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THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL PROBLEMS
OF LAW AND POLITICS

EVOLUTION OF PUNISHMENT IN 21ST CENTURY: NEW PERSPECTIVES FOR RESEARCH

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Abstract

This paper deals with a panoptic carceral state of the XXI century, whose functions are reduced to maximum social control through the wide use of imprisonment and quasi-imprisonment practices and the spread of non-institutional forms of restriction of freedom (including non-punitive ones).

The methodology of the research is based on works of Rusche, Kirchheimer, Melossi, Pavarini, Foucault, Cohen, Bauman, Albrecht and other scholars. Proposing the ideas of "quasi-deviant", "the carceral state" and "penological pessimism", the author analyses the priority of "protection of the society from deviants" in public policies in the XXI century, simulacraisation of measures of "protection of the society" and lowering the threshold of deviance.

The aims of the research are to analyse: 1) the nature of contemporary penal practices; 2) the justification of punishment; 3) how social control spreads in the XXI century; 4) how the boundaries between imprisonment and non-institutional applications of imprisonment as well as between punishments and non-punitive forms of social control blur; 5) how the tension between "freedom" and "security" develop.

The research covers such issues as 1) clarification of the content of the terms "prison policy" and "social control" in the XXI century; 2) political and economic nature of new trends in social control policies and practices; 3) global consequences on crime prevention, sentencing and prison policies; 4) probable scenarios for the evolution of social control policies in the global and national dimensions; 5) the concept of a quasi-deviant as a special new collective object of social control; 6) penological pessimism as a fundamental characteristic of social control policy and practices; 7) growing supranational nature of modern prison policy; 8) institutional violence in the XXI century.

Keywords: prison, criminal punishment, justification of punishment, new-widening, incarceration, gated community, punitive city, prison population, prison privatisation, penological pessimism.

Presentation of the author's research

With this paper, we start presenting our ideas of a *panoptic carceral state* of the XXI century within the author's concept.

In our opinion, a panoptic carceral state is a form of a contemporary state, whose functions are reduced to *maximum social control* through the wide use of imprisonment and quasi-imprisonment practices, the spread of *non-institutional* forms of restriction of freedom (including *non-punitive* ones), and the development of *digital control practices.*

Accordingly, in the announced research, we intend to clarify the content of the definitions *"prison policy"* and *"social control"*, considering social control as a set of political practices of coercive influence on the behavior of people, which are aimed at supporting the state as a socially responsible institution. Punishments and criminal sanctions are considered as a component of social control policy and practices, which is formalised in a system of decisions and actions to protect society by from real or potential deviants.

In line with well-known scholars, who developed the ideas of the *economic conditionality* of the punishment and penal practices (Georg Rusche, Otto Kirchheimer, Dario Melossi, Massimo Pavarini, Michel Foucault, Nils Christie's, Zygmunt Bauman, Peter-Alexis Albrecht, Stanley Cohen and other academics), we intend to explore *the political and economic nature* of new trends in social control policies and practices in the XXI century.

In previously published and the following our papers, we research the global impacts on crime prevention, sentencing and prison policies:

– transformation of social control according to Foucault's scheme "*binary code of legality – disciplinary mechanism – security device*" but to the new level of the *fourth modulation* (*panoptic risk modulator*), which is reflected in a system of *panoptic management of deviants*, which consists in *controlled and economically viable reproduction of deviance as a commodity* with *commercial* characteristics and qualities;

– further transformation of the *"criminal law of freedom"* into the *"criminal law of risks"* (Albrecht, 2012) and the full-scaled involvement of civil (non-penal) instruments in social control over real, potential or declared deviants;

– differentiation of social control policies and practices of different states on different continents (the issue of the panopticisation of society and prison population rates);

– further evolution of private territories of social control in XXI century and further demonopolisation of the state's right to determine the principles of social control *(prison-industrial complexes).*

In our research, we are developing further the Cohen's concept of *"punitive city"* (Cohen, 1993) and adjusting it to the needs of XXI century as an element of the contemporary panoptic carceral state.

We are analysing probable scenarios for the evolution of social control policies in the global and national dimensions (there might be an increase in the number of centres of social control, including states, corporations, "punitive cities", "separated settlements", "gated communities", prison-industrial complexes, prisons, migration centres, and other places for persons who are identified as *"dangerous elements of society"*).

We are presenting the concept of a *quasi-deviant* as a special collective object of social control in the XXI century with the key characteristic of *"dangerous state of a person" (pericolosita)* (Petrunik, 1984; Webster & Dickens, 1983).

We are also elaborating *penological pessimism* as a fundamental characteristic of social control policy and practices in the XXI century.

We are also analysing the growing *supranational* nature of modern prison policy and the factors influencing the spread of the phenomenon of *supranationalisation* of prison policy.

An issue of *institutional violence,* which seems to continue to grow in contrast to attempts to prevent this phenomenon by international and national actors, is also one of the main aims of our research (Yagunov, Melnychuk & Meliukhov, 2023; Yagunov, Polovyi, Tupchiienko et al., 2023).

Originality of the research field

Proposing our ideas of *"quasi-deviant", "the carceral state"* and *"penological pessimism"*, we indent to prove that in the XXI century the priority of *"protection of the society from deviants"* in public policies will lead to further transformations of the concept of a *socially responsible state* into a *panoptic carceral state* by simulacraing measures of 'protection of the society' and lowering the threshold of deviance among its citizens.

In the context of transit in criminal justice model in contemporary states, the degree of institutionalisation of social control policy is increasing, the level of *real* protection of the society is decreasing, the prison system is acquiring characteristics of dysfunctionality, and the *simulacraisation* of the categories of *"freedom"* and *"human rights"* is increasing.

The current state of research and the aims of the research

For several decades, the tension between *"freedom"* and *"security"* has been one of the most discussed topics in science and politics. In the modern risk society (Beck, 1992), security is frequently prioritised over freedom. However, gains in security often come to the expense of freedom. In view of the advance of digitalisation and the ground-breaking development of artificial intelligence and surveillance (Lyon, 2018), the question arises as to how freedom and security are balanced in the XXI century in the context of sentencing and penal practices in order to exercise social control over the deviants of a new generation but with respect for their rights.

Accordingly, the aims of our research are to analyse: 1) the nature of contemporary penal practices; 2) the justification of punishment; 3) how social control spreads in the XXI century; 4) how the boundaries between imprisonment and non-institutional applications of imprisonment as well as between punishments and non-punitive forms of social control blur; 5) how the tension between "*freedom*" and "*security*" develop.

In the XX century, among others Georg Rusche, Otto Kirchheimer, Dario Melossi and Massimo Pavarini made a comprehensive analysis of the impact of the economics of penal practices (Rusche & Kirchheimer, 1993; Melossi & Pavarini, 1981).

Michel Foucault considered penal practices in the context of *"spreading panoptic discipline"*. His ideas concern different tools of disciplinisation and appear to be topical in the XXI century (Foucault, 1991). Especially, the technological development and the emergence of worrying polycrises turn the view to Foucault's security narrative (Foucault, 2009).

Nils Christie's concept of *"Western Style Gulags"* helps to understand the repressive (private) prison industry (Christie, 2000).

No less important are works of other prominent scholars in the context of the justification of punishment (Mathiesen, 2015; McLaughlin & Muncie, 2002).

Attention should be given to Zygmunt Bauman and Peter-Alexis Albrecht who combined legal, economic and sociological tools to demonstrate a shift to *"protection of the society"* in a postcapitalist society (Albrecht, 2012; Bauman, 2013).

Stanley Cohen and his "*punitive city*" – "a newly evolving penal world with dispersal and penetration of social control beyond and without prison walls" – is one of the pillars of our research (Cohen, 1993).

The academic discourse of the early 1970s put *interdisciplinarity* on the agenda, with deviance and crime as forms of reactions to the political system. For half a century, the political discourse in Western states highlighted the categories of *"criminals"*, "*prison policy*" and *"social responsibility of the state"*, taking for granted as the axioms of ideas of *classical* criminal justice. Although the academic discourse argued on (neo-)classical thinking and research studies explored the options and limits of rehabilitation of offenders (Martinson, 1974; Allen, 1981), an *interdisciplinary* study of how the complex policy of social control will develop in the XXI century has not been conducted yet (especially in the light of the re-emergence of the concept of dangerous offenders). In the XXI century, the restrictions on freedom appeared much more topical than ever in the light of the progress of all-encompassing digital technology, as it was analysed in the works of the early scholars, when classical criminal justice became unable to assist the policymakers in their policies of *"protections of society from dangerous deviants"*.

It is argued that the change in the discourse of punishment and related institutions at the end of the XX century reflected the growing dominance of *the protection of society* in relation to deviant behavior and the corresponding methods of ensuring social order, which fuelled the tension between freedom and security and the academic urge to find a balance between them.

Western states, which declare themselves socially responsible, have *not* been concerned with classic justice principles of reaction on deviants even if the slogans of *"individualisation of punishment"* and *"returning offenders to society"* are declared. Instead, the updated concept of *protection of the society* has become a *political priority* in the XXI century, much more than it was described by scholars in the XX century.

At the end of XX century, declared *apolitical* classical criminal justice has undergone a profound transformation of meanings. *"Treatment of offenders"* was replaced by managerialist indicators of *economically justified protection of society* and by *socio-technological control*, which did *not* exclude slogans of democratic values and human rights. The acquisition by social control of the qualities of a policy was accompanied by a change in the philosophy of *"fighting crime"* into *"social control policy"*, and *"the process of returning deviants to society"* into *"protection of society from real or potential deviants"* in many states.

This necessitates the analysis of sentencing and prison policies using the tools of criminal law, criminology, economics and political science. Trends in sentencing and prison policies of modern states (growth of the prison population, transformation of probation, parole and other forms of non-institutional supervision into auxiliary attributes of imprisonment, abstraction of the general preventive paradigm, decline in offender rehabilitation (even considering recovery after *"nothing works"*) and, as a result, a revision of the traditional goals of punishment, the dominance of concept of *"dangerous offenders"*, greater privatisation of prison systems, growth of violence in prisons), make topical study the essence of a punishment and its goals, the system of control and supervision measures against deviants in the XXI century.

Towards the fourth modulation of social control

Thus, at the beginning of the XXI century, it is necessary to put on the agenda the issue of changing the nature of the third ("new European") modulation of security and its spatial expansion.

We believe that a more profound analysis of the essence of the third (security) modulation of social control and the peculiarities of modern globalised society gives us grounds to speak about the *fourth modulation* of social control, which corresponds to the spirit of the XXI century society.

Firstly, the third modulation of social control, which Foucault defined as "modern modulation", was *"modern"* precisely as of the period from the 1950s to the mid-1970s (actually when his modular concept was developed). At the beginning of the XXI century, considering the obvious reduction in the timeframe of modulations of social control, even from the standpoint of logic, it is necessary to raise the question of outlining the contours of a new modulation – *the modulation of the Postmodern*.

During the more than two hundred years of dominance of the classical school, retribution, general prevention and rehabilitation surrounded the alleged *rationality* of the criminal. This *rationalism* was the basis on which the European *criminal law of freedom* was built. Today, however, we have a situation where 'securing society' has created the conditions for the transition to *the criminal law of security*.

Therefore, the XXI century objectively requires the continuation and expansion of Foucault's modular concept and the identification of *the fourth modulation* of social control, within which *not* only the discussion of the rehabilitation paradigm, but also the goals of criminal punishment and other measures of social control look archaic.

This necessitates the continuation of Foucault's modular concept with what we can define as a *postmodern modulation of panoptic risk management*.

Secondly, although the general outlines of the fourth modulation of social control were shaped within the close framework of the category of security, most of the issues and problems that stem from the essence of the modulation of social control in the early XXI century no longer fit within this framework and require a *modulatory autonomy*.

Thirdly, the intrusion of technology, electronics, invisible surveillance and digital networks into public consciousness and social relations affected the nature, forms and manifestations of social control, which is increasingly becoming *panoptic* and forcing changes in the category of freedom.

The main feature of the modality of social control in the XXI century is that social control practices have been shaped in the context of the destruction of their public foundations. The monopoly on the *"right to punish"*, which until recently belonged to the state, has ended up in the hands of private actors, with a further tendency to deepen this phenomenon.

And the problem is that the first three modulations – no matter how formally they were treated – were aimed at *reducing crime* or *establishing stable control over crime*. No matter how it was done – through theatrical cruelty directed against the body of the criminal, moral and religious reformation of the criminal's consciousness, psychological and psychiatric rehabilitation, social inclusion or other tools and mechanisms. Even the idea that "if we cannot do anything to reduce the recidivism potential of the offender, we should at least do it as cheaply as possible" (Martinson, 1974), despite its extreme pragmatism, pursued what was traditionally analysed in terms of socially oriented ideals.

Today, however, it can be argued that the modulation of social control in the postmodern era is associated with *the reproduction of crime*. The attempt to "at least do something" with criminals, and, if possible, "as cheaply as possible", to which the "security device" tried with all its might to give a social "face", failed to maintain its balance, swaying towards the simplistic thesis of *"as cheaply as possible"*. The total privatisation of prisons that has taken over national penal systems shows that states are forced to allow the private sector to take over a previously monopolistic state function, where the only goal is to maximise profits and minimise costs.

Previously, they tried to destroy the "criminal" (first without quotes, then with quotes). Capital and corporate punishments aimed at *the body*, disciplinary punishments aimed at *the soul*, security punishments aimed at *freedom*. However, all penal practices tried to supplant the "criminal" because of the undesirability of the actions of the criminal and/or his personality as such.

Today, on the contrary, we are witnessing a trend that has already become systematic and widespread, which is publicly proclaimed. The "criminal" is *no* longer a marginal in social relations. He/she is an openly desirable person for modern national criminal justice systems (although their nationality has long since begun to be "erased" due to the transnationalisation of the phenomenon of prison privatisation). Modern prison systems are no longer, to use Foucault's terminology, "perfect and complete institutions". They are still such in form, but in content they are *incubators of crime*, not because of the outdated stigma of "prison subculture" or "universities of crime", but because of their economic usefulness for many interested political actors.

An overview of the transformation of modulations of social control shows a tendency of gradual complication of each subsequent modulation of social control, and thus – complication of the statuses of managers of the respective modulations.

For example, a medieval executioner was required to be a high-quality expert on *the body* and the impact on *the body*, to have the appropriate skills and tools, which, incidentally, cost a lot of money.

The second modulation of social control required experts in *discipline*, which ensured the mass reproduction of religious missionaries, psychologists, psychiatrists, doctors, and social workers. We can recall the transformation of the model of a probation officer who "managed" to be a religious missionary, a moral educator of criminals, a social worker, a clinical psychologist, and a social worker again.

For the third modulation of social control, these were already *security experts*, where probation officers and prison officers became *"resource managers"* and, finally, *"managers of the risk of reoffending and the risk of causing significant harm"*.

In addition, it is not only the transformation of the role of the expert that is important for a particular modulation of social control, but also *the number of experts* required, which is somehow related to the number of offenders themselves, as well as their characteristics and statuses.

For example, we have seen a massive increase in the number of prisoners in many states, the growth of transnational prison corporations and their activities, and the revival of positivist concepts of the 'dangerous offender'. Politicians and administrators of criminal justice systems have openly talked about *"sexual predators"* and *"dangerous individuals"*, and it seems as if deviants of this type *did* not exist before. If earlier, relatively speaking, there were only a few categories of criminals, today their classification has been expanded to include many intermediate states, and each new category is filled with new *"knowledge"* from new *"experts"*. Instead of a *single group of "criminals",* there are now "criminals", "deviants", "abusers", "paedophiles", "sexual predators", "persons with suspicious behaviour", "persons with abnormal behaviour" and other persons whose definition is generally difficult to provide through classical criminal law, but who have begun to be mentioned in the legal acts of modern countries whose population has become much more concerned with "protecting society".

As a result, there are more experts, and special experts at that.

All of this characterises the fourth modulation of social control, which we are talking about, and which *no* longer conceals the obvious fact: for the fourth modulation, we can talk about experts in *the controlled and economically profitable reproduction of deviance and crime*, which, in turn, have acquired the characteristics of a *commodity* with the relevant characteristics and qualities.

The academic methods to be used to achieve the goals

The research will be based on comparative legal method, as well the methods of legal modelling, legal interpretation, statistical methods, which will make it possible to revise social control policies in the XXI century.

The geopolitical method will be used to identify the interference of geopolitical factors in national prison policy and to provide a forecast of the scope and of the loss of control over prison policies by national governments.

The method of comparative analysis will allow establishing the specifics of the transformation of prison policy in different continents and regions (considering the role of the religion in social control practices).

The concept of research is how to adapt their methods in relation to the beginning of the XXI century and to make a prognosis for the next decades at least.

The author will prove that the evolution of punishment in the XXI century as an instrument of social control cannot be investigated beyond the complex historical, economic and political approaches as they were used in the works of Rusche, Kirchheimer, Melossi, Pavarini, Foucault and other scholars.

The synergetic method used by the mentioned authors will be adapted to understand the mechanisms of building hierarchical links between the elements of the social control system in the XXI century.

The original methods in the context of this research were developed by Rusche, Kirchheimer and Foucault, in relation to researching of the spread of social control and discipline in society (Rusche & Kirchheimer, 1993; Melossi & Pavarini, 1981; Foucault, 1991; Foucault, 2009; Bauman, 2013).

The author will use the Foucault's methods for the needs of the XXI century because the Foucauldian discourse analysis is extremely useful for analysis of the social control issues (Khan & MacEachen, 2021).

A special attention will be paid to the method of analogy that will help to identify similarities between different mechanisms of social control (police, prisons, psychiatric institutions, factories, barracks, colleges, etc.) shaped by Foucault relating to XVIII – XIX centuries. At the same time, the Foucauldian discourse is urgently necessary to continue the list of contemporary disciplinary institutions, including "positive" *"gated communities"* and "negative" *"isolated settlements"* (Shawish, 2020).

In addition, the Stanley Cohen's methods of research will supplement the Foucault's methods (e.g. methods of evaluation of Net-Widening in the XI century) (Cohen, 1993).

Conclusions

Having summarised mentioned above, we have concluded that an issue of transformation of criminal punishment in the XXI century occupies one of the central places in academic discourse and necessitates an interdisciplinary study of penal practices in a *broader context* of social control.

Having considered the fundamental works of the prominent scholars of the XX century, we conclude that they should serve as a basis for further development of the issue due to the realities of the XXI century.

