Ukrainian academics, in their exploration of social phenomena, processes, discrepancies, issues, threats, dangers, and challenges within post-Soviet Ukrainian society, have exhibited a desire to redirect the trajectory of Ukrainian society. Their efforts involve offering the ruling class scientifically grounded strategies and means for the modernization of Ukraine, while mitigating the influence of detrimental factors.

The primary objective of this article is to consolidate and systematize the concepts formulated by Ukrainian scholars, which collectively contribute to the framework of the theory of social change within the context of post-Soviet Ukrainian society.

This objective is achieved through the pursuit of the following specific objectives:

- To provide a solid foundation for the methodological dimension of theoretical frameworks concerning social change.

- To pinpoint the principal trajectories shaping the development of the theory of social change within post-Soviet Ukrainian society.
- To delineate the attributes of concepts authored by Ukrainian scholars, which collectively contribute to the theoretical framework of social change in the context of post-Soviet Ukrainian society.

Discussion of the Issue

Methodological Considerations within Theoretical Models of Social Change

In his work titled "The Sociology of Social Change," sociologist P. Sztopka (1993) outlines his research objective as the exploration of fundamental tools for intellectual analysis, interpretation, and comprehension of social change, particularly within macrosociological or historical contexts. These tools manifest across three domains:

- 1) Common sense, where individuals assimilate general notions, concepts, and perceptions of social change to make sense of their lives.
- 2) Social and political philosophy, which elevates common sense judgments into independent, specialized, rational constructs that yield intricate categories, images, and doctrines.
- 3) The realm of social sciences encompassing history, political economy, social anthropology, and sociology.

These fields engage in methodical, critical analysis of shifting societal realities, leading to the formulation of more rigorous and empirically grounded theories. The researcher focuses exclusively on scientifically oriented approaches to social change, particularly those suitable for a distinct sociological sub-discipline termed "sociology of social change" (Sztopka, 1993, p. 11–12). Consequently, the study of social change in post-Soviet Ukrainian society necessitates an interdisciplinary perspective that entails comprehensive investigations spanning various social sciences and humanities.

Scholars affiliated with the Institute of Sociology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine underscore the paradoxical nature of social existence and the imperative for adopting a dialectical approach when scrutinizing social change in Ukraine. This approach signifies that theory must be founded on practice and continually refined to align with the demands of socially relevant governance. They emphasize that both the theory and practice of social reforms and transformations in Ukraine constitute an evolving process devoid of predetermined solutions. The initial endeavors of independent Ukraine to hasten its integration into the modern civilized world unveiled the complexities and protracted nature of the transformation journey. Concurrently, it has become evident that grasping the intricacies of this prolonged process and formulating policy directives across its multiple dimensions necessitates systematic research on social transformations, the analysis of influential factors, the exploration of sociological theories concerning sociopolitical dynamics and their adaptation to the Ukrainian context. Moreover, this calls for harmonizing the multidimensional transformation practices within Ukraine with broader global shifts (Tancher & Stepanenko, 2004). Thus, a key underpinning for effective social governance is adherence to the principle of dialectical synergy between social theory and social practice.

The exploration of Ukrainian society as a vast social system has captivated the attention of numerous domestic scholars. In my perspective, the pivotal criterion for assessing

their significance lies in their capacity to generate novel insights that forewarn social actors about the impending threats they confront. Beyond the realms of material and spiritual production, individuals are persistently confronted with the challenge of securing safe living conditions — this encompasses their creation, generation, renewal, and preservation. Consequently, it is imperative to acknowledge the contributions of authors who have proven to be most compelling in addressing the threats, dangers, risks, and challenges encountered by post-Soviet Ukrainian society.

Centralizing the aspects of safeguarding functionality and integrity assumes paramount importance within the domain of social and humanitarian knowledge in contemporary societies. An example illustrating the pertinence of this issue is discerned in the perspectives of eminent intellectuals in Singapore concerning social change within their nation. Lee Kuan Yew (2000), who led Singapore's government until 1990, orchestrated societal dynamics for three decades, resulting in what was referred to as the Singaporean "economic miracle." In his publication "From Third World to First: The Singapore Story: 1965–2000," Lee Kuan Yew (2000) delineates the intricate trajectory traversed by Singaporean society encompassing socio-economic, political, and cultural transformations that culminated in its prosperity. The author identifies several challenges encountered by Singapore post-independence: 1) external national security — seeking recognition as an independent state and acquiring UN membership; 2) internal national security — safeguarding civil order; 3) a pivotal economic challenge — ensuring a respectable standard of living for the populace. Guided by these realities, Lee Kuan Yew arrives at a significant realization that for a city-country positioned on one of Southeast Asia's myriad islands, the conventional path is untenable. At any cost, Singapore had to evolve into a unified, formidable nation capable of adeptly adapting to transformations — a nation that could effectively address the very quandaries others aimed to outperform them in (Yew, 2000).

