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Valevskiy Oleksii Leonidovich,
Doctor of Science in Public Administration, Senior Researcher, National Institute for Strategic Studies, 01030, Kyiv, Str. Pirohova, 7-a, tel.: + 38 (050) 654 38 98, e-mail: walewsk@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0003-0403-0277

Валевський Олексій Леонідович,
доктор наук з державного управління, провідний науковий співробітник, Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень, 01030, Київ, вул. Пирогова, 7-а, тел.: + 38 (050) 654 38 98, e-mail: walewsk@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0003-0403-0277

Валевский Алексей Леонидович,
доктор наук государственного управления, ведущий научный сотрудник, Национальный институт стратегических исследований, 01030, Киев, ул. Пирогова, 7-а, тел.: +38 (050) 654 38 98, e-mail: walewsk@gmail.com



ORCID: 0000-0003-0403-0277

PROBLEMS OF VALUE TRANSFORMATIONS AND PUBLIC CONSOLIDATION IN THE CONTEXT OF UKRAINE'S EUROPEAN CHOICE

Abstract. The research task of the publication is to analyze the value transformations occurring in the public consciousness, which are caused by the European integration of Ukraine. Since the processes of value transformations and the formation of identity are non-linear, in addition to quantitative methods, it is necessary to apply an archetypal approach to verify them.

It is proved that the European integration of Ukraine is connected not only with economic and institutional transformations, but also with the need to master European values and behavioral models on which the economic, social and political spheres of the European community are built.

It is shown that as a result of the Russian aggression and the strengthening of European integration tendencies, value changes occur in the assessments of Ukrainian citizens of social processes and worldview orientations. The attractiveness of integration models with the participation of the Russian Federation is

significantly reduced, but the number of supporters of the European direction is increasing.

It is proved that value transformations occur slowly, and this process is not linear. However, it can be argued that the conditional set of “European values” is gradually increasing the number of its supporters among citizens.

Large-scale public perturbations that are associated with Russian aggression in the Donbass and the economic crisis have contributed to the formation of a request for unity and consolidation in the public consciousness. However, at the moment the need for values of consolidation and unity remains largely unfulfilled.

It is concluded that the need to ensure the irreversibility of the process of value transformations makes it necessary to perceive cultural activities from a different angle. It is proved that the dynamic development of culture is of key importance for the successful modernization of Ukraine and ensuring sustainable development.

Keywords: association of Ukraine with the EU, value transformations, consolidation of society, cultural policy, modernization of society, sustainable development, archetypical approach.

ПРОБЛЕМИ ЦІННІСНИХ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЙ ТА СУСПІЛЬНОЇ КОНСОЛІДАЦІЇ У КОНТЕКСТІ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО ВИБОРУ УКРАЇНИ

Анотація. Дослідницьке завдання полягає в аналізі ціннісних трансформацій, які відбуваються у громадській свідомості та пов’язуються із напрямом європейської інтеграції України. Оскільки процеси ціннісних трансформацій і формування ідентичності є нелінійними, то для їх верифікації у громадській свідомості, окрім кількісних методів, необхідно застосовувати архетиповий підхід.

Доведено, що шлях європейської інтеграції для України пов’язується не лише із економічними та інституційними перетвореннями, а також із необхідністю опанування європейськими цінностями та поведінковими моделями, на яких будуються економічна, соціальна та політична сфери функціонування європейської співдружності.

Показано, що внаслідок російської агресії та посилення євроінтеграційних тенденцій відбуваються ціннісні зміни в оцінках українськими громадянами суспільних процесів та світоглядних орієнтацій. Суттєво зменшується привабливість інтеграційних моделей за участю РФ, натомість збільшується кількість прихильників європейського напрямку.

Доводиться, що ціннісні трансформації відбуваються повільно, і цей процес не є лінійним. Однак можна стверджувати, що умовний набір “європейських цінностей” поступово збільшує кількість своїх прихильників серед громадян.

Масштабні суспільні пертурбації, які пов’язані із агресією РФ на Донбасі та економічною кризою, сприяли формуванню у громадській свідомості запиту на цінності єдності та консолідації. Проте на цей момент потреба у

цінностях консолідації та єдності залишається багато в чому не реалізованою.

Робиться висновок, що необхідність забезпечення незворотності процесу ціннісних трансформацій змушує під іншим кутом зору сприймати культурну діяльність. Доводиться, що динамічний розвиток культури має ключове значення для успішної модернізації України та забезпечення сталого розвитку.