One of the author's concerns is a problem of the future of the paradigm of offender rehabilitation in the light of increasing demands to *"save money"* and to *"protect the honest taxpayers more"* from *"dangerous and violent predators"*. The re-emergence of the concept of a *dangerous offender* and its practical implication even on the level of international organisations (for example, the Council of Europe) underlines the problem additionally and demands a new complex view on penal practices across the world.

Blurring the borders between penal and non-penal instruments of social control is the area where freedom and rights are in danger of profound transformation in favour of *"security"*. We should investigate how, in-fact, penal instruments are camouflaged into non-penal ones for the aims of further compressing the freedom in the XXI century.

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APPLYING REFLEXIVE GAME THEORY TO MEDIATION: NEW STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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Abstract

This paper explores the application of Reflexive Game Theory (RGT) in mediation, demonstrating its capacity to enhance the efficacy of mediators in navigating conflicts of varying complexities. It outlines potential strategies for mediators to influence and change the parties' reflexive perceptions within these conflicts. Reflexive Game Theory, pioneered by Vladimir Lefebvre, offers a versatile framework for analyzing decision-making processes. This theory sheds light on the nuanced manner in which individuals and groups form their decisions, taking into account not only their own perspectives but also their perceptions of others' intentions and reactions. The author articulates how the practical implementation of RGT's core principles can markedly augment mediation effectiveness. It spotlights Lefebvre's dual approach to conflict perception, which presents mediators with two pivotal strategies. The first involves the mediator's efforts focused on modifying a participant's self-perception within the. The second direction concentrates on altering a conflicting party's perception of how a party perceives the opposing side's views and stances. This dual strategy not only enriches the understanding of conflict dynamics but also arms mediators with sophisticated tools to foster dialogue and achieve sustainable peace. The successful incorporation of RGT in mediation practices promises to revolutionize approaches to conflict resolution. In the article author introduces the innovative concept of "Reflexive Shift Mediation", emphasizing the mediator's role in altering parties' reflexive perceptions to facilitate resolution. This concept, reflecting a critical advance in mediation practice, requires further exploration and development. By offering a distinctive perspective for viewing and resolving conflicts, RGT paves the way for deeper comprehension and more nuanced mediation interventions.

Keywords: mediation, Reflexive Game Theory, RGT, conflict resolution, mediator strategies, conflict complexity, Reflexive Shift Mediation.

Introduction

Conflicts are a fundamental aspect of human interaction, and thus, humanity has consistently faced the challenge of finding safe and effective ways to resolve disputes throughout history. While direct negotiations often pave the way toward resolution, they can sometimes reach an impasse. Therefore, when parties fail to reach an agreement, there arises a need for more sophisticated methods of resolution, often requiring the involvement of a third party. Mediation serves as one such critical intervention, offering a structured approach to facilitate dialogue and understanding between disputing parties.

In this article, we will explore the conflict resolution possibilities offered by Vladimir Lefebvre's reflexive phenomenology. Unlike traditional approaches to conflict, such as litigation, arbitration, and direct negotiation, his approach reveals that conflicts are just one of the many forms of human interaction. This revelation shows that the same structures can manifest in both conflict and cooperation, suggesting a universal applicability of Reflexive Game Theory (RGT).

In this context, Lefebvre's insights offer new avenues for understanding and navigating not only conflicts but also cooperative dynamics through mediation. By applying RGT, mediators are equipped with a versatile tool that goes beyond traditional resolution methods, capable of altering perceptions and fostering understanding across a wide range of interactions. This paper aims to explore how the broad applicability of RGT can enhance mediation practices, offering additional tools for facilitating human interactions.

Materials and Methods

This study is based on a comprehensive review and application of Vladimir Lefebvre's seminal works on Reflexive Game Theory (RGT) and its implications for understanding both conflict and cooperation. Central to our examination is a detailed analysis of Lefebvre's key texts: "Lectures on Reflexive Game Theory" (2019), "Conflicting Structures" (1967), "The Algebra of Conflict", co-authored with G.L. Smolyan (1968), "The Formula of Man: Outlines of Fundamental Psychology" (1991), and "Algebra of Conscience" (2001). These and other publications lay the groundwork for our exploration of RGT's utility in mediation.

Our methodology unfolds in three primary phases:

Theoretical Analysis: we begin by dissecting Vladimir Lefebvre's theories, highlighting their potential application in mediation. This phase includes a thorough review of the mentioned works to extract crucial concepts and models relevant to conflict resolution and mediation practices.

Methodological Justification: the selection of RGT as the foundation of this study is justified by its unique perspective on decision-making processes in conflicts, emphasizing reflexivity's role in understanding and influencing the perceptions of opposing parties. Its applicability to both conflict and cooperation makes it an excellent framework for investigating the intricate dynamics of mediation.

Practical Application of Reflexive Game Theory in Mediation: This section reconsiders the mediator's role through the lens of Reflexive Game Theory, analyzing key areas where a mediator's efforts can be most effective: firstly, in changing a party's perception of its position within the conflict; secondly, in influencing how a party perceives the conflict from the opposing side's viewpoint. By integrating RGT principles, this approach aims to deepen the understanding and modification of the parties' reflexive perceptions. Focusing on these perceptual shifts, the study seeks to uncover the transformative potential of mediation practices, equipping mediators with advanced strategies for navigating the complex psychological landscape of conflict resolution.

This study's methodology is designed to provide a comprehensive understanding of how RGT can enhance mediation practices. By leveraging Lefebvre's theoretical contributions and applying them to mediation, this research aims to illuminate new aspects of conflict resolution dynamics. Our methodological approach is intended to be replicable, enabling other researchers to utilize Reflexive Game Theory in mediation studies or to evaluate its impact on various conflict and cooperation scenarios.

Results and Discussion

To effectively discuss Reflexive Game Theory as a cornerstone for successful mediation processes, we must first explore Vladimir Lefebvre's research on decision-making and conflict perception. Grasping these concepts is vital for understanding how they can improve mediation practices, shedding light on how mediators can leverage these insights for more effective conflict resolution. Vladimir Lefebvre's career embodies an extraordinary interdisciplinary approach, seamlessly integrating the exact and social sciences. Initially celebrated for his ground-breaking mathematical work in the Soviet Union, his move to the United States marked a significant pivot to conflict resolution and decision-making theory. This transition from mathematical modelling to human behavior and interaction analysis highlights the synergistic potential of applying rigorous analytical techniques to social phenomena studies. Lefebvre's work exemplifies how these fields interconnect, providing deep insights into human decision-making processes and conflict resolution strategies.

Reviewing Lefebvre's extensive contributions reveals that his research breaks conventional disciplinary limits, laying a solid theoretical groundwork for analyzing conflict dynamics. By merging mathematical rigor with an understanding of social dynamics, Lefebvre has paved new paths for investigating decision-making mechanisms and conflict. In 1967, with "Conflicting Structures", Lefebvre began integrating his mathematical insights with psychological theories, suggesting his theories' wider relevance beyond conflict resolution alone. This paved the way for more comprehensive explorations into human cognition and decision-making. His early collaboration with G.L. Smolyan, "The Algebra of Conflict" (1968), demonstrated his mathematical acumen in conflict structure analysis. This seminal work laid

the mathematical foundations for Reflexive Game Theory, highlighting conflict dynamics' predictability and structure. This exploration expanded with "Structure of Awareness: Symbolic Language Human Reflection" (1977), delving into human cognition and decision-making. Lefebvre's exploration into the algebraic models of ethical cognition and risk perception, as seen in his work from the early '80s, solidifies his standing as a pioneer at the intersection of mathematics and psychology (Lefebvre, 1981a; Lefebvre, 1981b). "The Formula of Man: Outlines of Fundamental Psychology" (1991) marked a pivotal turn toward the psychological applications of his theories, reflecting his growing interest in how reflexive processes influence human behavior and ethical decisions. "A Psychological Theory of Bipolarity and Reflexivity" (1993) furthered this dialogue. This transition from mathematician to psychologist was further evidenced in "Algebra of Conscience" (2001), which delved into the ethical dimensions of RGT, exploring moral conflicts and ethical decision-making through reflexive structures. This publication cemented Lefebvre's status as a leading thinker at the mathematics and psychology nexus, offering fresh perspectives on the ethical foundations of human choices. His later works, such as «Research on Bipolarity and Reflexivity» (2006) continued to push the boundaries of RGT's applicability. Lefebvre's "Lectures on Reflexive Game Theory" (2010) compilation represents the culmination of his life's work, providing an extensive overview of RGT's applicability across different fields. His theoretical and practical contributions, spanning from mathematical models to ethical systems, not only lay the groundwork for Reflexive Game Theory but also highlight its applicability in diverse fields, emphasizing its significance in enhancing conflict resolution and mediation practices. This collection not only encapsulates his theoretical developments but also highlights the practical benefits of his research in understanding and addressing human conflicts.

Vladimir Lefebvre's shift from the exact sciences to the social sciences marks a thoughtful and strategic integration of disciplines, highlighting an approach that enhances our comprehension of human cognition and the dynamics of conflict and cooperation (Taran, 1998, p. 162). His exploration into Reflexive Game Theory brings to light nuanced perspectives that, despite not being universally acclaimed for their ground-breaking impact, offer valuable tools for enriching the practices of mediation and negotiation. Lefebvre's contributions span from resolving interpersonal disputes to addressing complex group and political conflicts, providing a theoretical basis that broadens the skill set of mediators, negotiators, and facilitators (Fisher, Ury & Patton, 2011, p. 48). His research opens up new methodologies for improving our navigation through the complexities of human interactions, thereby augmenting the toolkit available to conflict resolution professionals.

In his work "Conflicting Structures", Vladimir Lefebvre notes that the relationships between research subjects are most vividly manifested in conflict. For the parties involved, it becomes vitally necessary to penetrate the adversary's intentions, analyze their "thoughts" and construct a "unique theory". Meanwhile, the "subject" strives to be inconsistent with the theory; it continuously "evades" the constructed theory, rendering it incorrect (Lefebvre, 2015, p. 5). This underscores the significant applicability of Lefebvre's theories and their pivotal relevance to mediation, which is aimed at conflict resolution.

Vladimir Lefebvre's ideas are not confined to interpersonal conflicts but can also serve as a basis for resolving disputes at higher levels. In light of this, Ilona Mishchenko's commentary on the Ukrainian-Russian conflict starkly illustrates the broader crisis in global conflict resolution systems. Her analysis reveals the inadequacy of the existing world order, presumed to be safeguarded by international legal norms, in preventing such conflicts. This situation highlights the urgent need for transformative approaches in both international and national legal systems (Mishchenko, 2022, p. 52). We believe this statement further emphasizes the significance of turning to Vladimir Lefebvre's Reflexive Game Theory (Wojnowski, 2015, p. 16). Its practical application could address the crisis in maintaining global order and conflict resolution, urging legal and conflict resolution frameworks to proactively adapt to the shifting international and national landscapes.

The Vladimir Lefebvre's Reflexive Game Theory articulates that within any group, each pair of individuals (or 'subjects') is either in a relationship of alliance or conflict. This distinction is crucial for understanding the dynamics at play in mediation scenarios, as it frames the interaction between parties within a clear, binary context. Key to this framework is the concept of decision-making (Nye, 2023, p. 92). Lefebvre suggests that a group's actions, available to its subjects, form a structured decision-making landscape. Subjects choose from these actions, navigating constraints of relationships and external pressures (Lefebvre, 2010, p. 33-34). This perspective is essential for mediators, who must understand the complex decision-making fabric of parties in conflict. Moreover, Lefebvre explores the nuances of intention, dividing subjects into goal-oriented and arbitrary based on their approach to forming intentions. This division enriches our

grasp of what drives parties in conflict, offering mediators insights into guiding parties toward reassessing their goals for more positive outcomes.

By applying Reflexive Game Theory, mediators gain a sophisticated understanding of the interplay between relationships, intentions, and choices in conflict resolution. This application not only validates the theoretical robustness of RGT but also its practical utility in enhancing mediation strategies. Thus, RGT equips mediators with a comprehensive toolkit for navigating the intricate dynamics of human conflicts, spotlighting the theory's enriching contribution to mediation practices. Vladimir Lefebvre views reflection in its traditional philosophical and psychological sense as the ability to assume the position of an "observer", "researcher" or "controller" towards one's body, actions, and thoughts (Lefebvre, 2010, p. 33). Expanding this notion, reflection is also seen as the capacity to adopt a researcher's stance towards another "character", their actions and thoughts. This broader understanding of reflection allows for the construction of a comprehensive subject of study, highlighting reflexive processes as a distinct phenomenon that defines the specificity of relationships between researcher-objects. This expanded view of reflection can be invaluable in conflict resolution through mediation, offering a framework for understanding and navigating the complex dynamics of interpersonal relations, enabling mediators to facilitate more effective communication and understanding between conflicting parties.

In the realm of Reflexive Game Theory as proposed by Lefebvre, two pivotal focal points emerge for mediators: the reflection of a party on its own position within a conflict and its perception of the opposing party's reflection on the same issue. These reflexive perceptions are key to understanding and managing the intricate nature of conflicts (Tarasenko, 2010). By modifying either aspect – the party's self-view or its view of the opponent's stance – a mediator can significantly influence the conflict's dynamics. This presents mediators with two main avenues: first, aiding parties in reassessing and possibly changing their own positions; and second, helping them comprehend and perhaps modify how they are perceived by their opponents. This sophisticated grasp of conflict and mediation underlines the critical role of reflexive thinking in dispute resolution. Lefebvre's theory posits that the success of mediation does not solely depend on the mediator's capacity to facilitate dialogue or suggest solutions but also on a deep engagement with how parties perceive themselves and each other within the spectrum of conflict.
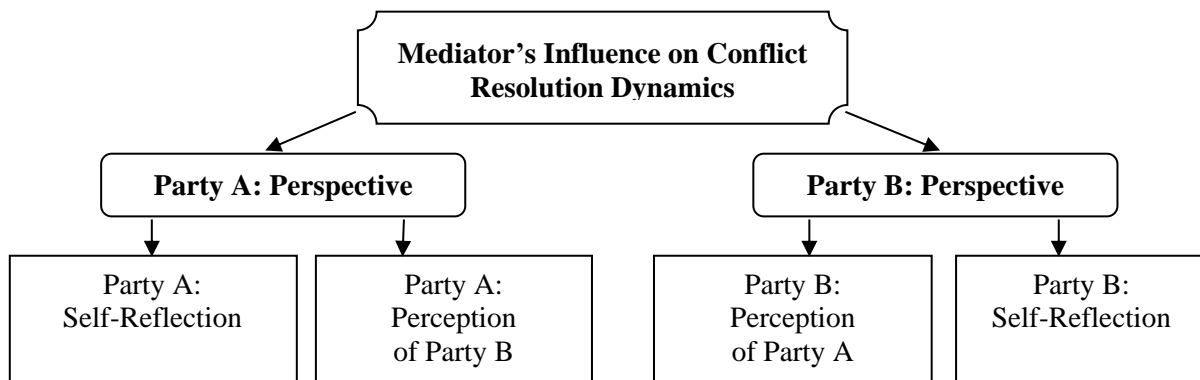
Fig. 1 Applying Reflexive Game Theory to Conflict Mediation

Developed by the author

In Fig. 1, "Applying Reflexive Game Theory to Conflict Mediation", we present a schema that outlines the mediator's strategic role within the Reflexive Game Theory framework. This illustration shows how mediators can influence the dynamics of conflict resolution by leveraging their understanding of both individual and collective behaviors. By guiding conflicting parties towards a deeper understanding of their own positions and the opposing viewpoints, mediators facilitate enhanced comprehension. This, in turn, effectively advances the conflict resolution process, underscoring the critical importance of their role in navigating the complex landscape of human conflicts.

Within the outlined mediator activity model, it's crucial to recognize that a mediator's influence on the parties is not unidirectional. Unlike a traditional subject-object interaction, where the subject acts upon

an object lacking consciousness, in social relations, the scenario transforms. Here, both the mediator and the parties possess consciousness, making their relationship akin to that between two researchers, each studying the other. This dynamic is especially pronounced in conflicts, drawing significant interest for analyzing interactions in complex systems. Understanding an opponent's intentions becomes essential, forcing each participant to delve into the other's mental world and construct a unique theory of their perspective (Sykulski, 2021, p. 69). This ongoing adaptation and avoidance of predictability by the parties highlight the complex, evolving nature of mediation.

In the pursuit of agreement between conflicting parties, a crucial concept introduced by Vladimir Lefebvre is the notion of reflexive invariants or closures (Lefebvre, 2015, p. 11). He describes these as algebraic structures that inhibit a subject's ability to modify their worldview. Such invariants limit the reflexive structure's capacity to adapt or evolve its understanding (Schumann, 2014, p. 88). Within conflict scenarios, parties find themselves ensnared by these reflexive invariants, with liberation only achievable through a shift in their cognitive framework. It's here that the mediator's role becomes pivotal, tasked with instigating this shift by either modifying the cognitive operator or presenting an alternative construct. This process entails challenging either a party's own perspective or its interpretation of the opposing party's stance. In this context, we propose the introduction of a new concept termed "Reflexive Shift Mediation", as a specific variant of transformative mediation.

Grounded in the principles of Reflexive Game Theory, "Reflexive Shift Mediation" is proposed to enrich the transformative potential of mediation. This conceptual approach aims to address and navigate through the reflexive invariants or closures that often entrap parties within counterproductive cycles of thought and interaction. By pinpointing and engaging with these reflexive patterns, the proposed Reflexive Shift Mediation approach aspires to catalyze a more significant and profound evolution in how parties perceive each other and the nature of their conflict.

The essence of this novel approach lies in its strategic focus on ushering parties through a process of reflexive contemplation, designed to challenge and alter their fixed worldviews. The ultimate goal is not only to ameliorate the immediate conflict but also to foster a durable transformation in the cognitive and relational realms, setting the stage for the emergence of more constructive and resilient interactions in the future. The concept of Reflexive Shift Mediation suggests a focus on moving beyond the fixed reflexive patterns that limit each party's perspective, thereby enhancing the depth of engagement with the transformative aspects of mediation.

By exploring the potential benefits and integral components of this approach, we aim to outline how incorporating Reflexive Game Theory into mediation can potentially revolutionize the resolution process, offering fresh perspectives on facilitating meaningful change in conflict dynamics. This perspective invites further exploration and validation within the field, emphasizing the prospective advantages and the need for empirical studies to assess its efficacy and applicability in diverse mediation contexts.