To transition from destitution to affluence within a span of thirty years, the government had to surmount seemingly insurmountable obstacles. In 1959, when Lee Kuan Yew (2000) assumed the role of prime minister, Singapore's gross per capita income stood at \$400 USD. By the time he left office in 1990, this figure had soared to over \$12,200, and further escalated to \$22,000 by 1999. However, the current prosperity of Singapore does not grant its elite a sense of complacency. The challenge of formulating apt responses to the novel social realities is underscored by K. Mahbubani (2015) in his work "Will Singapore Survive?" the main question of which is how the city-state is preparing for new challenges. Inquisitively, the scholar poses the question: "Will Singapore survive?" and provides three potential answers: yes, no, maybe — each deemed plausible. The trajectory of Singapore's future as a city-state hinges on its society's capability to uphold its cohesion, and in this endeavor, the primary role isn't played by material factors, but rather by the intangible elements that define Singapore's spirit: culture, education, and the citizens' spiritual essence (Mahbubani, 2015). Hence, resolving the quandary of preserving societal integrity pivots on its advancement, on the character of social change, which is fundamentally influenced by the direction set by the ruling echelons of society.

In 2011, Ukrainian sociologist M. Shulga (2011), through his publication "Drifting to the Margins: Twenty Years of Social Change in Ukraine," cautioned that the social, economic, political, and cultural shifts have not merely resulted in the fragmentation of Ukrainian society, but have also imperiled its unity.

Researchers at the Institute of Sociology within the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, spearheaded by sociologists N. Panina and Y. Golovakha, initiated the "Ukrainian Society: Monitoring of Social Changes" study. The researchers emphasize that this monitoring initiative serves five key functions:

- a) **Diagnostic Function:** The initiative enables the acquisition of sociographic data that constructs a reliable factual foundation for evaluating and analyzing swift social transformations. This is particularly pertinent when the societal structure, institutions, and normative and value systems undergo profound shifts.
- b) **Prognostic Function:** Utilizing monitoring data, it becomes feasible to project the probable trajectories of transformation processes in Ukraine, encompassing the establishment of a civil society, the development of a market economy, and modernization of political system.
- c) **Project Function:** Monitoring serves as a cornerstone for constructing models of social advancement throughout the transitional phase. This is achieved by pinpointing the factors underlying the emergence and escalation of social conflicts.
- d) **Planning Function:** Monitoring facilitates the utilization of an accurate evaluation of social changes, integrating this assessment into the realm of day-to-day social administration. Furthermore, it informs the formulation of strategies for implementing social reforms.
- e) **Educational Function:** This function encompasses two distinct components:
 - 1) **Information component:** Monitoring materials find application within educational settings, aiding students in various social sciences and humanities such as sociology, political science, economics, and management. Journalists rely on this information for crafting TV and radio content, newspaper articles, and magazine features. Furthermore, politicians utilize monitoring materials for drafting legislation and conducting debates.
 - 2) **Scientific component:** The conducted research forms the foundation for constructing a theory pertaining to society in transition within Ukrainian sociology. Notably, this theory encompasses the normative-personal concept of societal transformation by N. Panina (Zagorodniuk, 2013, p. 139). The outcomes derived from sociological monitoring hold exceptional significance for effective social governance. However, it is observed that authorities often overlook the insights provided by the scientific community.

Moreover, contemporary society has grown so intricate that conveying the essence of its ongoing processes through the lens of a solitary discipline is no longer feasible. To acquire a portrayal of the state and transformations of Ukrainian society that approximates reality, a comprehensive research approach is imperative. This holistic perspective entails the amalgamation of various disciplines, including sociology, political economy, political science, social psychology, cultural studies, global studies, geoeconomics, geopolitics, global security, and social philosophy.

In the conclusion of the twentieth installment of the compilation "Ukrainian Society: Monitoring of Social Changes," M. Shulga underscores that the majority of articles within it focus on the crisis phenomena afflicting Ukrainian society. These crises manifest across economic, political, geopolitical, social, spiritual, cultural, and other domains. When scrutinized at a more elevated level of abstraction, these crisis phenomena collectively present a commonality: they all pose challenges to society (Shulga, 2019).

The book authored by distinguished Ukrainian scholars S. Krymsky and Y. Pavlenko (2007), titled "Civilizational Development of Humanity," is dedicated to the advancement of novel approaches in comprehending history and attaining a comprehensive grasp of humanity's civilizational progression, along with Ukraine's positioning therein. The book offers insights into cognition within the context of cultural endeavors, unveils the defining principles of the civilizational process intricately interwoven with ethno-historical evolution, elucidates cultural archetypes and the civilizational identity of the Ukrainian populace, and discerns global

cultural and civilizational shifts at the juncture of the millennium (Krymsky & Pavlenko, 2007). The comprehension of a society's socio-cultural distinctiveness represents a profoundly pivotal factor in the panorama of social change. Notably, it's the anchoring in a civilization's inherent nature that has emerged as a determinant in the successful modernization trajectories of Asian nations such as Hong Kong, China, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Japan.

The examination of the methodological facets inherent in the theory of social change has revealed the following key attributes: 1) effectively scrutinizing social change necessitates the utilization of an interdisciplinary approach, incorporating the conceptual frameworks from a variety of social sciences and humanities; 2) the fundamental characteristic underpinning the nature of social change is its orientation towards upholding the cohesion and unity of society; 3) a notable indicator of social change resides within crisis phenomena that present challenges of various forms to the fabric of society; 4) in the trajectory of social change, especially during the process of modernization, a significant determinant is the recognition and comprehension of the socio-cultural distinctiveness intrinsic to a given society; 5) the efficacious administration of social processes hinges upon adherence to the principle of unity, which harmonizes theoretical understanding with practical implementation.