Ключові слова: асоціація України з ЄС, ціннісні трансформації, консолідація суспільства, культурна політика, модернізація суспільства, сталий розвиток, архетиповий підхід.

ПРОБЛЕМЫ ЦЕННОСТНЫХ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЙ И ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЙ КОНСОЛИДАЦИИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ЕВРОПЕЙСКОГО ВЫБОРА УКРАИНЫ

Аннотация. Исследовательское задание публикации состоит в анализе ценностных трансформаций, происходящих в общественном сознании, которые вызваны европейской интеграцией Украины. Поскольку процессы ценностных трансформаций и формирования идентичности являются нелинейными, то для их верификации, кроме количественных методов, необходимо применять архетипный подход.

Доказано, что европейская интеграция Украины связана не только с экономическими и институциональными преобразованиями, а также с необходимостью освоения европейских ценностей и поведенческих моделей, на которых строятся экономическая, социальная и политическая сферы функционирования европейского содружества.

Показано, что в результате российской агрессии и усиления евроинтеграционных тенденций происходят ценностные изменения в оценках украинскими гражданами общественных процессов и мировоззренческих ориентаций. Существенно уменьшается привлекательность интеграционных моделей с участием РФ, зато увеличивается количество сторонников европейского направления.

Доказывается, что ценностные трансформации происходят медленно, и этот процесс не является линейным. Однако можно утверждать, что условный набор “европейских ценностей” постепенно увеличивает количество своих сторонников среди граждан.

Масштабные общественные пертурбации, связанные с агрессией РФ на Донбассе и экономическим кризисом, способствовали формированию в общественном сознании запроса на ценности единства и консолидации. Однако на данный момент потребность в ценностях консолидации и единства остается во многом не реализованной.

Делается вывод, что необходимость обеспечения необратимости процесса ценностных трансформаций заставляет под другим углом зрения воспринимать культурную деятельность. Доказывается, что динамичное развитие культуры имеет ключевое значение для успешной модернизации Украины и обеспечения устойчивого развития.

Ключевые слова: ассоциация Украины с ЕС, ценностные трансформации, консолидация общества, культурная политика, модернизация общества, устойчивое развитие, архетипный поход.

Problem statement. In 2014, with the victory of Euromaidan in Ukraine, the course for European integration was declared. The Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, which fixed the path of European integration, came into force. The Preamble of the Agreement states that its creation is based on the fact that Ukraine and the EU member States share common values. It is stated that “Ukraine as a European country shares a common history and common values with the Member States of the European Union (EU) and is determined to support these values”. The preamble also states that there are relations between Ukraine and the EU based on common values. It should be noted that an exhaustive list of these values is given here. Namely, respect for democratic principles, the rule of law, good governance, human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights of persons belonging to national minorities, respect for diversity, human dignity and devotion to the principles of a free market economy [1]. It also notes “the importance that Ukraine attaches to its European identity”. It is important to note that the Preamble states that Ukraine’s integration with the European Union will depend on Ukraine’s achievements in ensuring respect for common values and progress in approaching the EU in the political, economic and legal spheres”. Finally, the list of objectives of the Association in the first place indicates the

promotion of rapprochement between Ukraine and the EU, which is based on common values.

Thus, the path of European integration for Ukraine is associated not only with economic and institutional reforms. This path should be accompanied by value transformations in public consciousness and behavioral models, since the Agreement gives value transformations the same importance as socio-economic, legal and institutional changes.

In 2017, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine approved an updated action Plan for the implementation of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. This Plan defines that European integration is an integral part of the strategic planning and policy-making of each ministry. The action plan is an ambitious document that sets out the 1943 tasks, covering 27 areas. 106 authorities of Ukraine are responsible for performance of tasks [2]. The government regularly publishes reports on the implementation of tasks related to the Agreement. Thus, as of the first half of 2018, Ukraine has fulfilled 41 % of the annual action plan for the implementation of the Agreement [3].

At the same time, in discussions around the implementation of Ukraine’s tasks related to the Agreement, it is the problem of value formation that is not given due attention. This can be explained by the fact that value transformations are not directly related either to the activities of the authorities or to

institutional transformations. However, it is inappropriate to neglect this factor of the European integration process, as it is given an important functional importance. The Agreement proceeds from the postulate that the criterion for the success of Ukraine's integration with the EU is the level of mastery of its basic European values in the political, economic and legal spheres. Finally, the list of objectives of the Association in the first place indicates the promotion of rapprochement between Ukraine and the EU, which is based on common values.