Conclusions

Our investigation into Vladimir Lefebvre's Reflexive Game Theory within the context of mediation has unveiled its profound applicability across various levels of conflict resolution, beyond merely interpersonal disputes. Initially, we delved into the theoretical analysis, dissecting Lefebvre's contributions to highlight their relevance and potential in enhancing mediation practices. This phase was pivotal in establishing a foundation for RGT's application in conflict resolution. Subsequently, we provided a methodological justification, emphasizing Reflexive Game Theory's unique perspective on decision-making and its critical role in understanding and influencing the perceptions of opposing parties. The theory's broad applicability across conflict and cooperation illuminated its value as a framework for investigating mediation dynamics. Finally, our practical application of RGT in mediation reevaluated the mediator's role, focusing on perceptual shifts and the mediator's strategic influence. This approach not only demonstrated the transformative potential of mediation practices but also equipped mediators with advanced strategies for navigating the complexities of conflict resolution. Through this structured exploration, our study affirms the significant impact of Reflexive Game Theory on mediation, suggesting avenues for future research and application to further enrich the field.

We have illuminated how mediators can leverage RGT to enhance their strategic influence in conflict dynamics, emphasizing the importance of understanding both individual and collective behaviors. This study underscores the non-unidirectional nature of a mediator's influence, advocating for a nuanced approach that views parties as conscious entities engaged in a mutual research dynamic. Our findings advocate

for the incorporation of RGT's principles into mediation practices, offering a methodological innovation that promises to enrich the toolkit of mediators and negotiators alike. This exploration not only affirms the versatility and depth of Lefebvre's theory but also highlights its potential to inform and transform current and future conflict resolution frameworks, making it an indispensable asset in navigating the complexities of human conflicts.

An important part of our article is the introduction of the original concept "Reflexive Shift Mediation". This innovative approach marks a significant contribution to the field of conflict resolution, emphasizing the transformative potential of mediation practices informed by reflexive thinking. However, while promising, this concept necessitates further development and empirical validation. Future research should focus on exploring its applicability across various conflict scenarios, evaluating its effectiveness in real-world settings, and refining its methodologies to fully harness its potential in fostering lasting resolutions.

Conflict of Interest. The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper. All potential sources of conflict, including any financial, personal, or other relationships that could be perceived as influencing the content of this study, have been thoroughly examined and none were identified.

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SOCIAL RATIONALITY AS THE BASIS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract

The article explores the close interaction between political scientific discourse and society, which lies in the direct determination of political discourse and the subject field of political science by the demands of the social system. As a result, the boundaries of political discourse are delineated by the boundaries of societal problems and phenomena actualized by society on one hand, and by the dominant type of social rationality on the other. Consequently, the limitation of political discourse within the boundaries of social rationality is traced. It is specified that this process involves a clear subordination and mutual determination of scientific discourse and the social system, characterized by the necessary conformity of political science research to societal norms, axiological, and ethical ideals of society. The article considers the key role of society in shaping the scientific discourse of political science. The interdependence between the political situation in the social system and progressive or regressive processes in political discourse is traced.

The article represents the main approaches to understanding the principle of social rationality in the general scientific discourse. The relationship between social rationality, social acceptability, historical situation, and historical context within the framework of general scientific methodology is examined. The key aspects of the operation of this principle within the social and exact sciences are demonstrated. The fundamental role of social rationality for the functioning of social sciences is substantiated. It is proven that the influence of social acceptability not only affects the scientific discourse of social sciences but also exact sciences, considering the decrease in the strength of this factor's influence on the latter. Characteristics and projections are made on the political discourse.

Keywords: social rationality, social acceptability, politics, political discourse, science methodology, public sphere.

Introduction

Science in its path of development has transitioned from a closed system of sacred knowledge to an open accessible system of secular knowledge, acquiring social significance and becoming the subject of open discussions within society. On one hand, this demonstrates the inseparable connection in the mutual development of society and science, their mutual influence and mutual determination, including the mutual determination of possibilities. On the other hand, rises the issue of the relationship between science

and the role of public opinion in the processes of institutionalizing scientific paradigms, the selection of research topics, the use of a certain type of methodology, delineation of subject fields of scientific theories, determinants of political discourse, etc. Society ceases to be merely a consumer of the results of scientific research due to the increase in the level of education among the average individual and the level of ability to engage in constructive criticism within the aforementioned society. The role of public opinion transitions from that of a passive consumer to that of an active participant in political discourse due to the actualization, acceptance, or non-acceptance of certain methodological postulates, results of political processes, or simply affirmations of certain political programs (Babkina, 2009, p. 3-8). Thus, if previously political discourse existed relatively independently, focusing on the process of verifying the results of its activities solely on the opinions of other members of political communities, contemporary political discourse is saturated with the influence of public opinion, which, regardless of the type of political reality, will retain its significant influence, with the caveat that within different political systems the strength of the influence of public opinion may vary, but despite the change, it will inevitably retain its direct and indisputable influence (Habermas, 2006, p. 217).

Literature review

The theme of social rationality has been one of the key points in the scientific discourse of recent decades, as the growing influence of society in shaping scientific discourse becomes undeniable. The publicity and openness of the scientific process stimulate its development, but on the other hand create a situation of excessive influence from society on the creative processes of science. However, an important observation is that mostly this topic is explored within the framework of general scientific methodological discourse as one of the main principles of overall scientific development. Along with this, it is necessary to note the conceptual difference between the action of this principle in the natural and social sciences, as it receives a completely different degree of influence. This theme has mostly been discussed by Western researchers, and within the Ukrainian political discourse, it has been only superficially illuminated as an attributive rather than a substantive factor.

In the context of this issue, it is worth referring to the works of Karl-Otto Apel's "Towards a Transformation of Philosophy" (1980), Hilary Putnam's "Reason, Truth, and History" (2003), Thomas Kuhn's "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions" (1996), Gaston Bachelard's "The new scientific spirit" (1986) and Jürgen Habermas's "The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory" (2006). The aforementioned works have become classics in the methodology of science, but the concepts proposed by them receive a more vivid interpretation through the prism of their application within the framework of political discourse. It is particularly worth emphasizing that Karl-Otto Apel's idea (1980) of the "communicative society" within the development of the political process receives connotations not only of a participant in the external scientific discourse but also of its internal - political, which are combined within political science (Apel, 1980, p. 192). The communicative society emerges not only as an active participant in the political process but also in the scientific discourse due to the publicity of modern science and the increase in the education and awareness of society.

Hilary Putnam's concept of "social acceptability" is crucial for social rationality, as the researcher notes that the role of society in scientific discourse is not just passive consumption of results, but also the correlation of research with criteria of their acceptability for society. This correlation means that society determines scientific discourse to conform to specific ethical, cultural, and humane norms, which also correlates with political and political science discourses. Since politics itself unfolds within the acceptable framework of society. And a scientific fact is not devoid of axiological and ideological load, which is critically manifested within political discourse (Putnam, 2003, p. 134).

The concepts of scientific revolutions by Thomas Kuhn (1996), "worldviews" by Jürgen Habermas, and the transformation of rationality through the prism of the "spirit of the era" by Gaston Bachelard (1986), objectify the ways of functioning of scientific discourse in political science within its constant transformations and adaptations to contemporary conditions. In fact, the synthesis and comparison of these approaches allow us to project this system of coordinates of social rationality in the context of the scientific discourse of political science, where it acquires new manifestations and helps to trace the regularities and complexities of the functioning of political discourse.

The Specifics of the Place of Social Acceptability in the Scientific Discourse of Social Sciences

Public opinion is capable of justifying certain scientific or metaphysical aspects of political existence based on non-rational grounds, thereby determining new boundaries of the political: "Moral truths, which

still enter into religious and metaphysical world pictures, share this strong genuine claim, though the fact of pluralism at the same time reminds us that comprehensive doctrines can no longer be publicly justified" (Habermas, 2006, p. 126). Despite the development of the scientific worldview and its increasing role in social life, science is still influenced by social moral imperatives, which, despite their irrational nature, directly determine the boundaries of social acceptability. Thus, a problem arises that the type of worldview embedded in the core during the construction of the scientific worldview still goes beyond rationality and remains within the boundaries of social norms, which is particularly evident in the scientific discourse of social sciences, especially political science.

The discourse of social sciences requires reasoned justification due to the lack of a clear evidential basis, such as the objective results of repeated experiments in the exact sciences, where repeatability is one of the main arguments for proving the truth of a theory. However, with the transition to the pluralism of the postmodern concept of truth, questions arise about the adequacy of such an approach. If we take the assertion that truth is probable and relative, then anything endowed with cognitive content needs justification: "Whatever one may think about the discussion of being and duty, with the transition to modernity, the 'objective' reason, embodied in the nature or history of salvation, has changed to 'subjective' reason of the human spirit. At the same time, the question arises whether normative sentences still have any cognitive content at all and how they can be justified as needed" (Habermas, 2006, p. 113). Here, we observe the tendency that society precisely shapes its formation as a participant in constructing scientific discourse, necessarily endowing it with a political context, from which it follows that public opinion becomes a fundamental regulator of proposed scientific theories, which in the process of their formation must necessarily be accepted by society and enter into the structure of the societal worldview, absorbing the irrational component of social existence, during which they will reach the stage of general consensus: "The unifying consensus is reached when all reasonable members of the political society justify the political concept they share by incorporating it into some of their comprehensive reasonable views" (Habermas, 2006, p. 124).

In contrast to its origins in the early modern period, science gradually moves away from the principle of forming scientific theory around the idea of pure consciousness as the verifier of the truth of this scientific theory. On the contrary, the role of public opinion is increasingly affirmed within the framework of general scientific discourse: "Namely, it is now revealed that, on the one hand, the subject of possible consensus on truth in science is not the external 'consciousness' vis-à-vis the world in general, but the historically real society; on the other hand, that historically real society can only be adequately understood when it is considered as a possible subject of science, including sociology, and its historical reality will be empirically and at the same time normatively critically reconstructed taking into account the ideal of an unrestricted communicative society realized in society" (Apel, 1980, p. 198).

Correlation of historical epoch and social rationality of society
The historical context of society's existence is one of the main principles of forming the political discourse. But despite the correlation between the historical type of reality and the influence of social thought on the development of scientific knowledge, we consciously separate them into two separate determinants of the formation of the subject of political science in its history. Because in today's scientific discourse, the principle of social rationality and acceptability has acquired a new fundamental significance, especially in the sciences, the object of study of which is society, but at the same time, we in no way diminish the influence of this factor on the methodological discourse of exact sciences. Here, the fundamental point is that in the modern historical context of existence of society, the role of the influence of social thought on science has moved to a qualitatively new level, ceasing to be a certain attribute of historicity, because, on the one hand, we understand that the political process unfolds in time and is endowed with temporal characteristics, however, on the other hand, it is overloaded with the influence of the human factor, which is often unpredictable. From this point of view, we must clearly distinguish the ways of extracting a specific type of political discourse from various factors: "First of all, already for the identification of the subjects of science at the level of so-called description, there is a fundamental difference, depending on whether the data are 'supplied' and then classified as instances of possible explanation according to the laws by means of reproducible experiments, or whether the data should be thematized as individualized in temporal-spatial relation moments of the continuous mediated unchangeable historical process" (Apel, 1980, p. 199). Thus, the historical process is fundamental to the development of scientific discourse, and the influence of social thought can be considered its direct consequence, but this in no way indicates its attributiveness in relation

to the historical one. Science, emerging into the public sphere, asserting itself as a source of true knowledge or a system of ways to verify its reliability, becomes a fundamental element in shaping public opinion, which testifies to the direct influence of the scientific knowledge system on the formation of social rationality.

But this influence is not as one-sided as it may seem, considering the tendencies of development even in exact and natural sciences. Science initially forms the worldview of society, basing it on logical cause-and-effect relationships in attempts to explain the world of physical and social phenomena. And then it itself is subject to strict influence from society, incorporating politicization of science based on the value orientations proposed by it: "In this second sense of the term 'political' refers not to a specific matter, but to a special epistemic status sought by conceptions of political justice: they should be involved in various worldviews, becoming their coherent parts" (Habermas, 2006, p. 114). The public recognition and acceptance of scientific theory by society are equally important in the modern scientific discourse as recognition by the scientific community, which is directly proportional to the popularity of this theory in society. Society is the main consumer of the results of scientific development, which with the increase in the level of education and expertise has led to the fact that society has transformed from a consumer into one of the main verifiers of the truth of scientific theory. Of course, this is a general trend in science that is inherent in both exact and humanitarian sciences, but in the context of humanitarian sciences, especially in the discourse of political science, this trend takes on a completely different level of fundamental importance.

Specifics of the principle of social rationality within the framework of the general scientific discourse

One of the main aspects of the scientific discourse, which led to the increased influence of the social factor on science, as well as the demonstration of a constant reference to the scientific process, was the abandonment of the concept of "truth" in favor of the concept of "probable truth" or "plausibility". Such a transition marked a departure from understanding scientific development as a clear movement towards achieving true knowledge or the process of dogmatizing science with a single theory claiming comprehensive explanation. Thus, science was recognized as a synergistic system that develops self-organizing and self-correcting, interacting with society, as a result of which this system provides itself with both empirical material and constant critical potential, which is particularly vivid in the field of social sciences. The concept of "probable truth" emphasizes the historical context of the scientific process, which historically corresponds to a specific period of time and a specific historical situation in society: "Science is a product of the human mind, created according to the laws of our thinking and adapted to the external world" (Bachelard, 1986, p. 28). Therefore, the phenomenal importance of science for society lies in the fact that society needs a certain system of paradigms and principles, which, in their plurality, form an intermediary between humans and the world, serving as instruments for explaining the world around them, including social phenomena: "Ordinary people rely on scientists to provide expert (and socially acceptable) evaluations of theories of this kind. But due to the instability of scientific theories, it is unlikely that there will be a scientist who will respond even to such a successful theory as special relativity, as 'true', tout court, quite briefly" (Putnam, 2003, p. 118).

People need mechanisms to explain the world, such as religion, metaphysics, or science. But unlike the previous ones, science is a universal and synergistic system that develops along with society, as well as constantly being within its bounds: "Subtle normative decisions are needed to sort reasonable worldviews, which must be justified independently of the 'dense' background metaphysical assumptions" (Habermas, 2006, p. 132). Looking at the phenomenon of social science, the relationship between science and society takes on a new status. First of all, it should be noted that social science cannot abandon evaluative judgments, which, on the one hand, are unscientific from the point of view of the positivist paradigm, but the application of which, on the other hand, gives social theories a new meaning, the subject of which is often the results of human actions: "Human actions are what they are, they cannot be described without understanding the norms of their success and recognizing these norms as evaluative criteria" (Apel, 1980, p. 201). It is precisely based on understanding the causes and motives of human actions that social science must proceed, which must be "understanding". In the context of the general scientific discourse, social acceptability becomes a certain fundamental principle of the existence of scientific theory, thereby verifying it as one that corresponds to the value worldview of society.

The scientific process is endowed with non-scientific contexts, acquiring social attributes. It is also worth noting that science, having become a universally recognized authority and gaining universal recognition as a source of truth, has undergone revolutionary processes within itself, as a result of which it

has become enriched with new characteristics and attributes. The aforementioned properties have a constructive character in the course of the development and dissemination of scientific knowledge, but at the same time, the concept of "science" has become more complex and has lost many of its original fundamental features. Scientific research, with its acquired results, has allowed society to use their important achievements, creating an unprecedented illusion of knowledge hidden in the use by society of the results of scientific development without understanding all the methodological and interdisciplinary processes, requiring scientists to provide simple and schematic explanations: "Any scientific theory is actually just an 'economic' way of asserting many facts according to the formula: when you perform such and such actions, you will have such and such experience. Therefore, those who hold this view do not have to defend the illogical assertion that scientists are interested only in applying their discoveries or only in practical purposes, but they are supposedly not interested in knowledge for its own sake" (Putnam, 2003, p. 190). Therefore, we cannot reduce the scientific process only to the instrumental application of the results of scientific research without introducing into its structure the methodology and thematic of these researches themselves.

The scientific discourse is a more complex phenomenon than society perceives it to be, but the subject matter of scientific research depends directly on its actualization in society and should not contradict the dominant social values. Science moves away from its understanding as merely a system of knowledge and becomes a project: "Beyond the subject, on this side of the immediate object, modern science is based on a project. In scientific thinking, the subject about the object always takes the form of a project" (Bachelard, 1986, p. 108). And based on the idea of science as a project, we logically proceed to evaluative judgments about it in terms of its success or failure, which already have a social nature. Public opinion perceives scientific theories in terms of their success rather than understanding their methodology or potential novelty. Here we can observe the negative impact of the principle of social acceptability on scientific theories, during which the previously described process of reduction of science takes place. Success is manifested in the general recognition of a scientific concept as capable of predicting the greatest sum of potential development outcomes of the object, explaining them, and proposing the most understandable way to explain anomalies that arise in the process of manipulating the chosen object of study. Therefore, we can also note that when talking about the success of a particular theory, it is not always necessary to have in mind a social theory. On the contrary, social success of a theory is entirely possible even in the exact sciences, particularly when considering theories in physics: "Judgments that the special theory of relativity and quantum electrodynamics are the 'most successful' physical theories we have are claims made by the established society itself, the authority of which is recognized by the strong force of customs and ceremonies, instituting them in this sense" (Putnam, 2003, p. 119).

In general, we should note the interdisciplinary nature of this phenomenon in contemporary scientific discourse, even in the field of exact sciences, whose research is under greater influence of the principle of objectivity. However, the principle of rational acceptability as the basis of individual's worldview orientations is based on the success of the theory, as a result of which it will be perceived by public opinion with necessity and unanimity, bearing fundamental importance for constructing the worldview, on the one hand, and for shaping the subject field of research in all fields without exception, on the other hand. Rational acceptability is a social construct that is a product of the scientific discourse of previous stages of its development, but at the same time it determines the scientific discourse of the future: "We must have criteria of rational acceptability even to have any empirical world, so that they, those criteria, reveal part of our conception of optimal speculative rationality. In a word, I say that the 'real world' is grounded in our values (and vice versa)" (Putnam, 2003, p. 145).