Main Directions of Social Change Theory Development in Post-Soviet Ukrainian Society

At the inception of Ukraine's autonomy, the ruling echelons championed the trajectory of market reforms — signifying a transition from a centrally planned, state- and collectively-owned economic structure to a market-based economy grounded in private ownership. Consequently, economic transformations emerged as a pivotal, if not determinative, facet of social change. Analyzing the impact of market reforms on society thereby became a pivotal domain within the comprehension of social change in Ukraine.

M. Pavlovsky (2001b) has provided a comprehensive underpinning for the concept of “economic reforms” as a pivotal driver of social change. He posits that economic reforms encompass transformations and shifts in the framework of economic governance, production organization, and economic management across realms such as monetary, financial, social, and environmental aspects. These changes influence the dynamics between distinct ownership forms, the interplay between state regulation and market-driven self-regulation, the balance between liberalization and protectionism, the duality of an open or closed society, the tension between equality and freedom, the dichotomy of globalization and economic self-sufficiency, as well as the dynamics between integration and national interests (Pavlovsky, 2001b).

In the context of post-socialist nations, M. Pavlovsky highlights the uniqueness of reforms executed in this milieu. These reforms are intrinsically linked to the transformation from a centrally planned economy to a market-based one. In this scenario, economic reforms catalyze societal changes and reconfigure the socio-economic landscape. Two models of reform characterized this shift from socialism to market-driven relations in the latter half of the 20th century. The first, championed by the Chicago neoconservative school and grounded in Friedman's Monetary theory, was adopted in both Latin American and post-socialist nations under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The second model, implemented by the People's Republic of China, was rooted in M. Tuhan-Baranovsky's innovation theory, centering on innovation and investment in priority sectors.

Reforms aligned with the first model proved to be exceedingly costly and destructive. Over time, Ukraine's economic potential dwindled by nearly 75%, relegating the country to a position outside the top ten most developed nations worldwide and significantly beyond the 100th rank. In contrast, China, through its adherence to the second reform model, witnessed impressive GDP growth rates ranging between 8% to 12% annually. Moreover, the well-being of its populace experienced consistent growth across the entire reform period (Pavlovsky, 2001b).

Eminent scholars, including O. Bilorus, V. Vyshnevsky, L. Vorotina, V. Heyets, O. Ghosh, V. Dementiev, O. Kendyukhov, E. Libanova, V. Lyashenko, Y. Makohon, M. Pavlovsky, Y. Pakhomov, V. Sirenko, O. Soskin, V. Tarasevych, A. Filipenko, V. Cherniak, M. Chumachenko, O. Shnyupko, and others, have diligently explored the economic landscape of post-Soviet Ukraine. Through their works, the essence and intricacies of economic and social processes have been unveiled, illuminating their ramifications on daily life and the trajectory of Ukrainian society.

In 2009, the release of the National Report titled "Socio-Economic Situation in Ukraine: Consequences for the People and the State" marked a significant milestone. This comprehensive assessment delved into Ukraine's economic, social, political, legal, and humanitarian development, taking into account the looming threats and risks linked to contemporary global crisis phenomena. The report meticulously scrutinized macroeconomic shifts, transformations within the tangible economic sector, as well as energy and environmental challenges. Notable emphasis was placed on tackling the conundrums tied to effective public governance, navigating the political crisis, achieving financial sector stability, fostering dialogue amongst government, business entities, and civil society, and reshaping the socio-humanitarian realm.

The authors of this report offered a strategic perspective along with approaches and mechanisms to surmount systemic crises and propel the nation towards dynamic growth benchmarks. They underscored the inseparable linkage between resolving socio-economic quandaries and the preservation and enhancement of demographic potential, the prioritization of human development, the consolidation of the Ukrainian political identity, and the formation of a cohesive socio-humanitarian sphere within Ukraine (Heyets, 2009b).

During the 1990s, Ukraine pursued a trajectory of neoliberal market reforms rooted in the paradigm propagated by economists of the Chicago School, most notably M. Friedman and F. Hayek, known as the "Washington Consensus." In an attempt to divert public attention from the detrimental repercussions of these reforms across various sectors of Ukrainian society, reformist endeavors stifled the advancement of political economy within the nation. Professor O. Ghosh (2004), in his assertions, upholds the historical mission of political economy, contending that the epoch of spontaneous operation and evolution of civilized human societies has faded into oblivion. In contemporary times, neither post-industrial, nor industrial, nor traditional societies can navigate socio-economic processes without the guiding influence of state regulation, as elucidated by scholarly inquiry. This role of social sciences takes on heightened significance within post-socialist transitional societies engaged in profound overhauls of their socio-economic systems. The disruptive impact of economic reforms in such societies might have been mitigated had politicians grounded their decisions in robust political and economic research. Paradoxically, precisely when post-socialist societies most required these insights, a significant number of erstwhile political economists, under the sway of Western-driven reforms endorsed by the bourgeois elite, forsake political economy and aligned with the so-called "Fundamentals of Economic Theory," crafted upon Western economic theoretical foundations — the theory of market relations (Ghosh, 2004).