The aim of the article is to analyze the value transformations that occur in the public consciousness and are associated with the direction of European integration of Ukraine. Since the processes of value transformations and identity formation are nonlinear and indicate complex and ambiguous trends in the public consciousness, it is necessary to apply an archetypal approach to their verification, in addition to quantitative methods.

Presentation of the main material. The first thing that attracts attention when it comes to value transformations in recent years is the weakening of the influence of the ideologems of the "Russian world" (RW) on the public consciousness of Ukrainian society. Thus, monitoring studies of the Institute of sociology of NAS of Ukraine in 2013 recorded abnormally high positive attitude of citizens of Ukraine to Putin – the average score of the integrated assessment (according to the following scale: "1" – low, "10" – the highest score) was 5,8 points. By the way, Ukrainian President of that period received a much lower score – only

3,6 points. In 2017 Putin's assessment by Ukrainian citizens fell to 2,9 points [4 p. 498]. However, given the large scale of the devastating consequences of Russian aggression, this figure is still a cause for concern. However, the mentioned dynamics of assessments shows that the process of rejection of the ideology of Moldova is increasing in the public consciousness.

In 2014, Ukrainian society formed a significant number of citizens who supported the priority nature of foreign policy partnership with Russia. In particular, according to surveys of the Razumkov Center, in 2009 their number reached a record level of 51,1 %. It is worth paying attention to the factors that at that time, according to respondents, could contribute to the rapprochement of Ukraine and Russia. This is the common historical past (42,7 %), family ties between the inhabitants of both countries (41,7 %), proximity of cultures (24,6 %) [5, p. 72–75]. Traditionally, supporters of strengthening contacts with Russia are residents of the Eastern and southern regions. However, until 2014, such attachment acquired in some places hypertrophied forms. Thus, according to the Razumkov Center, in 2009, 65,7 % of the representatives of the conditional "Slavic community" of Crimea (citizens of Ukraine who are ethnic Ukrainians or Russians) were convinced that Ukrainians and Russians are one people, and 44,2 % did not consider themselves representatives of the Ukrainian political nation [6].

However, since 2014, as a result of understanding the causes of Russian aggression and strengthening of European integration processes, there are

changes in the assessments of Ukrainian citizens of foreign policy orientations. An illustration of this is the dynamics of the attitude of citizens to Ukraine's accession to the Customs Union. It should be recalled that during 2013, a massive information processing of the consciousness of Ukrainian citizens regarding Ukraine's accession to the Customs Union was carried out. It gave the results – at that time 45 % of citizens positively treated Ukraine's accession to the Customs Union, 25 % treated negatively. In 2017, the number of those who positively assessed Ukraine's accession to the Customs Union decreased to 22 %, but the number of opponents of such an integration model increased to 57 % [7, sec. 501]. A similar trend is observed in changing attitudes towards integration models aimed at bringing Ukraine closer to the Western world. Thus, in 2013, 28 % of citizens had a negative attitude to the idea of Ukraine's accession to the European Union. In 2017, there were 24 % of them. At the same time, the number of those who support Ukraine's accession to the EU increased significantly from 41 % in 2013 to 54 % in 2017. Similar trends are observed in the attitude of citizens to the idea of Ukraine's accession to NATO. Thus, the number of those who negatively perceived this idea decreased from 54 % in 2013 to 35 % in 2017. At the same time, the number of supporters of NATO membership increased from 14 % in 2013 to 40 % in 2017 [8, p. 502].

In general, there is reason to believe that in recent years, pro-Western sentiments have been growing in the public consciousness. According to a study conducted in late 2018, “pro” Ukraine's

accession to NATO were 46,3 % of citizens, “against” – 31,6 %. Accordingly, 58,1 % of citizens support accession to the European Union, 23,9 % do not support it [9]. However, the data obtained should not make an impression about the consolidated support of the population of the Western vector of integration. It should be borne in mind that according to the survey, 51 % of the residents of the southern and 53 % of the Eastern regions do not support NATO membership. Accordingly, 41 % of residents of the southern and 40% of residents of the Eastern regions are skeptical about joining the EU. This regional distribution of responses leads to the conclusion that value transformations are slow and not linear. Certain value enclaves remain in the society, which do not perceive changes.