Science always offers scientific theories as attempts to explain the world around us, and our worldview, which must be historically dynamic and hypothetical, directly consists of these attempts at explanation. The specificity lies in the fact that a scientific theory, becoming part of an individual's worldview, acquires a subjective character, is subject to ethical implications and evaluative judgments, and must directly be in agreement with the ethical and social norms of the individual. In particular, we can observe the prohibition of certain scientific research due to their violation of established moral norms of modern society or the presence of an ethical code in science, the breach of which is unacceptable, thus directly demonstrating the limitation of scientific discourse by social norms. For example, research on human cloning is prohibited due to ethical norms. We by no means question the need for ethical boundaries in scientific research; on the contrary, we consider them a thoughtful step in scientific discourse, but nevertheless, they are limitations. On the other hand, hypothetically, these limitations are subject to clarification and review, as moral or ethical

norms are not absolute and therefore undergo transformation according to historical conditions and situations. In reality, it is entirely conceivable that those studies which currently lie beyond the bounds of rational acceptability today will be within those bounds tomorrow. The dynamic nature of these boundaries reflects the dynamism of the scientific process and the constant movement towards refining and expanding the constructed scientific worldview, which also includes evaluative judgments: "We use our criteria of rational acceptability to construct some theoretical picture of the 'empirical world', and then, as that picture develops, we review our own criteria of rational acceptability in the light of that picture, and so on indefinitely" (Putnam, 2003, p. 145). From the perspective of the philosophy and methodology of science, moving away from the concept of absolute universal truth towards multiple hypothetical probabilities, the constant refinement and dynamism of the scientific process have become axiomatic.

As a result of the above, there arises a methodological contradiction, which lies in the fact that the scientific process is unlimited in its development, but at the same time it is limited by a specific type of rational acceptability at a certain point in time. This contradiction is not as problematic as it may seem at first glance, because we should realize the fact that due to the change in the scientific worldview, there will also be a change in scientific acceptability and vice versa, due to their interdependence. If we historically consider the stages of formation of a certain scientific knowledge system, for example, political science, we will notice that at each stage of its development, we can identify the main research problems that directly determine the boundaries of the subject field of political science, which are determined by a specific type of rational acceptability. Thus, rational acceptability changes with the development of society, which changes along with the development of science. For example, gender issues in political science research were considered non-scientific or quasi-scientific until quite recently, but now it is one of the leading directions in political science research. The concept of a fact, namely its interpretation, is directly dependent on the type of rational acceptability, because we can interpret the same fact differently, but the concept of a fact is fundamental to any scientific theory. Therefore, we should consider the concept of a fact not separately, but in the context of social rationality, which determines its interpretation: "A fact is something believed to be rational, or, more precisely, the concept of a fact (or true statement) is a certain ideological interpretation of a statement believed to be rational. 'Rationally acceptable' and 'true' are intertwined concepts" (Putnam, 2003, p. 210).

The role of scientific theory in constructing social rationality and political discourse

Social sciences, including political science, build the logic of their research according to the interpretation of concepts that, firstly, are overloaded with historical content and, secondly, are interpreted depending on the current type of rationality and communicative rationality of society. As a result, a researcher cannot simply conduct research and present its results to the public if the topic of their research contradicts the prevailing type of social rationality, thus raising questions about the objectivity of scientific research in political science. However, it should be noted that the concept of a social fact still has a certain universality, which allows us to interpret social phenomena, even if they go beyond the accepted type of social rationality. This allows scholars to analyze and explain the variety of social phenomena, which can be perceived in different ways depending on the context and historical conditions. Thus, scientific theory not only influences the formation of social rationality but also determines the direction of political discourse. However, it is important to remember the universality of the concept of a social fact, which allows for the interpretation of social phenomena in different ways, reflecting their complexity and multiple aspects.

Therefore, we can still argue that there is a certain level of universality in social phenomena that allows us to understand them, even if they do not conform to our type of social acceptability: "This is a defining fact about human experience in the world's various interacting cultures, though individually undergoing changes, slower or faster, and we are able to make this fact into a matter of universal human experience; capable of interpreting each other's beliefs, desires, and expressions in such a way that it all makes some sense" (Putnam, 2003, p. 128).

The social rationality is a fundamental principle that delineates the subject field of any scientific discourse, but we must clearly understand the connection of this principle with the historical context, as well as the presence of other principles, which, being in mutual influence and determination, allow us to direct the development of the scientific process, which, regardless of various factors and characteristics, possesses universal components that are necessary for humans, regardless of external factors and influences. Based on the above, we affirm the possibility for today's researchers to understand works of the Antiquity, the Middle Ages, or the Modern Era. Of course, we do not possess all the information and

a complete picture of the contexts of these works, which limits our understanding, making it incomplete and partial. However, we are still able to read and interpret these works: "Our fundamental concepts require us to interpret not only our current temporal fringes, but also our complex 'I', our ancestors, along with members of other cultures, past and present, as persons, which means (I continually argue) endowing them with common references and common concepts, no matter how different these concepts may be that we attribute to them" (Putnam, 2003, p. 131). Therefore, we can argue that there are still basic universal principles that enable any operations of our thinking, during which humans comprehend the world and, with the help of acquired experience, form their individual and societal worldview, which then shapes the main vectors of the direction of social rationality. For example, we can recall Newton's experience with the falling apple, the falling of which is an undeniable fact for centuries, or even millennia, but the principles of social rationality give the falling apple a completely different context, drawing their conclusions from the commonly accepted most prevalent theory, which in the specified period of time is the most influential and productive. Thus, we must note that the very fact of the falling apple is overlaid with a way of thinking inherent in society, within which there will be an attempt to explain the nature of the causes of the fall of the aforementioned apple.

Therefore, in the process of explanation, society will draw its conclusions from the basic criteria of rational acceptability, which by their principles will already delineate the boundaries and prerequisites for proving certain knowledge as something that corresponds to reality: "...truth itself takes its life from our criteria of rational acceptability, and they are what we must look to if we want to unlock the values that are truly implicit in science" (Putnam, 2003, p. 141). Thus, we acquire the ability to be critical of the scientific theories proposed to us due to the presence of criteria of rational acceptability, which may change in the process of developing social rationality, but their existence will always be a necessary condition for society's ability to critically assess a particular type of political scientific theory proposed as the initial postulate for constructing the worldview. As a result, the subject matter of research, conceptualization, and actualization of objects of scientific research will directly be determined by the aforementioned general scientific theory, which will permeate into various fields of scientific knowledge, as has been the case in the history of science with positivist theory, which gained the status of general scientific theory after undergoing several transformations. Hence, there arises the necessity for the existence of a metatheory that would serve as a general scientific methodological guideline for the development of scientific knowledge as a whole: "In short, this is an important and extremely useful limitation for our theory itself – that our theory of the world, which is constantly evolving, must contain an explanation of the very activity, the very processes, by means of which we can know that our theory is correct" (Putnam, 2003, p.143).

The aforementioned metatheory should indeed be the foundation of social rationality, correspond to it, and most importantly, formulate the criteria of rational acceptability with its fundamental principles, which will already serve as the main determinants of the development of scientific discourse. On the other hand, through the components described above, the subject area of social sciences and the main themes of their research are directly formed within the societal scientific discourse. A researcher cannot propose a methodology in their research that contradicts the fundamental metatheory, formulate a research subject that is not relevant in society, or offer conclusions that go beyond the boundaries of moral values, thus restricting scientific research within the framework of contemporary criteria of scientific acceptability, which is particularly evident in political scientific discourse. The latter is inevitably within the framework of societal moral discourse and must be aligned with it: "Our concepts of sequence, simplicity, and rightness are as historically conditioned as our concepts of goodness, beauty, and value; these epistemological terms figure in the same eternal philosophical controversies as terms of ethical and aesthetic value" (Putnam, 2003, p. 146).

We must note that social rationality often constitutes a primary component of the notion of objectivity in political science research, considering society's and the scientific community's perception of the results of specific research, its methodology, and delineated subject. Society determines the subject field of political science research through its demands, whereby researchers in their scientific inquiries strive to address society's current problems, find ways to resolve or optimize the main algorithms of their resolution: "We accept the theory of natural selection not because it has passed a Popperian test, but because it provides plausible explanations for an enormous amount of data; because it prompts fruitful new theories and interfaces with discoveries in genetics, molecular biology, and so on; and also because alternative theories that have been proposed either collapse or appear entirely implausible in the light of background knowledge" (Putnam, 2003, p. 206-207).

The theory employed by the researcher must be characterized by universality and success, which undoubtedly will be the main reasons in favor of its selection. From the standpoint of social rationality, a scientific theory that proposes the boundaries of the subject field of any science must be successful in terms of its application. Success here is understood solely as the theory's ability to explain phenomena, predict their occurrence, and be understandable to society, and thus be within the framework and in accordance with the prevailing type of social rationality, which is a necessary component of any scientific research: "One has to have norms of rational acceptability in order to have anything at all: either a world of 'empirical facts', or a world of 'facts of value' (a world where there is beauty and tragedy)" (Putnam, 2003, p.157).

Conclusions

Therefore, we can assert that scientific rationality is directly interconnected with social rationality and is also determined by the criteria of social acceptability. Of course, it would be erroneous to equate social and scientific rationality, but we cannot clearly separate them as independent and completely distinct since this does not correspond to reality. The subject fields of scientific theories are actualized within the framework of social rationality, particularly in the system of political knowledge, after which they gain comprehensive consideration within the bounds of scientific rationality and return to the structure of social rationality, having passed the stage of verifying the results of researching the aforementioned subject of political activity with the criteria of social acceptability. Therefore, we can note the inseparable methodological connections between society and the scientific community, which are manifested in their mutual influence.

In the process of open political discourse, the political system is open and public, being accessible for investigation by scholars in the field of political science. Thus, political science has access to include the entirety of manifestations of the process of exercising political power in the structure of its subject. An important aspect here is the demands of society, its needs, and actual problems, which necessarily determine the boundaries of the subject field of political science. The political discourse is socially oriented, shaping its thematic issues based on specific practical demands from society. A significant aspect of the manifestation of this principle is that the scientific discourse of political science is directly determined by the prevailing type of social rationality.

Consequently, researchers, in conducting their studies and delineating their subjects, cannot exceed the bounds of social rationality, which is one aspect of the manifestation of the principle of social acceptability. Therefore, the political discourse is a socially constructed concept, which is derived from societal demands on the political sphere. Derived from this is the thematic scope of political science research, the methodology applied, as well as the thematic areas of phenomena allowed by social acceptability. This is also demonstrated in the example of research results, which must be socially positively received and correspond to the generally accepted concept of rationality.

In particular, within the framework of political science, there is a constant correction of the methodological concept of "subject" not through its absence, but through the constant change in the type of social rationality, as well as the criteria of rational acceptability, the form of which directly depends on the type of political interaction within society. Consequently, the subject of political science research and the political discourse are directly determined by the type of prevailing social rationality, which, on the one hand, exists at the level of metatheory, within which the entire general scientific discourse unfolds, and, on the other hand, this principle is reflected in the direct connection of political discourse with the most pressing problems of society within its political subsystem. Therefore, political discourse is directly determined by societal needs, problems actualized by society, the solution of which is directly determined by the specific type of prevailing social rationality, in accordance with which a specific methodology for interpreting political phenomena is formed, as well as the search for the most optimal and acceptable ways to solve the problems actualized by society.

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NATIONAL SECURITY DISCOURSE

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION AND NATIONAL SECURITY ENSURING

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Abstract

The article analyzes the essence and consequences of digital transformation in modern society for the national security system. It is shown that the digital transformation that takes place in modern conditions actively affects the area of national security. It is proved that, on the one hand, it acts as a contributing factor to national security, since it increases the efficiency of public administration, and, being the main driver of reforms in this field, transforms the public policy system, leads to an expansion of citizens' political participation, and therefore democratizes public life. Also, digitalization expands the possibilities of influencing officials and other ambassadors of the state on foreign public opinion through digital public diplomacy. Moreover, the introduction of digital technologies may increase the level of economic development of the state. On the other hand, digital transformation poses several new threats to national security, namely in the economic, social, and information space. It contributes to digital political isolation, the shift of political activity in the digital environment and the emergence of new virtual unconventional forms of political participation, the development of cyber threats and cyberattacks, etc.

It is substantiated that the formation of a comprehensive national security system in the conditions of digital transformation will contribute to overcoming the threats of digitalization, the key development vectors, which in Ukraine include economic, information, and cybersecurity. It is proved that using the tools of these forms of security will help overcome the negative effects of digitalization and reinforce its positive role in society.

It is well-founded that digitalization is a new progressive process in government activity, with challenges and threats developing in cyberspace. An important component for the development of digitalization in developing countries is low material and transaction costs.

Keywords: digitalization, digital transformation, national security, information security, cyber security, economic security, public diplomacy, digital diplomacy.

Introduction

Nowadays, digitalization is a megatrend of global development. Human life and all of its spheres are now encompassed by digital technologies. This concerns work, specialization, education, leisure, and

socialization in general. Digitalization and technologization are the main drivers of the progress of society. So far, the leading area of digitalization of social processes is the economy, now turned into a "digital economy"[1], which implies the existence of Internet commerce, Internet banking, and electronic payment systems. In recent studies, politics has started to be considered in the context of the impact of digital technologies. There are studies on the specifics of the use of digital technologies in political processes, communications, and public administration.

In Ukraine, digital transformation is one of the main priorities in modern conditions that has covered the main areas of modern society and has become a hallmark of modern social development. It leads to several consequences, both positive and negative. All of this creates the need to consider the harmful effects of such processes and use the strengths of digital transformation to ensure the state's national security.

Research methodology

The theoretical basis of this study consists of the works of foreign and domestic scholars devoted to considering the digitalization and digital transformation processes and their impact on national security. The issues of the national security theory have been addressed by: H. Spencer (concept of enterprise security); D. Kaufmann (concept of team security), E. Carter (concept of humanitarian security), and others. Among domestic authors, the national security analysis has been addressed by A. Kolodii (concept of a systemic approach to the analysis of national security), V. Lipkan (concept of comprehensive analysis of national security), G. Sytnik (concept of synergistic analysis of national security), and others. The issues of digitalization and its impact on socio-political processes in the world, determining the role of the state in the information society were considered by A. Bancroft, P. Wright, O. Bjerg, S. Greengard, J. Schwartz, and others. The influence of digitalization on public activity and the formation of "digital citizenship"[2] was studied by L. Jones, J. Drexel, J. Cohen, K. Mitchell, D. Solove, E. Schmidt, and others. According to the author of the digital citizenship concept, K. Mossberger, digital citizens include those who often use digital technology to obtain political information in the performance of their civic duties and to obtain economic benefits during employment (Mossberger, Tolbert & McNeal, 2007).

The methodological basis of the study is represented by system-structural and comparative methods.

Results

Scientists believe that society is gradually moving towards the online world in modern life (Jensen, Danziger, & Venkatesh, 2007). Digital platforms can provide greater inclusion and accessibility for wider political and social participation in different contexts. For example, in Ukraine, we now have a fairly wide range of various directions, where such platforms work, which "allows you to receive any kind of service – educational services (Buki, Coursera), logistics (Lardi Trans), sales and retail (OLX, Prom, Rozetka), courier services and provision of services (kabanchik.ua), finance (purchase of insurance through Privat24), public procurement (Prozorro)" (Koleshnia, 2021).

According to M. Kaigo, the use of social media by civil society institutions expands political advocacy opportunities, connects with local government, and provides more opportunities for presence (Kaigo, 2017). In fact, a "hybrid model" is already being formed, using the Internet to ensure greater government transparency and the participation of citizens in decision-making. In addition, the feedback is strengthened. Thus, public politicians and political leaders and high-ranking officials, thanks to the use of the Internet, influence the general public not only in their country, but also abroad through the tools of "public diplomacy"[3]

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[1] Economic activity that is ensured by the use of digital technologies, including IT developments and scientific digital solutions, e-commerce, online services and the results of activities of digitalized enterprises.

[2] A way of behaving, a set of norms and responsibilities that people should take into account when using digital technologies. These are all elements of digital life, from online safety to the right type of digital communication and responsible use of social media. It helps build the knowledge needed to participate in different communities (social networks or online discussion groups), as well as a critical understanding of which ones we want to join.

[3] Activities of high-ranking officials or other representatives of the state aimed at influencing public opinion in other countries and informing them further. Among other things, public diplomacy aims to create a positive image of the country in the eyes of the foreign public.

and "digital diplomacy"[1]. Digital public diplomacy is implemented using the following methods: placing radio and television broadcasts on the Internet; dissemination of literature in digital format; monitoring discussions in the blog space of foreign countries; creation of personalized pages of government members in social networks.

Digital communications increase the importance of citizen participation in public life. The Internet is becoming the second place of action for people. At the same time, the integration of cyberspace with real space takes place (Kellerman, 2014). K. Schwab, speaking about the Fourth Industrial Revolution and digitalization, notes: "Nowadays, the combination of computers, software, and networks… is so complex and integrated that it is already capable of transforming societies and the global economy," the author believes that the emergence of technologies beyond matter and penetration into other processes leads to "mixing… and interaction of physical, digital and biological spaces" (Schwab, 2016, p. 7-8).

It is worth noting that the term "digital transformation" itself was introduced into scientific vocabulary in the late 20th – early 21st centuries along with the use of the "automation", "computerization", "informatization", "digitalization" terms. Scientists understand this term as megatrends in the development of the economy based on cybernetic methods and management tools, artificial intelligence and big data analysis tools, which result in reaching a critical point in the digitalization of any business process or enterprise as a whole. At the same time, the transformation involves the process of a radical change in the form and mechanisms of functioning of the object or its elements under the influence of internal or external factors. The term "digitalization" was introduced into scientific vocabulary in 1995 by N. Negroponte, who compared atoms and bits, saying that just as in the material world everything consists of atoms, so in digital space, everything consists of bits (Negroponte, 1995).

The "digitalization" concept is considered in a narrow and broad sense. The first case is about the digitization of data, the transition from analog to digital format of accumulation, processing, and storage of information.

The second scenario envisions a shift in society and the economy driven by the widespread adoption of digital technologies. This transformation involves converting information into digital data, resulting in a more efficient economy and an enhanced quality of life for individuals. It is important to know the difference between the processes of informatization and digitalization. If the former involved the use of computer and information technologies to solve individual problems, the latter means the creation of a holistic environment for solving entire classes of problems.

Digital technologies have provided tools available to every individual to express any preferences, characterized by the lowest material and transaction costs. A feature of the digitalization of the political sphere is that the state and society are moving into a new communication environment, such phenomena as "Twitter revolutions"[2] and "Twitter diplomacy"[3] arise. The former is a factor of threats to national security, the latter, on the contrary, is an instrument of the national security system. Thus, as can be seen, digital transformation has a significant influence on the national security system.