In the quest for pathways to surmount the systemic crisis, economists have proffered theoretical models for the transformation of the Ukrainian economy. Notable among these are the theoretical frameworks articulated by various scholars: O. Ghosh (2004) championed the model of state socialism; O. Kendyukhov (2009) elaborated on the model of post-industrial intellectual economy; M. Pavlovsky put forth the model of a mixed multi-structured economy characterized by robust state regulation (2001a); O. Soskin (2014) proposed a model of people's capitalism; V. Tarasevych (2011) formulated a model of state-socialized capitalism; a team led by S. Taruta devised a model of balanced development for Ukraine until 2030, and A. Filipenko delineated a model of people's economy (Kharlamova et al., 2018; Filipenko, 2010).

Hence, the economic facet of the theory of social change has emerged as a paramount focal point in comprehending post-Soviet Ukrainian society. However, within Ukraine, the

advancement of political economy — the discipline delving into the genesis of wealth — was stymied by reformist efforts.

Simultaneously, the demographic dimension of the theory of social change was also taking shape. Disturbing patterns in population dynamics began to manifest in the 1990s, yet the gravity of the demographic crisis came into stark public awareness following the 2001 All-Ukrainian Population Census. Data from the 1989 All-Union Population Census revealed the population of the Ukrainian SSR to be 51,452 thousand individuals. By January 1, 1993, Ukraine's population had reached a peak in its history at 52,243 thousand. However, as per the 2001 Census, the population had declined to 48,457 thousand people. This indicates a decrease of 3 million compared to the previous census and a reduction of 3.78 million from its peak in 1993. Since 1993, the population reproduction in Ukraine has been marred by an alarming surge in negative trends that forewarned of an impending demographic catastrophe. E. Libanova's analysis indicates that, based on official data, the population of Ukraine dwindled by 299.7 thousand in 1995, 309.5 thousand in 1996, 311.6 thousand in 1997, 300.7 thousand in 1998, 350.0 thousand in 1999, 373.0 thousand in 2000, and 369.5 thousand in 2001. During this period, the Ukrainian population's decline accelerated, dwindling by nearly one thousand people per day (Lybanova, 2014).

Prominent within the realm of contemporary Ukrainian demography, notable works include O. Gladun's monograph "Essays on the Demographic History of Ukraine in the Twentieth Century" and the collaborative monograph "The Population of Ukraine. Demographic trends in Ukraine in 2002–2019" (Gladun, 2018, 2019). This collective effort scrutinizes fertility, mortality, and migration trends from 2002 to 2019, projecting demographic scenarios up to 2100, and delineating key avenues for socio-demographic policy.

In the realm of comprehending social change in Ukraine, the socio-cultural perspective emerged prominently and rapidly ascended to a pivotal role within the national realm of scientific inquiry. Following Ukraine's attainment of independence, the formational approach, underpinned by Marxist theory, was discarded across the post-Soviet sphere as an antiquated relic incongruous with contemporary societal understanding. Concurrently, the civilizational approach, dominant in Western discourse, was introduced in Ukraine for societal examination, positing culture rather than the economy as the bedrock of societal existence. This paradigm shift in societal analysis spurred a radical transformation in research methodologies and tools, as well as the configuration of an alternative model for societal management. Presently, societal governance centers not on economic activities or accomplishments, but rather on cultural mechanisms aimed at shaping specific values — albeit frequently employed to manipulate collective consciousness. However, it is notable that this model of governance can often substitute genuine social processes with mere simulations. As with any methodological framework, the civilizational approach boasts both merits and limitations.

Contemporary states worldwide strive to chart the trajectory and course of their societies, necessitating a vision of their society's future configuration. The crux lies in steering the society's course from its current manifestation toward an idealized projection of the same society. Regrettably, in post-Soviet Ukraine, the national elite has consistently prioritized present interests while failing to engage in discussions about the future trajectory of Ukrainian society or the construction of a socio-political ideal.

In 2006, V. Volovyk posited that the quest for a socio-political ideal could hold promise if grounded in a profound, impartial analysis of Ukrainian society's historical evolution. This analysis should consider past experiences, current circumstances, and aspire toward a better future. The pursuit of an appealing socio-political ideal for Ukraine should be pursued within the framework of its historical advancement, encompassing the holistic development of society, its economy, and culture. This entails enhancing the material well-being of the

populace, nurturing their spiritual flourishing, and fostering increased individual freedom. This freedom would empower citizens to develop their valuable and essential societal contributions (Volovik, 2006).

The Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine played a pivotal role in championing the socio-cultural trajectory for studying social change. Over two decades, the institute functioned as a Ukrainian "think tank," comprising 96 members including 2 academicians, 24 doctorates, and 45 candidates of sciences. However, on October 30, 2013, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NAS) Presidium made the decision to terminate the operations of the The Institute of World Economy and International Relations at the NAS. The Acting Director, O. Havryliuk, criticized this decision, characterizing it as a "crime" and suggesting ulterior motives related to resources and property. He claimed that in 2013, the institute was allotted UAH 6.3 million for maintenance, and its closure could be perceived as an effort to save this funding ("The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Liquidated the Institute of World Economy," 2013). The decision to shut down the Institute of World Economy and International Relations was not solely due to the lack of financial support from the state. Two years later, in 2015, certain individuals within state-owned companies received substantially larger sums of money than what was required for the Institute's upkeep. In Ukraine, it appears that influential forces are aiming to dismantle domestic "think tanks" that advocate for Ukraine's national interests through scientific endeavors. This trend has led to Ukrainian society being depicted as a "headless horseman," wherein authorities often prioritize the counsel of foreign advisors over insights provided by Ukrainian scholars.