The study of orientations of Ukrainian citizens shows that the conditional set of “European values” is gradually gaining the increasing number of its supporters. Thus, the study “Ukrainian society and European values”, conducted in 2017 by the Gorshenin Institute in cooperation with the representative Office of the F. Ebert Foundation in Ukraine, showed that the values of personal well-being – health, success, prosperity, happy family, lack of stress, personal development are dominant in the minds of Ukrainians. This is followed by the values associated with paternalism-quality and free education and medicine, decent pensions, social benefits, job security, commensurate with income prices. And only last of all respondents pointed to the values that can be described as “European” – the rule of law, democracy, freedom of speech, honesty/transparency, the de-

sire to provide equal opportunities to all citizens like [10, p.13]. The results of this study showed that European values are attractive to Ukrainians, and the need for their implementation is unanimously supported by both supporters and opponents of EU accession. In particular, respondents indicated that the most relevant value is the rule of law. Values such as equality before the law, human rights and democracy are set out below. At the same time, the authors of the study indicate that the respondents agree that “the path to the implementation of these values will be long, because, in their opinion, in our country there are no fair courts, the legislative system is extremely imperfect, in the minds of citizens there is neither respect nor fear of the law”. Another conclusion reached by the authors of this study is that “basic European values are perceived by Ukrainians as good ones that should be sought and which in the future may affect positive social trends. At the same time, Ukrainians are characterized by the fact that they tend to hypothetically support these values, but in everyday practice they are selectively embodied” [11, p. 19].

Since 2014, in the public consciousness there are value transformations under the influence of the development of new economic and social practices related to the European integration way. Mastering these practices is an urgent task, given the need to adapt Ukrainian society to the European economic and humanitarian space.

At the same time, as noted, this process is faced with the need to overcome many difficulties, phobias and prejudices of mass consciousness. In particular,

contradictory trends in the development of the values of private initiative and the free market are recorded. According to the survey conducted by the Sociological group “Rating” in 2019, almost 40 % of Ukrainians would like to have their own business. On the other hand, half of the respondents (48 %) did not express such desires. While in 2013 there were only 27 % who wanted to do their own business, and those who did not want it amounted to 63 %. Therefore, the number of supporters of private initiative is gradually increasing [12]. However, this trend does not yet prove that the mood of paternalism is disappearing in the public consciousness. Thus, according to the results of the 2019 survey, the majority of citizens (64 %) were of the opinion that the role of the state in the development of the economy is to ensure income equality and social justice. And only 27 % believed that the state should ensure freedom of development and fair competition rules. As you can see, there is an effect of “duality”. On the one hand, the number of citizens who want to implement a private initiative, and therefore the number of supporters of liberal views, is growing. On the other hand, the majority adheres to purely paternalistic attitudes and requires the state to ensure equality of income.

To demonstrate the scale of the problem of cultural development of European values the society is facing, it is necessary to turn to the specifics of the population's understanding of the content of basic values related to human rights. The results of the study “What Ukrainians know and think about human rights: assessment of changes (2016–2018)” show that despite the

fact that the population has a fairly high level of support for human rights values, there is a significant imbalance in their perception [13]. Thus, two thirds of the population prioritize socio-economic rights, and this is not surprising against the background of the high level of poverty in the country. According to the authors of the study, the problem is that the average person is not fully aware of the primacy of political and civil rights. The authors also note that 50–60 % of Ukrainians justify restrictions on the rights of drug addicts, former convicts, people with unpopular political views, Roma and representatives of the LGBT community. Moreover, the situation of willingness to restrict the rights of persons belonging to these social groups has deteriorated. The study also showed the frustration of people in the ability to defend their rights before the authorities. In general, the results confirm the need to continue systematic educational and cultural work both from the content of the citizens of their rights, and the need to respect human rights by the authorities.