In modern conditions, digital transformation is turning into an instrument of ensuring national security and a threat to such security at the same time. Particularly, digital technologies serve as the main driver of the transformation and increase the efficiency of public administration. They are already used in many government organizations, although, according to M. Grimsley and A. Meehan, it is now necessary to understand how their use and development of effectiveness of such structures (Grimsley & Meehan, 2007). Digital technologies serve as the basis for creating an organizational and technological base to improve the effectiveness of information services and the system of public authorities. S. Avgerou believes that the use of digital technologies can significantly increase the transparency of decisions in the field of public administration, reduce corruption levels, increase the confidence of citizens by involving them in the decision-making process (Avgerou, 2008).

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[1] The emergence of digital diplomacy is associated with the rapid growth of the role of social media in public life and their penetration into the sphere of politics and allows state and non-state actors to convey their position to a multi-million foreign audience in the shortest possible time with minimal costs, instantly receive a response from the public and flexibly react by changing the content of their diplomatic activity.

[2] These are protests, demarches, revolutions, the regulation of which occurs through popular social networks, including Twitter.

[3] A new type of diplomacy that is carried out using the Twitter social network by state leaders, diplomats, embassies, organizations, etc.

It is worth noting that digital technologies most often affect national security indirectly – due to the impact of the dynamics of socio-economic processes. Therefore, countries lagging in terms of digitalization face several threats to national security. Among them: catching up with the world economy, a decrease in the competitiveness of their campaigns (especially compared to multinational corporations), limiting the prospects for innovative development, and limited instruments for ensuring national security.

Nowadays, there is no universal opinion on the acceptable limits for the digitalization of democracy (that is, procedures for political participation) and the system of public administration. The new technologies of social and political interaction, especially the possibilities of the Internet, are radically changing the format of security threats. Particularly, such threats as damage to telecommunications systems, the impact on elections through special programs, the influence on election results or their disruption, on the public consciousness by spreading misinformation or dosed information are possible only at a certain level of technological development.

According to K. Petroniuk, "the maintenance of international peace and security is at the center of the activities of the United Nations, and above all of the Security Council, remains one of the main goals set forth in its Charter, which contains several tools to achieve this goal. To this end, it must take all measures to stimulate and prevent all causes that threaten international peace and security, and if they remain, to eliminate them" (Petroniuk, 2023, p. 58).

We can support the opinion of A. Pravniuk's about information security, because "information protection or, better said, ensuring security is no longer just a technological problem. Issues related to information, its protection, information security and confidentiality become one of the measures to protect state sovereignty. Information has become the most important asset needed by a person, the state and society in general. Ensuring information security and protection of information sovereignty, forming one's own protected information space is one of the main tasks of the country." (Pravniuk, 2023).

Digitalization threatens economic and social stability, as well as information security. Particularly, cryptocurrency is a threat to economic stability, since it is most often used for money laundering and tax evasion, has no physical form and therefore its emission cannot be controlled by banks or the state. The threat to social stability lies in the significant impact on the labor market. Therefore, digital transformation contributes to the so-called polarization and leaching of the middle class of workers while increasing employment in the outer strata. Moreover, it requires retraining of workers, and sometimes increasing unemployment (for instance, due to the use of robotics). The modern threats posed by digitalization include the growth of cyber threats that involve potentially criminal actions against the information system of the state.

The magnitude of digital threats is increasing, they lead to significant financial, reputational, and time costs. Therefore, in the Global Risks Report of the World Economic Forum (The Global Risks Report, 2023), global threats such as cybercrime and data theft are ranked eighth by importance in the rating. That is why the challenges associated with digital technologies are becoming the subject of close attention of foreign leaders who intend to solve socio-economic problems and reduce the risks of digitalization by developing and implementing security strategies in the digital space (Gruber, 2017).

It is worth noting that the state, society, and the individual are equally interested in ensuring national security. In the second half of the 20th century, there was a tendency in the activities of the United Nations to prioritize the interests of the individual and civil society in the national security area. A broad interpretation of security appeared in the UN Millennium Declaration of September 8, 2000. According to the experts, the logic here lies in the fact that national security arises atop personal security, as well as international and global security. Therefore, a universal multi-level complex arises, which includes the security of the individual, society, and state.

The search for a balance between the powers of specialized bodies to ensure the individual, society, and state security and the unacceptability of their interference into the private sphere is relevant for modern countries. The effective development of the information society in the 21st century is seen in the combination of the maximum use of the opportunities provided by digital technologies with the benefits for humans and secure information space, to a decisive extent created by the efforts of the state.

All of the aforementioned requires creating an integrated approach to national security in the digital transformation context, which, according to the authors of this paper, includes three main components: economic, information, and cybersecurity.

Let's consider them in more detail. Thus, the main economic security problems include the problems of "digital inequality", lack of its element base, changes in the labor market, industrial espionage, personal data manipulation, and others.

The tools for solving the digital society problems include digital platforms for the development of the "sharing economy"[1], as well as "cloud" technologies and methods of processing major databases. The tool for monitoring the development of a networked digital society is the network readiness index (Network Readiness Index, 2023).

The information security system, in turn, requires strengthening and attracting more funds to ensure it. The state bears a responsibility to citizens for creating a secure information environment.

From the perspective of the practical component in the information environment, a set of threats has already been outlined, counteraction which is a key task of the state. In Ukraine, they are divided into external (the conduct of special information operations by the aggressor state against Ukraine, both on its territory and outside its borders; information expansion and information dominance of the aggressor state) and internal (insufficient development of the national information infrastructure; ineffectiveness of the state information policy; the imperfection of the legislation; the uncertainty of the strategic narrative; the insufficient level of the media culture of the society; the spread of calls for radical actions, the promotion of isolationist and autonomist concepts of the coexistence of regions in Ukraine) (Shevchuk, 2020, p. 291).

Consequently, information security is becoming one of the leading national security vectors. According to the legislation, Ukraine's information security is an integral part of the country's national security, the state of protection of crucial interests of an individual, society, and the state, in which an effective system of protection and counteraction to harm is established through the spread of negative information impacts, particularly coordinated dissemination of false information, negative consequences use of information technologies, unauthorized distribution, use, and violation of the integrity, confidentiality, and availability of information (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2021a).

The following political and legal acts are aimed at ensuring information security in Ukraine: National Security Strategy of Ukraine "Human Security – State Security" in 2020 (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2020), Cyber Security Strategy of Ukraine "Safe Cyberspace – the key to successful development" in 2021 and Information Security Strategy of Ukraine until 2025 (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2021b), adopted by the government and the National Security and Defense Council at the end of 2021.

In the context of digital transformation of information security includes the solution of the following tasks: identification of threats to information security; prevention of information leakage; monitoring and analysis of the information space; ensuring the unity, stability, and security of the information and telecommunications infrastructure of the state; integrated use of methods and means of computer systems protection in order to neutralize information security threats.

According to the Information Security Strategy of Ukraine until 2025, approved on September 15, 2021, by the Government and October 15, 2021, by the National Security and Defense Council, deterrence, stability, and cooperation are the main areas of information security in Ukraine. The Strategy identifies eight main objectives: countering misinformation, manipulative information, as well as foreign countries' information operations and attacks; ensuring the comprehensive development of Ukrainian culture and the establishment of national identity; raising the society's level of media culture and media literacy; ensuring respect for the constitutional human rights to freedom of expression and protection of privacy, protection of the rights of journalists, counteracting the spread of illegal content; informational reintegration of the residents of the temporarily annexed territories into the all-Ukrainian information space; creation and further development of the system of crisis communications; development and approval of a positive image of Ukraine and Ukrainians, information assistance to the promotion of the interests of the state in the world; development of the information society and increasing the level of the dialogue culture (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2021a).

It should be noted that the government has significantly intensified the implementation of the third goal of the Strategy. Particularly, the Unified State Portal of Digital Education was created (https://osvita.diia.gov.ua), and November of 2021 was declared the digital literacy month by the Ministry of Digital Transformation.

According to scientists, one of the promising ways to protect information is cryptography, which technologies allow identification and authentication objects and subjects of information networks; exercise control/limitation of access to information resources; guarantee the integrity of databases (Ivanov & Pysarenko, 2018).

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[1] The sharing economy is a socio-economic system of acquiring, providing, or sharing access to goods and services, often facilitated by a website platform.

In modern conditions of digital transformation of public relations and public administration, the high incidence of cyber-attacks is becoming an acute problem for Ukraine, as well as for many other states. Therefore, ensuring cybersecurity is an important task of the state, which should be understood as the state of safety of public and private interests from illegal attacks carried out on computers, computer systems, and networks, as well as critical infrastructure objects. At the same time, the main problem is to establish the boundaries of state interference in those fields of information and communication systems that may become the object of cyberattacks.

The priorities of ensuring cyber security of Ukraine include the security of cyberspace to protect the sovereignty of the state and the development of society; protection of rights, freedoms, and legitimate interests of Ukrainian citizens in cyberspace; European and Euro-Atlantic integration in the area of cybersecurity (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2021a).

As co-authors Miguel Alberto Gómez and Christopher White successfully note "The growing importance of cyberspace as an instrument of national power requires a rigorous understanding of how preferences emerge in response to strategic developments within this domain. While schemas have become a mainstay over the past half-century, and although skepticism continues to abound regarding the analytic value of strategic culture, these should not deter researchers from employing these tools to better understand state behavior in this human-made domain" (Gomez & Whyte, 2022).

The security of digital systems is one of the critical "end-to-end" fields of digitization management, which requires adequate measures to protect all actors both within the country and at the global level, as digital threats and risks go beyond individual states and become global. In Western countries, the digital security strategy is often seen as a holistic document related to national security. In addition, national and international specialized organizations are being set up to coordinate network and information security. The main goals of the strategy of security in the digital space, researchers include detection of cyberattacks and response to them; prevention of threats, support, and development of reliable products and services for government agencies and economic entities; support for government agencies and infrastructure operators; promoting digital education (Van Caenegem & Skordas, 2007).

According to statistics provided by K. Sichkarenko, as of 2018, there were "the following ways of monetizing online education projects: sale of a program from a set of courses (Uniweb, Eduson) – on average $ 200-500 for each; sale of a video (Besmart) – up to $10 on average; course sale (Web.University, Udemy) – up to $100 on average; sale of subscriptions for the period (Netology, YaClass, LinguaLeo) – $ 20-25 per month; sale of certificates with a free course (Coursera) – $50-80 on average; sale of additional services – consultations, checking tasks, etc. (Earlydays) – on average $ 100-300; sale of visitor data to advertisers for targeted advertising (ResearchGate); processing of analytics on uploaded content and selection of necessary research for a separate fee (Academia.edu); provision of additional paid services, for example, storage of materials and organization of discussion platforms for universities (Mendeley); organization of an educational, recruiting and PR platform for the company (Udacity)" (Sichkarenko, 2018).

In general, it should be noted that, according to Ukrinform, "the number of cyberattacks on the Internet resources of authorities and media in Ukraine has tripled compared to last year". According to the State Service for Special Communications and Information Protection of Ukraine, in 2022, the State Center for Cyber Protection registered 2.8 times more cyber incidents than in 2021. The number of information security events in the categories "Malicious software code" and "Collection of information by an attacker" increased by 18.3 and 2.2 times, respectively. In 2023, the number of cyberattacks increased from 2022, by 15.9% to 2,543 incidents (In 2022 the number of … report, 2023).

According to Liga.net, "in three years, the number of cyberattacks in Ukraine has increased 5 times. Most of them are Russian" (Kondratova, 2022). In comparison: in 2021, Ukraine suffered 2,200 cyberattacks, in 2020 – 600, in 2019 – 480. In January 2022 – 121 cyberattacks (according to the SBU). So, the peculiarities of the development of cybercrime in the global world in: 2019 – 3.92 million dollars; 2020 – 3.86 million dollars; 2021 – 4.24 million dollars; 2022 – 1 trillion (Kormych & Zavhorodnia, 2023).

At the Ukrinform briefing in April 2022, Deputy Minister of Energy for Digital Development, Digital Transformations and Digitalization F. Safarov provided the following data on cyberattacks on the energy sector: "over the last 40 days of the war, the number of cyberattacks exceeded 200,000. For comparison, we had 900,000 attempts to attack infrastructure last year. In particular, about 20,000 attempts were recorded last week" (Pavlyshyn, 2022).

Developed countries are also developing national infrastructure protection programs that define technical and functional criteria for digital technologies and facilitate the identification of potentially

vulnerable elements through the development of rules and procedures for access to them. For example, Austria, Belgium, Portugal, Sweden, and the Czech Republic have set up emergency response teams to better exchange information and develop cooperation with private sector organizations, as well as to coordinate digital interaction between countries. Thus, the need for further international cooperation in the field of international and regional security in the digital environment is widely recognized.

Conclusions

In order to ensure information and cybersecurity, it is crucial to train specialists in this area. Particularly in Ukraine, over the past few years, higher education institutions started training specialists in the field of cybersecurity. With the dramatic increase in cybercrimes such as cyber-attacks, data fraud, stolen data features, etc. Cybersecurity has become one of the fastest-growing industries in the world. Therefore, there is a great demand for cybersecurity specialists.

Moreover, it is important to educate the population on the means of information safety, as well as to improve the media literacy of society. This is what the Unified State Portal of Digital Education of Ukraine (https://osvita.diia.gov.ua) is set to do. Mechanisms for the development of skills in the digital technologies field are part of the development of human capital and in the digital economy consist of three components: identifying the basic skills needed in the digital economy; forecasting changes in the economy as a whole and the labor market and assessing the ability of the education system to adapt to new conditions; use of digital technologies to improve the access and quality of education, for instance via online courses, etc. And this provided ample opportunities not only for education, but also for additional earnings.

Strengthening national security using digital technologies can be facilitated by the establishment of "digital citizenship", which implies a high level of readiness for the responsible, safe and effective use of digital communications. The fields of using the culture of digital citizenship are security, democracy, and business.

Today in Ukraine we have an active transition to acquiring knowledge specifically on online platforms, by taking various courses. The Ministry of Digital Transformation has launched a national online platform for digital literacy "Diia. Digital education", which is available on the Internet at the link: osvita.diia.gov.ua. On the online platform, every citizen can learn digital skills for free in a new modern format – an educational series.

Therefore, the study has shown that the digital transformation that is taking place in the current conditions is actively affecting the field of national security. On the one hand, it acts as a contributing factor to ensuring national security, since it increases the efficiency of public administration and is a major reform driver in this area, transforms the public policy system, expands political participation, and consequently democratizes public life. Furthermore, the introduction of digital technologies can increase the level of economic development of the country. However, on the other hand, digital transformation poses several new threats to national security, namely in the economic, social, and information space. Yes, it contributes to digital political isolation, the shift of political activity to the digital environment and the emergence of new virtual unconventional forms of political participation, the development of cyber threats and cyberattacks, and so on.

Overcoming the threats of digitalization will be facilitated by the formation of an integrated system of national security in the context of digital transformation, the key vectors of development of which in Ukraine include economic, information, and cyber security. Using the tools of these security forms will lead to overcoming the negative effects of digitalization and strengthening its positive role in society.

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SECURITY DIMENSION OF SPAIN'S EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATION: CONCLUSIONS FOR UKRAINE

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Abstract

The present article is concerned with the national security aspects of Spain's accession to European Economic Community (EEC) / European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). One of the goals pursued in this paper is for Ukraine to adopt some particular features and experience of Spain's European and Euro-Atlantic integration practices consistent with the local context. The author analysed the Spanish and Ukrainian historiography on the issues under investigation. This paper analyses geographical range of geostrategic and national security interests of Spain. As the country is situated on the periphery, in the south of the Iberian peninsula, they are concentrated in the Mediterranean region and in Maghreb. The Mediterranean area, which includes the southern and south-eastern coasts of Spain, is the gate of the Atlantic Ocean and the crossroads, both the contact and the conflict zone for a number of European, African as well as Asian states. Ukraine's prospects in this context are also the subject of analysis.

During the years of Francoism, the security interests of Spain in the military sphere were determined by the bilateral common defence treaty with the USA, and the preferential agreement with the EEC on the most favoured nation treatment in the economic sphere.

The security and defence dimensions of Spain did not change in the post-Francoist epoch. The mechanisms of their implementation were supplemented, besides the relations of the USA, by the country's membership of NATO, Western European Union (WEU) and EEC (the EU). As a member of NATO, Spain became ultimately confirmed in its national security interests. NATO membership determined the defence functions of the country concentrated in the Pyrenees, Eastern Atlantic and Western Mediterranean region.

Keywords: Spain, security, NATO, European Economic Community, European Union, the Mediterranean region, referendum.

Introduction

On its way to the democratic transition from the authoritarian system to a full-fledged democracy, post-Francoist Spain had to accomplish one of the essential tasks, i.e. designing and implementation of a new foreign-policy strategy whose main purpose was for the state to become an agent on the international arena, to fully integrate into the European and global structures and processes, thus ensuring the country's national economic, military and political security. Since gaining its independence, Ukraine has declared similar strategic foreign-policy tasks. Their implementation, however, differs fundamentally from the Spanish version (Smoliy, 2001, p. 247-321; 245-306; 624-627, 641-653).

Spanish historiography generally distinguishes two models of foreign policy espoused and adhered to by post-francoist governments, which differ from one another based on their fundamental principles and priorities. The first model, which took atlanticism and unilateralism, i.e. cooperation with the USA

and NATO, as a priority, was implemented by the governments of the Union of the Democratic Centre (UDC) headed by Adolfo Suarez and Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, as well as that of People's Party (PP) led by Jose Maria Aznar Lopez. A different foreign policy model called "Europeanist", with an emphasis on top-priority cooperation with European institutions, European countries and multilateralism, was put into effect by the Socialist governments (the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party – SSWP) headed by Felipe Gonzalez Marquez and Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero (Carola, 2010; Celestino, 2011; Ivanytska, 2016b).

The experience of Spain with regard to the implementation of Euro-Atlantic trajectory has not only a theoretical, but also, first and foremost, a practical importance for Ukraine on its painful and controversial path to European institutions. The mainstreaming of this agenda in the way of comparison is also enhanced for us in view of a certain similarity of the historical fate of Ukraine and Spain in the 20th century (polarization of the society, a civil war, long-lasting totalitarian-authoritarian regimes, a democratic transition, etc.). We should keep in mind the fact that, having undergone a long-term international isolation during the Francoist period, the Kingdom of Spain became a member of the EU and NATO within a relatively short span of time (from a historical point of view), and ranks high among the leading European countries.