In comprehending the dynamics of post-Soviet Ukrainian society, the author also delves into the political dimension of the theory of social change. This facet involves uncovering the intricacies of the political system and its nucleus, which is state power. It further encompasses analyzing the framework of societal governance and the trajectory it follows.

Academician V. Heyets (2009a) expounds on the factors underlying the emergence of a novel paradigm of societal governance in post-Soviet Ukraine. This period marked the formulation of statehood and the overhaul of social and economic structures, with "transformation" signifying the pursuit of a qualitatively distinct societal and economic state. As the close of the 20th century witnessed the global triumph of market-oriented economies, where liberty and democracy stood as bedrocks in both social and economic spheres, decisions concerning the trajectory of development were inexorably linked to the unfettered market. This evolution from socialism to capitalism engendered a form of market absolutism, rendering it a type of authority that permeated all facets of public life, particularly the interplay between the state and business. Often unregulated, opaque, and even illicit market interactions between the state and business entities became the cornerstone of the prevailing path of market absolutism, seemingly granting *carte blanche*. While the stated aspiration was to evolve into a nation with a civilized market economy, reality saw the prior model of state absolutism transmuting into market absolutism. This transition to a framework of market absolutism within a liberal state catalyzed the conditions for widespread corruption within the state machinery and the consolidation of oligarchic power, fueled by a climate where "total freedom" evolved into the "new ideology," permitting unbridled enrichment with minimal restraints, leading to the dominance of pseudo-market relations, especially within the interface of the state and business interactions (Heyets, 2009a).

The aspect of crime's role in shaping Ukraine's ruling class, its political and economic elite, remains an overlooked topic, with historical accountability of the ruling class toward the Ukrainian population for the extensive array of losses, deterioration, destruction, and societal decline seldom being discussed. Thus, in the current era of prolonged crisis, the primary challenge confronting the society is the transition of elites or the identification of

capable elites equipped to confront the accumulated historical challenges. Nonetheless, the contemporary society grapples with its inability to effectively facilitate this change of elites, due to a range of factors such as weak and fragmented state institutions, underdeveloped intellectual capacity, feeble influence of political, scientific, and artistic elites, and the prevailing absence of social institutions designed to recognize and address these challenges. Moreover, the oligarchic core's lack of interest, coupled with their alignment with transnational corporations and international entities, further obstructs meaningful change, while a dearth of strong domestic intellectual and artistic elites exacerbates this situation (Shulga, 2019).

Furthermore, the trajectory of societal security emerges as a pivotal and unifying avenue within the theory of social change, encompassing various aforementioned dimensions and beyond. When examining Ukraine's developmental security in a globalized context, O. Bilorus (2001) emphasized a paramount geopolitical query at the dawn of the third millennium: whether each nation can genuinely compete against the so-called "golden billion" countries, or if it will be relegated to financial subservience and relegated to the periphery of the global economy in the forthcoming decades? Presently, Ukraine faces this audacious challenge, standing at a crossroads between political subjugation, financial dependence, economic dilapidation, ideological decay, yet armed with a population marked by talent and industriousness, and preserving, albeit for the moment, a scientific, technical, and technological potential, coupled with an intact educational system (Bilorus, 2001).

The National Institute for Strategic Studies occupies a leading role in the examination of diverse dimensions of Ukrainian societal security. One of the notable works produced by this institute is the monograph titled "The World Hybrid War: Ukrainian Forefront" (Horbulin, 2017). Regrettably, even though significant scientific efforts were invested in the realm of security, they were unable to prevent the military conflict in Donbas and the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war.

In the trajectory of advancing the theory of social change within post-Soviet Ukrainian society, several distinct domains have crystallized, encompassing the economic, demographic, civilizational, political, and security realms.

Domestic Concepts of Social Change in Post-Soviet Ukrainian Society

Sociologist M. Shulga underscores a pivotal issue and key task for national social science. Firstly, the capacity to construct an accurate portrayal of Ukrainian social realities, coupled with the competence to offer informed analyses and formulate explanatory theoretical frameworks for societal processes, primarily rests with Ukrainian sociologists. Secondly, the pressing objective remains to cultivate a sociological perspective of contemporary Ukrainian society. A robust theoretical model is indispensable for elucidating the dynamics of the nation and a comprehensive scientific framework is essential for crafting a coherent representation of society for practical application. The absence of this foundation results in an enigmatic and unmanageable social environment that defies predictability (Shulga, 2010).

In order to fully grasp the panoramic landscape of social change research, it is worthwhile to delve into the fundamental concepts germane to the evolution of Ukrainian society, its economy, and other facets of public life, as conceived by Ukrainian social scholars. These conceptual frameworks mirror the scholars' aspiration to address the challenges confronting Ukrainian society. These conceptual frameworks are rooted in a thorough analysis of the existing condition of Ukrainian society, encompassing its economy, social dynamics, cultural landscape, and other dimensions of public life.