Large-scale social perturbations associated with the aggression of the Russian Federation in the Donbas and the economic crisis, contributed to *the formation in the public consciousness of the request for the values of unity and consolidation*. Thus, according to the results of the survey in 2019, 28 % of citizens noted that the country lacks unity most of all. As for the potential threats, the citizens are also quite acutely aware of the threat of deconsolidation of society. Thus, in the list of potential threats, 33 % pointed to the “collapse of the country”. The most acutely it is felt by the inhabitants

of the Eastern and Southern regions. 24 % of citizens pointed to the threat of anarchy and anarchy [14]. However, at the moment the need for the values of consolidation and unity remains largely unfulfilled, because neither political forces nor public institutions for various reasons cannot unite society, offering a realistic set of values and behavioral models.

The need to ensure the irreversibility of the process of value transformation forces to perceive cultural activities from a different angle. After all, culture has the proper value and spiritual potential for the preservation of national identities and values and the formation of the worldview of modern man. Neglecting the possibilities of culture in the formation of modern man, preferring, first of all, the solution of economic and social problems, is a shortsighted position.

Dynamic development of culture is crucial for successful modernization of Ukraine and sustainable development. The erroneous view that the success of reforms lies only on the economic and social plane should be abandoned as soon as possible. Reforms can be successful only when they are accompanied by an effective policy of the state in the spiritual sphere. These were the ideas Ukrainian reformers lacked, who mistakenly linked the objectives of the reform only with increasing material consumption. At the same time, such tasks as promoting value transformations, developing the creative potential of society, creating conditions for the formation of a creative environment and new forms of social organization did not fall into the attention of the reformers.

Public opinion research shows that Ukrainians are becoming more confident that it is necessary to focus on the European values of the social order in the modernization of Ukrainian society. At the same time, citizens realize that in modern conditions of poverty, corruption in central and local authorities, low level of legal and political culture it is impossible to “simultaneously” introduce European values into public practice. This requires painstaking and systematic work, designed for a significant period of time.

Summary.

1. Since 2014, in the context of resistance to aggression of the Russian Federation and the beginning of the Association of Ukraine with the EU, there are changes in the value perception of public opinion socio-political processes. Actually, the need for such transformations is conditioned by the Association itself, where in the Preamble it is stated that the way of European integration for Ukraine is connected, first of all, with the mastery of the value basis on which the European community is built. *A list of such values is provided: respect for democratic principles, the rule of law, good governance, human rights and fundamental freedoms, including national minorities, respect for diversity, human dignity and commitment to the principles of a market economy.*

2. The results of monitoring studies make it possible to determine some vectors of value transformations in the public consciousness that occur. Thus, after 2014, the idea of the priority foreign policy nature of Ukraine’s partnership with Russia collapsed. Similar negativism is recorded with respect to

integration models with the participation of the Russian Federation, in particular the Customs Union. At the same time, the number of supporters of the Western vector of integration of Ukraine is increasing. Also, monitoring studies show that in the Eastern and Southern regions of the country there is a significant number of citizens who favor the ideology of the “Russian world”. *Therefore, value transformations are slow, and this process is not linear, so certain “value enclaves” remain in the public consciousness.*

3. The study of orientations of Ukrainian citizens shows that the conditional set of “European values” is gradually gaining the increasing number of its supporters. At the same time, this process is faced with the need to overcome many phobias and prejudices in the mass consciousness. We have to deal with a peculiar effect of “duality”, when declared commitment to “European values”, and in practice behavioral models tend to paternalistic or authoritarian attitudes. The perverse consequences of this “duality” can be seen, in particular, in the field of human rights, where there are many violations.

4. One of the factors of the ongoing transformations was the *formation of the demand in the public consciousness of the value of unity and consolidation.* The most acute relevance of such values is experienced by residents of the Eastern and Southern regions. However, at the moment this request remains largely unfulfilled. Neither political forces nor public institutions, for various reasons, can unite society by offering an exhaustive set of values and behavioral models.

5. The need to ensure the irreversibility of the process of value transformation forces to perceive cultural activities from a different angle. After all, culture has the proper value potential for the formation of the worldview of modern man. Once again we have to note that the *new cultural policy should become a means of development of the innovative potential of society and its consolidation around the values of progress*. Such cultural policy is able to resist the influence of disintegration processes.

The real scale of the problems faced in the formation of a new system of values in the minds of Ukrainian citizens has no analogues in the past. Here the cultural and humanitarian policy makers have to operate in an environment where old patterns and approaches do not work. Therefore, there is an urgent need to develop a new methodology for the design and implementation of humanitarian and cultural policy, because we are talking about the need to change the destructive attitudes of self-consciousness of a large number of people and the formation of a new system of values.

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