Therefore, it is deemed important to study the historical, national and security context of Spain's accession to NATO and the EU, and within this framework to analyse the effectiveness of the national and international political mechanisms with a view to incorporate Ukraine into Euro-Atlantic security institutions, particularly, into the North-Atlantic Alliance and the European Union. The topicality of the subject under consideration is also defined by the fact that national history and political science currently lack complex comparative research in this field.

Literature Review

Spanish historiography is the most well-founded in this respect. Primarily, the Spanish researchers summarized the historiographic studies of the process of Spain's Euro-Atlantic integration. Thus, Manuel Corchado Rincon and Carlos Sanz Diaz (2000) published an article on the occasion of NATO's 50th anniversary, in which they analyzed the historiography of the Spanish vision of the North-Atlantic Alliance and their country's place and role in it. The researchers emphasize the fact that the historiography of the problem went through certain stages of development. A period in the historiography of research may be defined as a time segment of the historiographic process marked by a unique complex of relevant conceptual peculiarities of the interpretation of the problem. Manuel Corchado Rincon and Carlos Sanz Diaz (2000) singled out 3 periods in the historiography of Spain's integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions, specifically, into the North-Atlantic Alliance: a) 1949 – 1981; b) 1981 – 1986; c) 1986 – 2000.

It is the authors' opinion that the first period is characterized by the lack of the researchers' attention to the problem of Spain's accession to the Alliance. In our view, the epoch of Francoism within this period should be singled out as a separate space of time, and thus Francoism, which prioritized bilateral cooperation with the USA and the EU in the military and economic security spheres over Spain's membership in the NATO, will not be merged with post-Francoism.

The issues of Spanish Euro-Atlantic integration had been most intensively studied during 1981 – 1986, i.e. since the application for NATO membership by Prime Minister Calvo Sotelo and the eventuation of the national referendum announced by the Socialist government of F. Gonzalez, where the Spanish confirmed the necessity of Spain's membership in the NATO. This period is characterized by the scholarly literature which conceptually dealt with the peculiarities of the break with public consensus with regard to the strategic foreign policy course of the country, the information on party and public controversial debate and the ways of overcoming them. Since the declaration of the referendum results, which marked the 3rd period in Spanish historiography, "the NATO issue" receded into the background. Instead of agitprop cliches, the research demonstrated objectivity, technical and academic approaches, in particular, in axiological and security aspects of Spain's membership in NATO and the EU (Corchado & Sanz, 2000).

The security aspects of Euro-Atlantic course of Spain, its prerequisites, causes, the political parties' attitude to it and debates between them, security factors of the country's accession to NATO and the EU were most consistently and tersely analyzed in fundamental academic publications (Marin et al., 2001; Arostegui et al., 2003).

Spain's path to integration into the European Economic Community, its governing motives and approaches, their evolution and economic results ranging from the Francoist epoch to late 20th century were investigated and evaluated by Julio Crespo MacLellan (2004) in his well-grounded monograph «España en Europa, 1945-2000. Del ostracismo a la modernidad» (Crespo, 2004).

The problem of Madrid's accession to NATO in terms of debate in Spanish-British relations over the sovereignty of Gibraltar was analyzed by Jose Miguel Bueno Vicente in a periodical edition (Bueno, 1981). At the same time, Angel Linares suggested a stocktaking of different theoretical and practical approaches concerning Spain's accession to the Alliance.

The national literature on history and political science has not yet fully covered the issue of Spain's Euro-Atlantic integration, specifically, its security dimension. However, it is gratifying to note that there appeared first research of young Hispanists, namely Fedorova (2014), who did an in-depth study of security-related advantages and disadvantages of Spain's membership in NATO (Fedorova, 2014). A Ukrainian scholar, Koshchiy (2003) defended her thesis on the issue of Gibraltar in international and Spanish-British relations (Koshchiy, 2003), while a newspaper columnist Zagoruyko (2013) published a series of articles on the particulars of the conflict over "The Rock" between Madrid and London in "Dzerkalo Tyzhnia", usually referred to in English as The Mirror Weekly (Zagoruyko, 2013). The issues related to Spanish accession to the EEC and Spain's experience of rapprochement with NATO in the context of practical experience for Ukraine was studied by Kyivan scholars Kopiyka (2001) and Pokrovska (1988). The problems of conditions, circumstances, and certain security consequences of the accession of the Spanish state to the EU and NATO were touched upon in a number of textbooks written by Ivanytska (2016b).

Spanish studies in Russia, drawing on the long-standing and serious traditions of their development, are represented by a number of collaborative and monographic studies, academic papers on current history of Spain, in which foreign policy of Spanish governments with regard to the country's accession to EEC and NATO is analyzed to a greater or lesser degree. Collaborative research works, complex and unparalleled in their chronological and geographical scope, the corpus of the sources used and historiographic basis, rank high among academic credentials of Spanish studies in Russia, to name a few "History of Spain. Volume 2. From the War of the Spanish Succession to the early XXI century (Sagomonyan & Yurchik, 2014) and "History of Foreign Policy in Spain" (Anikeeva et al., 2014).

A prominent hispanist, Cherkasova (2009; 2015; 2017) came closest to the thorough study of the specifics of the subject under consideration, in particular, Spain's security in Euro-Atlantic format (Cherkasova, 2009; Cherkasova, 2015; Cherkasova, 2017). The constructive aspects of military-political and military-technical cooperation of Madrid with the EU and NATO were studied by Mazin (1999), Spain's role and place in the system of Western political and military organisations and alliances were investigated by Orlov (2000), and a scholar from Belarus, Naumov (2002) analyzed the problems of Spain's integration into NATO.

Therefore, our brief historiographic analysis of the security dimension of Spain's accession to the EEC and NATO indicates that this problem elicits academic interest both in the world and national Spanish studies. However, the absence of comprehensive research in this context and the need for extrapolation of the Spanish experience of Euro-Atlantic integration to the Ukrainian version determines the topicality of our research.

Spain's Geopolitical Security Space and Mechanisms of National Security Priorities' Defence During Franco Era

Due to its unique peripheral geographic state, the geostrategic, security and defence interests of the thalassocratic Spain in the 2nd half of the 20th century were focused on the Southern flank of continental Europe, i.e. on the south of the Iberian Peninsula, in the Mediterranean and Maghreb in the area of which, there were a number of problematic, in terms of security, points – the Gibraltar Peninsula, the Strait of Gibraltar, which links the Atlantic Ocean with the Mediterranean Sea, Spanish enclaves and city-ports of Ceuta and Melilla located on the territory of Morocco that requires their return thus preserving the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Moroccan state, Western Sahara, the Canary Islands in the context of Algeria's territorial claims regarding these territories, conflicting Maghreb as a zone of Spain's national interest and security control over this region. Due to its favourable economic and geopolitical location, the Mediterranean area, which includes the southern and south-eastern coasts of Spain, is a gate to the Atlantic Ocean as well as the crossroads, a contact and conflict zone of a number of European, African and Asian countries. At the same time, it plays a role of a specific bridge between the East and the West and Spain is a main link between Europe and North Africa (Cherkasova, 2009; Cherkasova, 2015; Cherkasova, 2017).

The Francoist Spain, which after the end of World War II found itself in international isolation and not being a member of UNO or other world and European organization or unions, was looking for security guarantees in bilateral relations with the countries that recognized it.

A decisive role in breaking the international isolation was played by the Spanish-American rapprochement that started in 1947. The USA ignored the nondemocratic nature of the Spanish regime; geo-strategic, geo-political and ideological interests prevailed. This year may be considered to be the year of concretization of the "Cold War" state. The leader of Spain placed his stake on anti-communism, Catholicism and, most importantly, on the favourable strategic and geographical location of the peninsula (Bennassar, 1996, p. 174).

Already in 1947, a number of well-known American Congressmen visited Madrid and next year, the Commander of the US Mediterranean Fleet, Admiral Sherman. He had a concrete goal – to find out about the possibility of signing a bilateral agreement that would allow the US to place military bases on the territory of Spain in exchange for American military and economic assistance. In his talk with the American Ambassador S. Griffis in 1950 F. Franco confirmed that Spain was ready to sign an agreement with the USA, which would outline the obligations similar to those included into the North Atlantic Treaty, but only on condition that the United States provide sufficient support to Spain (Sabin, 1997, p. 209; Fusi, 2001, p. 108, 112).

After the election of President D. Eisenhower in 1952 in the USA, the security role of the Pyrenean Peninsula – and, particularly, of Spain – increased as the new master of the White House, being a military man in the past, truly appreciated the favourable geostrategic location of the peninsula. The negotiations speeded up. On September 26, 1953 a broad Spanish-American Pact of Madrid, the legal weight of which was decreased to "an executive agreement" that did not require ratification by the Senate and approval of the Congress. Under the terms of the treaty that was signed for a period of ten years with two automatic prolongations for five years each as well as under the terms of secret supplements, the USA received the rights to construct and utilize eight air and two naval bases on the territory of Spain. The construction of military depots and an oil pipeline was also authorized. Under the terms of the agreement, the USA rented three air force bases (Torrejón, Zaragoza, Morón) as well as the Naval Station Rota. Also, in case of a "possible communist aggression, which threatened the security of the West" Washington received the right to use Spanish bases as they saw fit, which for Spain meant its automatic involvement in the military conflict. At the same time, the agreement did not regulate the actions of the USA in a situation when Spain could become the victim of aggression. The agreement on economic support was similar to the agreements and treaties, which Washington signed with other countries. The total sum of the support was 465 million dollars, but by the end of the first decade it increased to 1 billion dollars, and according to some data – to 1 billion 183 million. In general, the US cooperation with Spain in 1954-1975 cost the former 7 billion dollars spent on economic and military aid to the Francoist regime as well as on maintaining and expanding American objects.

Thus, in 1953 Spain got the status of a strategic ally of the USA and, without being a NATO member, it was included into the security and defense structure. Even though it officially was not a member of the military-political block, Spain became an important joining link between the USA and its NATO partners in Western Europe. It was through Spain, as well as through its Canary Islands, passed the main air military cargo traffic from America to the Old World. Strategically significant bomber aircrafts with nuclear weapons were located at the air force bases and Rota served as the forward operation location of the 16th squadron of nuclear-armed submarines of the "Polaris" type. With the US assistance, Spanish enterprises producing weapons and military machinery were considerably modernized. Some of them traditionally received regular orders from American Armed Forces. During 1954-1972 alone, the aircraft enterprises of the country repaired and provided technical service for 5,300 airplanes and helicopters of the American Air Forces (Sabin, 1997, p. 201-214; Bennassar, 1996, p. 175; Fusi, 2001, p. 118; Krasikov, 1989, p. 88-91).

The Spanish-American relations were developed successfully. The US Secretary of State J.F. Dulles visited Spain in 1956 and 1957, and the US President D. Eisenhower in 1959. However, the incident, which took place on January 17, 1966 somewhat clouded these relations as the territory of Spain faced a radioactive threat. On that day, near the village of Palomares, a B-52G bomber collided with a KC-135 tanker, which had taken off from a base in Morón. The B-52 carried four hydrogen bombs with the destruction force of 1.5 megatons each. Three bombs fell on land, two of them detonated and radioactive plutonium spread around; the fourth one fell into the sea and the search for it lasted almost 3 months. It was impossible to hide the accident and it provoked a negative attitude of the Spanish and of the world community.

As a result, the Francoist government prohibited the flights over the territory of their country of the American Strategic Air Command with nuclear weapons on board as well as the mid-air refueling of American planes. Madrid took advantage of the anti-military and anti-American moods, pressing the USA to agree to joint use of the bases (Pozharskaya, 1982, 255-258; Krasikov, 1989, p. 134-136). To a certain extent, the Francoist Spain also used these moods during the Arab-Israel wars of 1967 and 1973. Referring

to the fact that the escalation of the situation in the Mediterranean seriously reflects on the security of the state, the Spanish authorities announced that they prohibit the use of the "dual use" bases for the needs of a third country. This meant prohibition for the aircrafts which transported weapons to Israel to land on the military bases in Spain. Moreover, after France left the military structures of NATO, the Spanish caudillo started talking in 1968 about neutrality as an alternative to the foreign policy vector of Spain (Pozharskaya, 1982, 258-260).

The Spanish-American military-defense and security cooperation was expanding: various memorandums were signed, a new agreement, which diversified and improved this cooperation and substituted the 1953 agreement, which had expired, was signed in 1963 for a period of five years. Under the terms of this agreement, the Americans kept their bases on the Spanish territory. At the same time, a new structure was established – an American-Spanish Consultative Committee on Defense Matters. The USA assumed an obligation to modernize Spanish Armed Forces. The "Joint Declaration" published on the occasion of signing the 1963 agreement states that it is "a part of the security arrangements for the Atlantic and Mediterranean areas" (Marin et al., 2001, p. 181-182; Krasikov, 1989, p. 122-123; Pozharskaya, 1982, 250-252).

In August 1970 a Friendship and Cooperation Treaty was signed between Spain and the USA, which was viewed as a qualitatively new stage in the development of partnership relations between the two countries in the field of security. However, while signing the Treaty in 1970, Madrid took advantage of a number of circumstances demanding some preferences from Washington. These circumstances included: the Palomares incident, which caused a wave of anti-Americanism among the Spanish community, the appearance of American ships in Gibraltar during a conflict between Madrid and London, the turn up of the Soviet ships in the Mediterranean Sea etc. The Spanish demanded that the previous agreements should be substituted by a "treaty", which would have equal force for both states, obliged the USA to defend the Spanish territory in case of external aggression, widened American military and economic assistance (Pozharskaya, 1982, p. 270-280; Krasikov, 1989, p. 149-142).

In order to reach economic security, Madrid in the years of Francoism was able to find an acceptable modus vivendi in relations with the West through the agreements with the US. In addition, the program of socioeconomic stabilization, developed in 1959 with the help of IMF, determined the political choice of the Francoist regime in the field of economic security – integration to the Common European Market. Despite the anti-African prejudices of the Europeans, Madrid purposefully and gradually adapted to the standards set in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome. Minister for Foreign Affairs Castiella, the "designer" of Spain's foreign policy for 13 years, determined adjoining of the state to the integration processes in Europe to be the priority goal. His line of politics aimed at "Spain's gaining the status of an absolutely European state with a medium potential…" (Crespo, 2004, p. 115).

In 1962 Spain sent a request to the Headquarters of the EEC to start official negotiations on accession to this organization. Madrid's request was supported by the Federative Republic of Germany and France, which still had certain concerns due to Spanish competition on the agrarian market, as well as Italy whereas other Western European countries (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg) avoided giving an unambiguous assessment of this step of the Francoist government. Still, on July 29, 1970, in Luxemburg, after many years of negotiations, only a protocol about granting Spain most favourable conditions for trading with the EEC countries was signed; the protocol decreased the customs tax for Spanish industrial goods exported into the EEC by 65%. Spain was refused membership in the "Common market" (Crespo, 2004, p. 111-125; Krasikov, 1989, p. 145-146).

At the same time, Francoist Spain was not able to solve a number of security-related issues, in which it did not get the support of the USA. First of all, we speak about Gibraltar. The Gibraltar problem (territory on the south of the Pyrenean Peninsula, total area – 5.9 square km, population – 27,000 – the English and the Spanish (the 1990-s); border with Spain – 1km 240m; distance between Europe and Africa in the narrowest point of the strait – 14 km) has a long history in the Spanish-British relations. Just a reminder that Gibraltar was recaptured from the Moors by the Spanish Queen Isabella I of Castile in 1462.

Under the terms of the Peace of Utrecht of July 13, 1713, which ended the war for Spanish heritage, Spain ceded the Port of Gibraltar and the Menorca island to Great Britain; London did not have the right to pass or sell Gibraltar to another country; in case Great Britain disclaims Gibraltar, it automatically returns to Spain. During the World War II A. Hitler, wishing to engage Spain into the war on its side, encouraged F. Franco to start a joint operation on recapturing Gibraltar. Most probably, Churchill's threat to take over the Canary Islands in case of joint Spanish-German operation "The Rock", put these plans on break. In 1964

the negotiations between the official representatives of Francoist Spain and Great Britain on Gibraltar decolonization started, however, they were not successful. Then Great Britain granted Gibraltar the status of a dominion and initiated a referendum among the population in 1967: of 19,000 citizens of Gibraltar, who took part in the referendum, only 44 people expressed a desire to join Spain. By the results of the referendum, Gibraltar ceased to Gibraltar border, which led to food deficiency on Gibraltar as it came from Spain. The blockade lasted for 15 years (Sboyko, 2008).

The Ancient Greek name of the Mediterranean Sea be a part of Spain. In 1969 a Constitution was adopted in Gibraltar, according to which, a governor, who is responsible for foreign policy, defense and domestic security, represents Great Britain on the Peninsula. In addition, a local parliament and the Council of Ministers were established. Reaction of Madrid was acute. In 1969 F. Franco declared a blockade of the Rock, forbade the flights of British planes over the Spanish territory as well as the use of the Algeciras Port, closed the Spanish – "Mare Nostrum" quite accurately describes one of the traditional security vectors of Spanish diplomacy, which can be clearly traced through the events of the Francoist epoch. Especially taking into consideration the complexity of relations with Morocco, the regime was objectively interested in security stability as well as trade and economic cooperation in these neighbouring countries, namely, in the Maghreb sector. In 1968 Spain recognized the independence of its African colony (Equatorial Guinea) and also agreed to return its colony, the Ifni Province, to Morocco.

The problem of Western Sahara – the Spanish "African Province", which countries of Northern Africa set claims for, became an acute problem at the end of 1974. The "Province" was a narrow strip of the desert on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean with the population of 150 thousand people, mainly nomadic cattle herders. Western Sahara raised an interest of Spain as well as of its African neighbours mostly of the fact that it has huge phosphate deposits. Morocco and Mauritania both wanted to establish a protectorate over Western Sahara, Algeria claimed that it should be entitled to self-determination. The UN Special Committee on Decolonization supported the idea of holding a referendum on this territory so that people could choose their fate. Soon afterwards, by the Cortes' decision of 1975, Spain passed Western Sahara to Morocco, hoping to decrease the claims over its African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. At the same time, Madrid received a number of preferences, particularly, for phosphate mining (Oneto, 1975, p. 35; Krasikov, 1989, p. 157-158).