As previously highlighted, during the 1990s, Ukraine embarked on a path of neoliberal reforms influenced by the principles advocated by economists of the Chicago School, such as M. Friedman and F. Hayek. This strategy was executed with the active involvement

of foreign advisors, who wielded considerable influence over the policies of successive Ukrainian presidents and governments. Academician Y. Pakhomov (2003) recounts that in the early 1990s, J. Sachs advised both Russian and Ukrainian leadership on reforms. Sachs himself was eventually compelled to admit that they "put the patient on the operating table, cut the chest, but the client had a completely different anatomical structure" (Pakhomov, 2003, p. 6). In other words, Sachs realized that the impact of reforms he advised did not align with the inherent structure of Ukrainian society, revealing a mismatch between the foreign-designed reforms and the actual societal dynamics. This recognition led to a growing awareness among scholars, particularly economists, that foreign-authored theories were ill-suited and even detrimental to reforming Ukrainian society due to their failure to account for numerous national factors, including socio-cultural nuances.

Among the comprehensive studies examining Ukrainian society, a significant contribution is made by M. Pavlovsky's monograph "Strategy of Society Development: Ukraine and the World (Economics, Political Science, Sociology)." This work delves into various aspects of societal life during the initial decade of Ukrainian independence, contextualizing these changes within the global shifts occurring at the same time (Pavlovsky, 2001a). To identify strategic pathways for societal development, Pavlovsky devised a coordinate system called the "Degree of State Intervention in the Economy" (DSIE), illustrated in Figure 1 (Pavlovsky, 2001a).

Degree of State Intervention in the Economy is delineated by ownership structure and spans a spectrum from 0 to 100 percent. At the lower extreme, a level of state intervention at zero percent corresponds to the free market model (classical capitalism), while full intervention at approximately 100 percent aligns with the model of state socialism. With state intervention bound by these limits, this coordinate system serves as a framework within which societal development unfolds. On one end, we find classical (unregulated) capitalism, while on the other end lies state socialism. Within this spectrum resides the realm of a mixed economy, akin to the model adopted by developed nations. A country's proximity to either limit determines its classification — closer to the lower limit signifies "capitalized socialism" (favoring social principles), while closeness to the upper limit signifies state socialism. If positioned nearer to the lower limit, the model may be termed "socialized capitalism" (prioritizing individual freedom). Although state socialism and classical capitalism differ

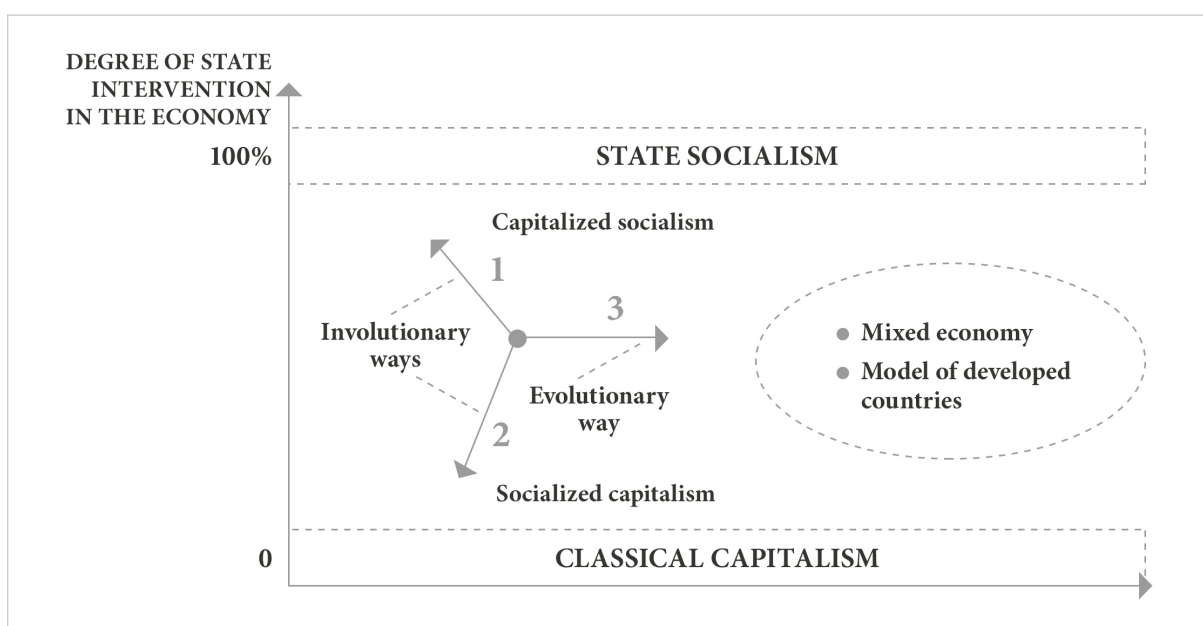


Figure 1. Ways of development of society

in ideology and often stand in opposition (embodying equality versus individual freedom, planned versus market economy, state versus market regulation, closed versus open society, protectionism versus liberalization), they share characteristics that are conducive to authoritarian or totalitarian regimes. Both models prove detrimental to national interests, fail to foster progressive development, and instead drive societal degradation (Pavlovsky, 2001a).