Thus, despite the almost 40-year existence of an authoritarian Francoist regime in Spain, there were no radical changes in the foreign policy regarding national security priorities, hereditary and traditional character of the past was preserved.

Special Aspects of Spain's Accession to NATO and EU Membership and Guarantees of its Security Interests

With the death of F. Franco in November 1975 Spain entered a new historic stage: peaceful dismantlement of the authoritarian regime as well as a transition towards a fully-fledged democracy. This transition was completed in October 1982 when a socialist government headed by F. Gonzalez came to power as a result of a free democratic election. Within the period of the Spanish transition to democracy governmental policy was implemented by two democratic governments headed successively by A. Suárez (1976-1981) and L. Calvo Sotelo (from November 1981 to July 1982).

Considering the concept of foreign policy implementation, the governments of A. Suárez and L. Calvo Sotelo pursued the assumption that Spain, officially rating "average in significance" as a state, was nevertheless able to play a considerable part in the global as well as European security policy. With this background the future of Spain was interpreted in its indispensable association with European countries. Similarly, in the context of Spain belonging to the Western civilization, claims for accession to NATO were becoming increasingly persistent. Membership in NATO conferred a range of benefits to the state, such as speeding negotiations concerning membership in the EU, solution of the problem of Gibraltar, modernization of the Armed Forces in the context of ensuring national security and protection from potential conflicts (Fedorova, 2014, p. 35-37).

Not long thereafter, this route was hampered by quite a number of "submerged reefs". The USA, in particular, while endorsing the candidacy of Spain in its obtaining membership in the organization, simultaneously took advantage of the occasion to let the government of L. Calvo Sotelo take note of their concerns as for the retention of American military bases on the territory of this country and the necessity to update the bilateral agreement. At the same time, the candidacy of Spain did not enjoy unconditional support among the other Alliance participants. Certain objections were expressed

by Holland, Greece and France. Apart from that, the government of L. Calvo Sotelo did not have a clear understanding of the forms of Spain's participation NATO structures, considering them to be the subject of further negotiation.

In a similar way, the very issue of Spain's accession to NATO provoked domestic political debates as well as interparty controversies. The leaders of Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) accused the Democratic Centre Union (UCD) of refusing to seek consensus on the issue so significant for Spain. No due attention, as seen by the experts, was drawn to Gibraltar and the expansion of the "covering force" geographic area of Spanish enclaves in North Africa – the cities of Ceuta and Melilla. Despite the opposition of the factions of the PSOE and PCE in the parliament, the government of L. Calvo Sotelo submitted an official application for the Accession of Spain to NATO on May 30, 1975 in Washington. The historic paradox lied in the fact that it was the Cabinet of L. Calvo Sotelo, the weakest of all the post-Franco governments since as early as 1975, that made a decisive step towards the Accession of Spain to the North Atlantic Alliance. On December 10, 1981 the ministers of NATO ratified the Accession of Spain to the Alliance. On being ratified by the parliaments of 15 member countries of NATO Spain became the 16th participating member of this military political organization from the year of 1982 (Davydov, 2006, p. 368).

On July 2, 1982 Spain renewed the Agreement on Friendship, Defense and Cooperation with the USA, but again in the form of an "agreement". It somewhat lowered the status of the new document. The Preamble to the Treaty alone clearly linked the bilateral Spanish-American relationship to the obligations ensuing from the affiliation of both of the countries to NATO. The agreement between Spain and the USA which was an essential tool in the bilateral political and military interaction continued to be enforced. The USA was confirmedly granted the use of the bases and the objects on Spanish territory. The supplementary agreement stipulated that "the storage and deployment of nuclear weapons or non-conventional weapons and their components on Spanish territory will rely on the approval of Spanish government". A concrete implementation mechanism of this statement, however, was not elaborated, and this devalued the principle as such. Spanish government did not obtain a real possibility to inspect American objects and constructions on its own territory.

Annex 2 of the Agreement contained a list of all the bases and objects which were "property of the Spanish state" and where the "support installations" to be used by the United States Armed Forces were deployed. These were the air bases in Morón, Torrejón de Ardoz and Zaragoza, the naval base in Rota; the ammunition and fuel storages in Cartagena, the communication stations in Umos, Hinojes, Soler, Menorca, Estacada Bares, and the meteorological station in Sonseca etc.

The USA, in their turn, pledged to facilitate the "strengthening of Spanish armed forces by shipping… defense equipment, services and training to Spain". By signing a new set of military and political documents with the USA, the centrist government, "without prior permission", sought to silence the debates on whether any separate agreements with Washington in the military sphere were needed in the event of Spain's accession to NATO (Marin et al., 2001, p. 376-377; Linares, 2013).

During the parliamentary election campaign, Spanish socialists promised to resolve the issue of the country's membership in NATO through holding a referendum. This problem was the subject of contentious debate within the country. Alongside this, the USA continued their efforts for Spain to attain full member status in NATO. Nevertheless, neither the visit of the US President USA R. Reagan to Madrid in May 1985 nor conversations held with F. Gonzalez during his September visit to the USA changed the position of Madrid as for a special status in the Alliance.

It brought Spanish socialists to hold a national referendum on March 12, 1986, which was unprecedented in the history of the Alliance. The question was whether Spain should remain in the Atlantic Alliance on the following terms and conditions: non-incorporation into NATO's military structure, prohibition on the installation, storage or entry of nuclear weapons on Spanish territory, non-membership of Spanish Armed Forces in the NATO Military Command Structure (military decisions of NATO should not concern Spanish armed forces), gradual reduction of the United States' military presence in Spain.

It should be reminded that at the time of Spain joining NATO, i.e. in 1982, there were 12000 American troops deployed on the four American bases (Marin et al., 2001, p. 373-374).

The referendum of 1986 confirmed the terms of membership and a "special status" of Spain in the Alliance (52,5% of Spanish people voted in favour of the permanence with NATO, 39,8% voted against). The "special status" of Spain in NATO enabled Madrid to actively participate in the work of the governing bodies of the Alliance and concurrently preserve discretion in decision-making on issues that concerned ensuring national and international security.

Gaining the support of its citizens concerning special status of the country as a member of NATO, the government of F. Gonzalez reduced the duration of military service in the armed forces from 15 to 12 months, reallocating the defense expenditures so that 40% of the funds was directed to Air Force, 32% to Army Field Forces, 28% to the Navy (previously 60% of the military funds had been allocated to Army Field Forces, 19% to the Navy, 21% to Aviation (Marin et al., 2001, 385-388).

As early as October 1985, Spain and the USA had started negotiations on the study of their joint contribution to the defense of Europe and of the West in general. The position of Spain in these negotiations considerably differed from that held previously. The key issue for Madrid was to obtain guarantees regarding the assistance of the USA in the event of a military attack against Spain as well as an increase in economic and military assistance. The USA refused to grant guarantees in the sphere of security claiming that American Congress raised objections about their country making such commitments to the European countries which were not members of NATO.

In the second half of the 1980s, the situation changed dramatically: Spain became a member of the North Atlantic Alliance which solved the problem of guaranteed safety of the country, and Spain was ready to refuse from economic and military assistance of the USA within the agreement discussed. Thus the issue that came to the foreground was a reduction of American military presence in the country.

In 1987 the number of US staff employed at military objects in Spain, i.e. at the four bases mentioned above, made up slightly more than 10 000. At these negotiations with Washington, Madrid was to solve a still more challenging task – to ensure the highest possible level of "compatibility" of the military presence of the USA on Spanish territory with the nuclear-weapon-free status of the country and a special form of its membership in NATO. The USA resisted the claims of Spain. As a result, in November 1987 Madrid officially notified Washington that they refused from automatic extension of the bilateral Agreement on Friendship, Defense and Cooperation which was to expire on May 14, 1988. In these circumstances, at the beginning of 1988, America gave their consent to withdraw 72 fighter-bombers (F-16) of the 401 Tactical Air Command of American Air Forces from Spanish territory within 3 years. Also, the parties agreed that the USA should decrease the number of tanker aircraft (from 20 to 15), and the American military staff strength should be reduced by 35,9%. Washington took on an obligation to respect the status of Spain as a nuclear-weapon-free state. Nevertheless, this obligation was devalued by an additional agreement that stated that Madrid should not insist on the Spanish government being provided with information about the presence of nuclear weapon on board US Navy ships that entered the ports of the country. As a new development, the annual American military aid to Madrid was terminated, i.e. the USA ceased crediting Spanish military equipment purchases, which caused the appearance of additional expenditures in the Spanish budget. Eventually, on December 1, 1988 the Agreement on Defense Cooperation between the USA and the Kingdom of Spain was signed. However, the issues of economic, technical and cultural cooperation were to be regulated by separate documents.

This Spanish-American defense cooperation agreement was generally a fairly objective reflection of the level of bilateral cooperation reached in the late 1980s, when the "senior-junior" relations formula was replaced by the principle of equal partnership which was being actively held.

In February 1988 the enactment of a set of documents identifying the place and the level of Spanish involvement in NATO was completed. Spain entered the Defence Planning Committee of NATO, became a member of the Nuclear Planning Group, took part in the organization of the Air Defense System of NATO and in the formation of NATO Navy Force in East Atlantic, took on obligations concerning the logistical support of NATO military units and defense of the Strait of Gibraltar.

Spain and Portugal signed the Protocols of Accession to the Western European Union in London on November 14, 1988. Spain became a full member of WEU on March 27, 1990. On the whole, this step was commensurate with SSWP commitment to strengthening the role of the European countries in the common security system of the West. In the spring of 1990, Spain participated in WEU Ministerial counsel as a full member for the first time and declared that WEU had a "transient nature" and would exist "until the EU undertook the functions of agreeing on a united approach in the sphere of European security." At the same time, F. Fernandez Ordóñez, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, emphasized that the new security system calls for strengthening of NATO's political role (Mazin, 1999, p. 89).

The flexible approach to the theme of "Europeanism-Atlanticism" became one of the fundamental elements of Spanish foreign policy at the new stage of international development, i.e. it was the beginning of the national security concept transformation in the new Directive of 1992 which declared that "various crises outside Europe showed that the security of Spain depends not only on the security of its territories,

but also on what is going on in other parts of the world." "Security should be understood at the collective level; no country can face the new risks and threats alone in such an interconnected world", said J.Piqué, Spain's foreign minister, and one might say that these words became one of the mottos of Spain's foreign policy in the 1990s. The implementation of this motto was reflected in the revision of Spain's attitude to participation in peacekeeping operations under UN auspices. Thus, since the Kingdom of Spain joined NATO, it has participated in numerous operations, commencing with missions in Africa and Central America, Kosovo, Iraq, Active Endeavour operation aimed at maintenance of peace and security in the Mediterranean region. Currently, Spanish expeditionary force takes part in a number of operations essential for NATO: Baltic Air Policing Mission (an Alliance's air defence Quick Reaction Alert (QRA) in order to guard the airspace over the three Baltic states – Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia); Enhanced forward presence (NATO's programme of strengthening its presence in Eastern Europe within the framework of their allies' support after the annexation of the Crimea and occupation of a part of Donbas by the RF; Support of Turkey as part of the Active Endeavour operation to defend the population from ballistic missile threats originating from the Syrian conflict, etc. Altogether, 671 Spanish military men take part in different operations under the auspices of NATO, 736 in the EU and 612 in the UN (Rostov, 2019, 21-22).

One of the top foreign policy priorities of the of new J.M.Aznar (1996-2004) government in the context of Spanish-American relations was the problem of reforming the "Spanish model" of NATO membership, that is joining the Alliance's military structures. Spain aspired to take Command of the Allied forces in the Strait of Gibraltar and the whole territory of the country. Besides, it counted on receiving important positions in other Commands of the Alliance in Europe and the Atlantic region. At the same time, Spain confirmed its non-nuclear status for the future. The facts that J.Solana became Secretary General of NATO in 1995, and the summit of the North Atlantic Council held in Madrid in July 1997, among other issues, decided on NATO's enlargement by joining Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, were additional reasons for including Spain into the integrated military structure.

However, the UK's reaction to the situation over Gibraltar was adverse and it claimed that it would block Spain's joining NATO military structure, if the latter did not lift the restrictions imposed on the British aircrafts landing on "The Rock" territory. True is that a formal decision as to Spain joining a NATO military structure was not taken at the summit because there was no agreement on the issue of the Canary Islands. Spain insisted on the inclusion of the islands in its zone of responsibility and the so-called maritime corridor going through the Canary Islands, Lisbon and the Spanish port of Cadiz. Defending its interests, Portugal raised objections to Spain's demands. In retort, J.M.Aznar threatened to put on hold the process of integration into NATO if Spain did not gain control over the Canaries.

The last obstacles on Spain's path to full-fledged NATO membership disappeared in December 1997: the UK unexpectedly lifted its veto to the new command structure and agreed to further discuss the problem of Gibraltar in a bilateral format (experts claim that Washington had something to do with it). It gave the possibility to NATO defence ministers to establish a new command structure of the Alliance, reducing the number of subregional command posts from 65 to 20. A new southwestern combined subregional command post was established especially for Spain on its territory. It covered the whole territory of the country (continental Spain, the Canary Islands and the Balearic Islands, as well as the Strait of Gibraltar zone), except Ceuta and Melilla which were outside the purview of NATO. Spain's headquarters were located in the suburb of Madrid. The water zone between the Canary Islands and continental Spain had remained under the supervision of Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (Cherkasova, 2015, p. 42; Naumov, 2002, p. 70-71).

Thus, Spain definitively gave up its "special status" in the North-Atlantic Alliance and became its full-fledged member. It was formalized on January 1, 1999 (Spain has been a member of NATO since 1982, an agreement was signed in 1988 concerning the conditions of Spain's participation in NATO without accession into military structures). Spain accepted The US proposal on the expansion of the American Naval Station Rota which allowed for control over all the Mediterranean area. The air base of the US strategic bomber aircraft located outside Madrid greatly contributed to nuclear parity with the USSR, currently with RF. The Joint Subregional Command Southwest Headquarters headed by the Spanish Major General J.Narro was opened on September 30, 1999 in the town of Retamares outside Madrid.

The Socialist government of post-Francoist Spain took a tough stance toward the problem of Gibraltar, insisting that the British government should seek ways to bring the enclave back under Spanish sovereignty. As it did in the previous decades, Madrid announced various initiatives. However, the British side declined all these proposals alluding to the negative attitude to it on the part of the enclave's residents. In the meantime, the so-called Brussels Agreement was concluded in 1984. Under the agreement, it was decided to hold

negotiations over the sovereignty of Gibraltar, and Spain was obliged to open the frontier with this territory. The talks with the UK over Gibraltar ended in 1985. The parties agreed to provide equality of rights for Spaniards in Gibraltar and Gibraltarians in Spain; the free movement of persons, vehicles and goods between Gibraltar and Spain. Under the Agreement, Spain provided flight operating safety over the Rock. The UK and Spain agreed to continue negotiations. Nevertheless, the countries were divided over the approaches to the solution of the problem. The United Kingdom regarded the Rock exclusively from the military and strategic point of view, while Spain was more concerned with political, economic and security issues.

The Spanish of the post-Francoist era had no hesitations and considered the accession to the Community to be the catalyst of domestic economic and political reforms. On the eve of joining the EEC, half of the Spanish export (60% in agriculture) and a third of import (30% – agriculture) was accounted for by the EEC. The controversies of the process of negotiations over the EU enlargement on account of Spain consisted of the following:

1) The agriculture of the country caused a number of problems in the EU. The first and the most important was how many EU funds should be allocated to transform its agrarian sector. The matter is that as of 1980, livestock production made 60% of the EU agricultural produce, while in Spain the figure was only 42%. Meanwhile, production of fruit and vegetables in Spain was 58%, and that of the EU was 40%. Besides, Spain's export of fruit and vegetables was highly competitive due to natural climatic conditions, and its produce got to European markets 2-3 weeks earlier than that of France. It caused the French and Italian farmers' discontent.

2) The prospect of the Spanish workforce emigration to the EU countries and its free movement after the restrictions were lifted, was also causing concerns;

3) On the other hand, the question arose of how many votes Portugal and Spain would have in the EU Commission in order to preserve the existing balance between the large and small countries. It was decided to give Portugal 5 votes and 8 votes to Spain, thus preserving the previous balance of power.

An active supporter of the EEC expansion towards the south, France considered it to be an opportunity to reestablish its positions in the Community worsened as a result of the UK accession. At the same time, Paris insisted that all the problems of the countries-applicants should be solved prior to their definitive accession.

The situation in Spain was aggravated by a failed coup d'etat on February 23, 1981. However, with the ascent to power of the socialists led by F.Gonzalez in Spain in 1982, diplomatic activity as to the process of negotiations became more intense. The fact that socialists came to power in France that same year considerably facilitated the negotiations. As a result, the Council of Europe passed a resolution in October 1983 about access of Spanish and Portuguese goods to the Common Market. EEC suggested establishing a 10-year transition period intended to have 2 stages. However, the Spanish government declined this proposal and offered a 7-year maximum term of transition period. During the second half of 1984, a consensus on one of the key issues of the negotiations in the agrarian sphere – control over national agricultural production – was achieved at the EEC Summit in Dublin. The Treaty of Accession of Spain and Portugal into the EC was signed in June 1985. Spain and Portugal became full-fledged members of EU-12. Spain became a member of all political institutions of the Community with 11% of votes allocated to it (Marin et al., 2001; Vernikov, 2007, p. 29-30; Crespo, 2004; Anikeeva et al., 2014, p. 251-252; Kopiyka, 2001).

Madrid benefited from the European integration (among many other aspects) financially and economically, specifically, in the form of high payouts from so-called Community funding whose aim was to contribute to Spain's economic growth and enable it to reach the level of more developed countries of the continent. Beginning with 1987, Spain annually received finances which considerably exceeded its contribution to the Community budget (the overall difference for the period 1987-2005 was over € 78,000 million). These additional financial injections enabled Spain to create 300,000 new jobs annually and finance a number of large-scale economic projects, primarily in the sphere of infrastructure. Suffice it to say that the building of 4 out of 10 km of modern high-quality motorways on Spanish territory was funded by the EEC. There are other, no less eloquent indices: the EU countries provided for about 90% of all foreign investments into Spain's economy, and, as of the beginning of the current century, they account for 66% of the Spanish import and 75% of its exports. One of the most important results of the country's accession to the EU is a considerable growth of per capita income in Spain – from 68% average in EEC member-states in 1986 to 90% in 2005 (Vernikov, 2007, p. 29-30, 55-62).