The crisis of 1932–1933 marked the waning of classical capitalism, subsequently mitigated by measures like F. Roosevelt’s New Deal and Keynes’ economic revolution in the United States. These initiatives aimed to enhance structured, purposeful state intervention in the economy, curbing market disorder, generating employment, and addressing social issues. This laid the groundwork for the mixed economy paradigm seen in developed countries. Similarly, state socialism exhausted its viability by the close of the twentieth century, culminating in the collapse of the socialist framework. Based on this analysis, M. Pavlovsky identifies three strategic pathways for societal development. Two involve a regressive course — reverting either to the state socialism of the early 20th century or the unfettered free market model of the 18th and 19th centuries. The third, evolutionary route entails aligning with developed nations through the adoption of a mixed economy model (Pavlovsky, 2001a). In essence, M. Pavlovsky underscores the necessity of an evolutionary trajectory for post-Soviet Ukrainian society, achievable through a ***national strategy centered around cultivating a mixed economy in Ukraine.***

Academician V. Sirenko contends that the revitalization of Ukrainian society, averting further degradation and decline, hinges upon the establishment of a mixed economy model. He claimed that nearly two decades of reform experimentation have shown that Ukraine requires a synergy between state ownership in pivotal, revenue-generating, and foundational industries, alongside private initiative and ownership in service and support sectors of the national economy. The formula encapsulating this notion — a state stewardship of core means of production complemented by private enterprise in service, trade, light, food, and processing industries — not only charts a path to crisis resolution but also serves as Ukraine’s salvation, guaranteeing its independence and aligning it more closely with Western developmental paradigms. He also pointed out, In contemporary times, state property holds a central position in the advanced nations, resulting in marked increments in national income. Take the United States, for instance, where state ownership expanded from 8% at the dawn of the twentieth century to 30% by its close, amounting to 1.5 trillion dollars. This influence has become a driving force propelling productive forces forward. It is through state ownership that the developed Western countries have the capacity to execute expansive education and healthcare initiatives, propel foundational science, explore realms such as space and the oceans, harness nuclear energy, overcome economic crises, and support agricultural production, among other accomplishments (Sirenko, 2009).

O. Soskin formulated the concept of people’s capitalism due to Ukraine “facing a scenario that demands a qualitative transformation in the economic developmental model, necessitating significant changes in ownership structures and other institutional frameworks.” He believes that to avert a deepening economic, financial, and societal crisis with potential severe ramifications for the economy and general well-being, Ukraine’s economic approach must shift its orientation. This shift should move from incentivizing and financially bolstering large financial and industrial capital to fostering competition, optimizing the state’s regulatory functions and its role in the national reproductive process, and invigorating small and medium-sized enterprises by all means possible. Essentially, this denotes a shift in Ukraine’s economic developmental model — transitioning from the model of state monopoly, clan-oligarchic capitalism to the model of people’s capitalism, which possesses genuine potential for more rapid and effective resolution of issues stemming from chronic state budget deficits and the rapid escalation of domestic and external debt. This shift aims to strike a balance

between supply and demand, propel the growth of domestic capital markets, and steer the nation towards a trajectory of economic expansion (Soskin, 2010).

A. Filipenko (2010) outlined a vision of a *people's economy model* for Ukraine, which shares principles akin to the Scandinavian approach. This model advocates extensive citizen participation in all economic processes, commencing with genuine privatization and corporatization to serve the majority of society's interests (as opposed to a select group of oligarchs, as occurred in Ukraine). It also calls for citizen involvement in the management of enterprises and institutions across various ownership forms. To address the increasingly worrisome social situation, the model suggests limiting the concentration of property in the hands of a few individuals. This would counteract the phenomenon of latifundium in rural areas and curb the excessive concentration of industrial assets currently prevailing. In contrast to Ukraine, where citizen participation in enterprise management is minimal or nonexistent, developed nations emphasize the role of trade unions in resolving both social and production-related concerns, effectively safeguarding workers' interests and engaging in corporate and firm governance. The modernization of Ukrainian society is closely linked to establishing a rational economy. This economy hinges on economic interest — the aspiration of entrepreneurs, shareholders, landowners, and capitalists alike to maximize profits. Landowners aim for fair rent, capitalists seek profitable returns on investment, and workers strive for wages that meet social needs (Filipenko, 2010).

Both the model of the people's economy and the model of people's capitalism advocate denationalizing the economy and rejecting oligarchic influences. The distinction between the two lies in their focus: O. Soskin's model prioritizes societal capitalization, while A. Filipenko's model emphasizes socialization.

V. Tarasevych (2011) advocates for the model of state socialized capitalism by emphasizing the need to align capitalization and socialization processes in Ukraine. Recognizing the demands placed on the young nation-state, Tarasevych underscores the necessity of strengthening it significantly. This empowerment would enable the state to steer a path of democratic liberal socialization within society and modernize the country in accordance with the national character and the majority of citizens' interests. The proposition is for the state to possess more substantial capital and resources than the national bourgeoisie, thereby becoming a more potent national capitalist entity in service to the people. In contemporary circumstances, the concept of state socialized capitalism aligns more closely with this trajectory compared to the prevailing oligarchic approach (Tarasevych, 2011).

O. Kendyukhov (2009) puts forth the concept of establishing a post-industrial industrial economy in Ukraine. He argues that the modern state's fundamental purpose should be to ensure society's long-term well-being, which should determine its primary goal. Achieving sustained high competitiveness within the context of global competition is the key to ensuring the long-term well-being of Ukrainian society. In the foreseeable future, biotechnology, information and communication technologies, nanotechnology, new material creation, non-resource energy sources, transportation, and environmental technologies will underpin living standards and environmental safety. This trend will lead to intensified global competition for intellectual resources. Kendyukhov stresses that unless a post-industrial intellectual economy is established in Ukraine within the next 20–25 years, the nation could devolve into a territory accommodating hazardous industries reliant on cheap labor. The only viable course is to expedite the formation of a post-industrial intellectual economy in Ukraine by fostering the growth of intellectual capital and the development of intellectual labor as primary production factors. The impetus for this process should be initiated and actively driven by the state (Kendyukhov, 2009).

Sociologists N. Panina and Y. Golovakha have laid the groundwork for the *concept of a dual institutional system* as a methodological framework for studying social trans-

formations within Ukrainian society through the lens of a civilizational (socio-cultural) approach. Their analysis substantiates the emergence of a dual institutional system in Ukraine during the latter half of the 1990s, a system that played a role in mitigating aggressive conflicts. This dual framework is characterized by two distinct elements. On one hand, the “backbone institutions” inherited from Soviet society, despite losing their legitimacy following perestroika and the dissolution of the USSR, retained their traditional legitimacy. This legitimacy stemmed from people’s tacit approval of social norms rooted in the ideology of state paternalism, the retention of state ownership of major enterprises, socialist benefits for the populace and privileges for the ruling elite, as well as the steadfastness of the public sector in fields such as education, healthcare, science, artistic culture, and the management of religious and interethnic relations.

On the other hand, the illicit (shadow) institutions prevalent in Soviet society, including the shadow market (entailing unauthorized production and speculative activities in times of scarcity), widespread corruption, organized crime, and a dual moral code (a disconnect between public and private ethical stances), underwent a transformation into ostensibly lawful elements of the “transitional society.” However, these newly legitimized institutions struggled to achieve genuine legitimacy due to their widespread perception as “legalized lawlessness.” This perception led to a general resistance to embracing these new institutions as the core institutional fabric of society. As a result, a sense of anomalous demoralization, mistrust, and discontent pervaded a significant portion of the Ukrainian populace. This ambivalence was a response to institutional formations lacking clear legal or moral foundations (Golovakha & Panina, 2006).

Despite the consistent emphasis by Ukrainian authorities on their alignment with Western ideology and aspirations for Western integration, the resulting “centaur state,” characterized by a head turned toward the West but hampered from moving in that direction due to its “socialist hooves,” emerged as a “transitional society.” The status of the “transitional society” was becoming progressively less certain when viewed from the perspectives of both democracy and the market economy.

As this society evolved under the influence of multifaceted political and economic forces, it moved contrary to the initial expectations. The heightened nostalgia for a lost “social order” coincided with widespread disillusionment in the efficacy of democratic proclamations (Filipenko, 2010). The concept of a dual institutional system emerged as a tool to investigate various aspects of post-Soviet Ukrainian society, including the dynamics of value systems, the processes of group consolidation, and the identification of communities.

Distinguished Ukrainian theorists of socio-cultural development, S. Krymsky and Y. Pavlenko (2007), raised concerns about the deleterious impact of foreign influence on Ukrainian society. Ukraine’s chosen trajectory, directed by the mandates of institutions like the IMF and other international entities — essentially Western — resulted in systemic degradation spanning all sectors of life, from industry and agriculture to healthcare, education, science, and culture. This degradation extended from sectors vital to societal functioning to areas encompassing biological and socio-cultural reproduction (Krymsky & Pavlenko, 2007).

Professor M. Lepskiy (2012) pioneered a significant field of scientific exploration in post-Soviet Ukrainian society by introducing the *concept of social forecasting and the design* of political, social, and eventually peacebuilding processes. The monograph “Strategic Forecasting of Political Situations and Processes” underscores the pressing need for a systematic conceptualization of strategic forecasting. The author underscores that as the theory of controlled chaos infiltrated the execution of strategic projects in various societies and the global community, there emerged a necessity for a scientific framework to conceptualize strategic forecasting in an environment characterized by openness, nonlinearity, imbalance, and uncertainty. In this context, researchers are compelled to enhance tools that organize

and integrate forecasting methods and strategic management, especially in shaping the trajectory of political processes as they unfold into the future (Lepskiy, 2012).

The entirety of sociologist M. Shulga's scholarly work is dedicated to the exploration of social changes within Ukrainian society. His notable contributions include the formulation of the systemic crisis concept (elaborated extensively in the book "Drift on the sidelines: twenty years of social change in Ukraine") and the development of the social matrix concept as presented in the monograph "Glitch of the Social Matrix" (Shulga, 2011, 2018).

V. Skvoretz (2019), in his endeavor to analyze social changes within post-Soviet Ukrainian society, formulated the concept of the transformation of Ukraine's socio-historical organism. This concept delves into the examination of social processes that impact the coherence of this organism.

Conclusions

In summary, a concise overview of domestic concepts concerning social change in post-Soviet Ukrainian society highlights several key points:

1. Ukrainian social scholars faced the continuous challenge of creating a comprehensive understanding of Ukrainian society, which underwent dynamic transformations due to swift and profound changes across all sectors.
2. The core concern across different concepts of social change was deciphering the trajectory that society was traversing.
3. A significant portion of scholars, primarily economists, regarded the economy as the primary driver.
4. Aligned with the civilizational approach, Ukrainian sociology has introduced the concepts of a dual institutional system and the socio-cultural development of humanity.
5. The escalation of crisis-related occurrences, the progression of decline and deterioration across various aspects of public existence, and the deepening of social disparities have provided the foundation for the formulation of theoretical frameworks such as the systemic crisis concept, the social forecasting and design concept, the social matrix concept, and the transformation of Ukraine's socio-historical organism concept.

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