Spain's membership in the Community, and later in European Union, had a great impact on the orientation of Madrid's policy in global affairs, making the European orientation the main trajectory of

trade, economic and political relations of the Spanish state. What is more, it was broad-ranging cooperation with the EU partners that to a large extent determined the formation of all the main directions of Spain's international activity. Furthermore, the interaction of Spanish diplomats with their European colleagues was extended not only to the EU institutions, but also other international organizations, like NATO or CSCE (later, OSCE). The ratification of the Maastricht Treaty on European Union in February 1992 became a crucial event for Spain. It came into effect on November 1, 1993 and, on the one hand, formalized plans for Economic and Monetary Union – the so-called first pillar of the European Union; on the other hand, it included "The common foreign and security policy" (CFSP), which became the second pillar of the EU into the architecture of integration processes. Since that moment, the vector of further development of the Spanish foreign policy towards new, closer forms of cooperation with European countries was determined (Crespo, 2004).

Conclusions

A brief analysis of the security dimension of the prerequisites, development and results of the Spanish Euro-Atlantic integration process makes it possible to make adequate conclusions, define its peculiar features and extrapolate certain differences and co-relations to the analogous path of Ukraine.

Spain determined its national economic and security priorities which were associated with cooperation and membership in the EU and NATO clearly and definitively, both during the Francoist and post-Francoist periods. Since the country's accession to the Alliance, all Spanish governments, the right or the left, have decisively and consistently pursued the Euro-Atlantic agenda in their foreign policy. Conversely, since it gained its independence, Ukraine has not been able to clearly define its security aspects or determine the main trends of its foreign policy, alternating between West and East. Only in 2018, having wasted more than a decade, did Ukraine stipulate its commitment to joining the EU and NATO in the Constitution.

Having joined NATO, Spain became fully confirmed in its national security interests: its functions in the Alliance were limited to the defence of its own territory and airspace; participation in the sea and air operations in the Eastern Atlantic and Western Mediterranean areas; to control over Strait of Gibraltar; the use of Spanish territory as a transit depot for the Allied Forces. Madrid is keen for the NATO Guideline Area (NGA) to be extended not to the East, but to the whole Mediterranean Area and North Africa, as there exist a number of outstanding issues with regard to Spain's national interests. NATO, in turn, is building outposts of influence on the African continent with the help of Spain, which is in charge of the Alliance's southwestern flank. At the same time, Spain's relations with the UK concerning Gibraltar sovereignty and the inclusion of Ceuta and Melilla in NGA have remained in abeyance.

The analysis of the participation rates of Spanish Armed Forces in different security and peacekeeping operations of the NATO, EU and UNO shows that Spain considers its own security to be inseparably connected with that of the whole Euro-Atlantic area. This experience of Spain is useful for Ukraine as well.

There remains an open issue of the benefit Spain gained from its membership in NATO, since the threat of an open attack on the Pyrenees is currently minimal. Nevertheless, there exist new threats and challenges – terrorism, cyberattacks, information warfare, etc. In this context, NATO provides considerable guarantees of security for its member countries. In particular, Spain and the USA agreed upon joint anti-terrorism efforts, allowing the US police services to carry out counterterrorist activity on Spanish territory in conjunction with their Spanish colleagues.

Present-day Ukraine, fighting a hybrid warfare, is losing on these directions of its security policy.

Spain does not call into question the necessity of maintaining NATO as a factor of stability, or the need for American Armed Forces presence in Europe as a crucial condition of maintaining security on the European continent. NATO membership contributed to the modernization of Spanish Armed Forces according to NATO standards. Currently, Spain aims for NATO's transformation into an effective instrument of regional conflict prevention. Ukraine faces a similar pressing challenge on its way to membership in this political-military defence block.

From the military point of view, Ukraine is unable to fully provide its security on its own (taking into account military imbalance with neighbouring countries, nuclear disarmament, etc.). Therefore, Ukraine's participation in the system of collective security, which has a much higher deterrent potential as compared to the national military resources, would be an optimal solution for the Ukrainian government.

NATO membership will make it possible for Ukraine to conduct domestic political, social and economic reforms, bring the national legislation in sync with the legal rules and democratic principles

of NATO member countries, accelerate the national Armed Forces transformation, be included in the decision-making process as regards Euro-Atlantic security, as well as its own; receive additional guarantees of the national sovereignty, inviolability of territory and state borders.

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CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL ISSUES

PALLIATIVE CARE IN THE CONDITIONS OF NEW SOCIAL CHALLENGES: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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Abstract

Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine, which turned into a full-scale military conflict in February 2022, created serious problems for the entire system of social assistance in Ukraine in general and specialized services providing palliative care, in particular. Significant social problems arose when implementing a comprehensive approach to patient and family care under martial law.

This review aims to summarize the existing positive practices of providing palliative care in conditions of new social challenges and to highlight the main directions of social support in palliative care in conditions of martial law.

The publication provides an overview of modern scientific research and various practices of providing social support abroad, which are provided in the conditions of specialized medical institutions and social institutions that provide palliative care in the conditions of modern social challenges (the COVID-19 pandemic, conditions of social distancing, etc.). Prospective practices in the provision of palliative care using community resources have been identified. The domestic experience of providing social rehabilitation services is analyzed, and the main directions of social support services provided to clients within the social service of palliative care in the Kharkiv Regional Charitable Fund "Social Assistance Service" under martial law are given.

To identify problematic issues and improve the quality of palliative care social service provision, a survey of recipients of the relevant social service was conducted regarding the level of life satisfaction as an important prerequisite for the psychosocial state of clients and client satisfaction with the level of palliative care service provision as a promising way to improve further work with clients, focused on their needs. Data on the processing of the survey results using the methods of statistical evaluation of the central tendency of the sample and correlation analysis are given. Based on the analysis and generalization of the research results, the main ways to improve the social service of palliative care for the elderly in the conditions of martial law and promising directions of research are determined.

Keywords: palliative care, elderly people, palliative help, martial law, charity fund, social well-being, statistical evaluation, central tendency of the sample, correlation analysis.

Introduction

According to the website of the International Organization for Migration, 6.2 million people are refugees and 5.1 million people are forced migrants in Ukraine. Based on the data provided in the 28th round of the report (September 2023), according to the basic assessment of the territory of registered IDPs, among the regions with the officially largest number of registered IDPs, the maximum share of registered IDPs of elderly and elderly age (28%) is observed in the Kharkiv and Donetsk regions (International Organization for Migration, 2023), which confirms the relevance of the problem of improving the quality of social services for this vulnerable category of the population in general and the need to find new ways and means of improving the quality of life of elderly people who are palliative patients and need special care in conditions of martial law, in particular.

According to the Constitution of the World Health Organization, social well-being is recognized as a component of optimal human health (World Health Organization, 1946), therefore palliative care is one of the basic needs that must be provided by the state in accordance with the foundations of Ukrainian legislation on health protection (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2020; Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2014; Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2023).

Analysis of studies has shown that social support is a resource that can be obtained through interpersonal interactions (emotional support, companionship, information, advice, etc.) (Uchino, 2004, Rutkowski et al., 2018), which is necessary for both physical (provides opportunities to maintain physical condition) and mental health (protects against the negative effects of prolonged stress (Hostinar, 2015). Also, in modern society, the role of art therapy is growing, the use of which in social rehabilitation work is considered one of the important aspects of improving the system of providing social services on the basis of the formation of a new concept of social services for the population of Ukraine with increased attention of society to people with special needs (Smerechak, 2020, p. 219).

With the beginning of the full-scale military invasion of Russia in Ukraine, the conditions and possibilities of providing palliative care changed radically. Researchers (Shcherbakova & Kostina, 2022, p. 203-206) proved that this led to a further deterioration of the difficult life circumstances in which this population group was living before. Specialized social institutions in Ukraine are trying to respond to the scale of the disaster, are involved in social projects for the provision of humanitarian aid and the provision of services in emergency/crisis intervention conditions, but the issue of increasing the effectiveness of the provision of palliative care social services in conditions of martial law requires additional research. Therefore, the purpose of the study was to generalize the existing positive practices of providing palliative care in the conditions of new social challenges, to conduct an empirical study among the recipients of palliative care social services and, based on the statistical processing of its results, to highlight the main directions of social support for palliative care clients in the conditions of martial law.

Materials and Methods

To study the practices of providing social assistance to clients in need of palliative care, a content analysis of scientific publications was used in the relevant field of research. To determine the needs of the target group, the 9-item Social Service Recipient Needs Assessment Questionnaire (NAQ-9) was used to comprehensively assess the needs of a palliative care social service recipient and ways to improve the quality of social service provision for the client, and the Life Satisfaction Scale (SWLS-5) of 5 points that allow identifying the peculiarities of the client's perception of the objective circumstances of life and state of the social service. The study was conducted among the recipients of the palliative care social service of the Kharkiv Regional Charitable Foundation "Social Assistance Service" in October 2023 by conducting an oral survey with data recording in the appropriate Google forms, 100 respondents, recipients of the palliative care social service, took part in the survey. Processing of the results was carried out using the methods of statistical evaluation of the central tendency of the sample and correlation analysis.

Results

The analysis of scientific studies on palliative care showed that the term "palliative" has an archaic origin, which is associated with the ritual of burial on the one hand and care for people who are terminally ill and need help, looking after them, on the other (Danyliuk, 2018). The researcher defines palliative care as an approach that improves the quality of life of palliative patients and their families, by preventing and alleviating suffering using early detection and clear assessment, treating pain and other physical symptoms, providing psychosocial and spiritual support.

According to research results (Bradley, et al., 2018, p. 7-9), during a survey of hospice day services in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland in order to determine the spectrum of social support offered by hospices to palliative care patients, multicomponent interventions, activity groups (physical exercises, music, art or relaxation), formal support groups (functional rehabilitation groups, therapy groups, etc.), friendships and informal social activities (cafe clubs, some friendly and charitable community projects oriented around the home, etc.) became the most widespread.

Experts of the European Association for Palliative Care (EAPC) (Radbruch & Payne 2009, p. 283-289) distinguish various forms of palliative and hospice care, including supportive care, end-of-life care, terminal care, respite care, each type of which has its own characteristics and depends on the type of social institution that provides palliative services and the personal needs of clients, which require its provision. Therefore, in palliative social work at the level of the client in need of palliative care, the family is a unit of care that requires a complex influence in order to maximize efforts, because all family members can play an important role as caregivers.

The analysis of scientific studies has shown that new social challenges pose serious problems for specialized palliative care services, which are associated with significant limitations arising from the application of a holistic approach to a patient and family care. Thus, researchers (O'Brien & O'Brien, 2022) prove that at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, serious problems appeared for specialized palliative care services, which were associated with significant ethical dilemmas that arose during the organization of patient care and family interaction due to the imposition of restrictions on visiting related to COVID. Analysis of the practice of providing social rehabilitation assistance showed that since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, the representatives of the target group have had additional social problems (Shcherbakova & Kostina, 2022, p. 205): the problem of a partial shortage of food products in the city and the impossibility of purchasing them on their own; loss of work due to hostilities has significantly affected the financial condition of beneficiaries, especially families, property damage, etc. This necessitated the search for new types of social support and assistance to beneficiaries at this time: drawing up logistical routes for the drivers to deliver humanitarian kits; sending volunteers to the place of residence to obtain the necessary medicines and deliver them to the beneficiaries; assistance in repairing damaged and destroyed housing; evacuation transportation of beneficiaries within the city to more "safe" areas, to relatives or guardians, to sanatoriums or homes for the elderly, etc.

In this context, we find the pilot project "Compassionate Communities Connectors for care at the end of life" interesting in this context, which was carried out in Western Australia in 2020-2022 and aimed to develop, implement and evaluate a model of care provided by volunteers from communities (Aoun et al., 2022, p. 1-14). The main task of Connectors, as caring helpers recruited from the local community, was to support people in need of palliative care by expanding their support networks. The implementation of the project was able to eliminate gaps for people who could not receive official services because they lived alone or were socially isolated in remote rural communities, which are often beyond the reach of official services. The researchers suggest implementing a comprehensive model of care that includes a combination of four subsystems of care: specialized palliative care, general palliative care, community action, and natural networks. Important types of support provided by Caring Helpers and Connectors were: personal care, medical services, house and yard work, transportation services, social connections, nutrition counseling, help with pets, help with preparation of the latest cases. Researchers provide a description of interesting innovative practices: palliative care in the community as the use of volunteers to improve access to rehabilitation services in the community in palliative care (Preston et al., 2023, p. 1-3) and the combination of efforts of health care representatives with volunteers and social institutions of the community (Peeler et al., 2023 p. 1-4, 15-17); providing additional social rehabilitation and social adaptation and support services to clients in the community in the face of new social challenges (Kostina, 2023a; Kostina, 2023b, p. 36-43, 47-50, 58-72, Melnyk et al., 2021, p. 297).

Content analysis of information from the websites of medical institutions and social institutions that provide palliative care in Ukraine proved that the leading providers of relevant services are: hospices and centers of palliative and hospice care; specialized departments of palliative medicine of multidisciplinary hospitals, oncological, geriatric, psychoneurological, anti-tuberculosis dispensaries; specialized social institutions of the public sector (charitable foundations, social institutions, etc.). The provision of palliative care is based on a comprehensive approach, the goal of which is to ensure the highest possible quality of life for palliative patients and their family members by maximizing the efforts of various specialists.

The main directions of palliative care in Ukraine, according to modern standards of the relevant type of professional activity, are as follows: medical (provides effective control of chronic pain syndrome, treatment of disease symptoms and professional care of patients); psychological (allows to improve the psychological state of clients by reducing the feeling of fear and anxiety, prevention and control of depressive states and stress in palliative patients and their relatives); social (creates conditions for ensuring social support for the family of a palliative patient, provision of household and ritual services, legal counseling and assistance in drawing up documents, etc.); spiritual (performed by clergy and aimed at meeting the religious needs of the palliative patient and their family members).

The following types of palliative care are distinguished: primary palliative care (provided to palliative patients at the primary level of receiving health care in a hospital or at home by doctors of general practice and family medicine, etc.); general palliative care (provided to palliative patients by specialist doctors in accordance with their specialization on an outpatient basis and in inpatient health care facilities of the second and third level); specialized palliative care (provided to palliative patients in hospices, palliative care departments and wards of inpatient treatment and prevention institutions by doctors and junior medical staff, as well as at home by specialists of specialized multidisciplinary mobile palliative care teams with the involvement of medical psychologists, social workers and other specialists, volunteers, the patient's next of kin or guardians).

An analysis of the practice of providing palliative care in Ukraine under martial law showed that in order to overcome the challenges of the war, its provision was somewhat simplified according to April 18, 2022, requiring only the application of a person (Government Portal, 2022). This service is provided by various social institutions of both the state and public sector, competing on issues of quality provision of social services in terms of their procurement. As the director of the Department of Social Policy, Ruslan Svitly, notes, through the social order, palliative care services are currently being purchased in Kyiv at the expense of the city budget, provided by "multidisciplinary teams, which include a social worker, a social worker, a medical worker (paramedic, doctor), legal counsel, a practical psychologist, clergymen (Masters or PhD of theological sciences), catering technologist (cook), which travels to the person in their own transport" (Kyiv Official Portal, 2023).

The Kharkiv Regional Charitable Fund "Social Assistance" (2023) implements various charitable projects, in particular the "Home Care" and "Palliative Care" projects, which are aimed at providing assistance to the elderly and palliative patients. Since 1999, the foundation has implemented a medical and social direction of work with elderly people who are lonely, deprived of attention from their relatives, and since 2011, the foundation has started implementing the "Helping Hand" project – end-of-life care for terminally ill and elderly people, who were left without guardianship in Moldova and Ukraine. To date, thanks to the support of the ICF "Caritas of Ukraine" and the charitable organization "Caritas Vienna", social services are provided within the framework of the "Palliative care" and "Domestic care" projects. The overall goal of the projects is to improve the quality of life of socially disadvantaged population groups by facilitating access to professional home care/palliative care services. Currently, more than 210 elderly people and people in need of palliative care receive social services within these projects. In particular, these are cancer patients, patients with severe cardiovascular and neurodegenerative diseases, patients in the late stages of diabetes, people who have suffered a stroke, lonely elderly people, people with limited mobility who live alone, people with limited physical capabilities, people with temporary disability who cannot work. Support is also provided to family members (if any) of our wards. These projects currently provide the following types of services: 1) social and household support for patients (sanitary and hygienic services (rubbing, washing, hygienic baths, nail clipping, hairdressing, changing underwear and bedclothes, etc.), as well as assistance in everyday life (purchase and delivery of medicines, food, basic necessities, cooking, washing and ironing, etc.); 2) moral and psychological assistance to patients and their relatives (provided by a practical psychologist of the project both at the patient's home and by phone, which allows to improve and stabilize the emotional state of seriously ill people and their family members); 3) borrowing of rehabilitation equipment and providing consultations on the use of rehabilitation equipment (anti-decubitus mattresses, wheelchairs, walkers, etc.); 4) sanitary and educational work with relatives of palliative patients, teaching them the basic methods of caring for seriously ill people. Social workers of the fund have a special education and/or have completed training under a program certified by the European Reference Center For First Aid Education, as a result of which they received certificates of international standards, and also constantly improve their professional level and work on improving knowledge and sharing experience.

Therefore, the goal of modern palliative care is to create conditions to prevent the emergence of additional problems and alleviate the suffering of people with a life-limiting disease and their families by comprehensively responding to their physical, psychological, spiritual, social, cultural and situational needs, as well as helping the people close to them to better adapt to the life situation and maximize efforts to find and restore common resources. Generalization of the practice of providing palliative care showed that most modern social service providers of palliative care combine both medical care and social support. But the latter is still at the stage of developing the established foundations of its provision and remains only an additional part of the former, which actualizes the need for its theoretical research and practical solution.

In order to improve the quality of providing social services to clients who receive them within the framework of the above-mentioned projects, we prepared materials for a diagnostic study consisting of two stages: determining the level of life satisfaction as a basis for influencing the psycho-social state of clients and identifying the level of client satisfaction with the level provision of palliative care services as a promising way of further work with the client, focused on their needs. 73% of women and 27% of men participated in the diagnosis. According to the age of the respondents, the sample is characterized by the following indicators: respondents under 60 years old – 17%; respondents 60-80 years old 60% and respondents older than 80 years old – 23%.

During the first diagnosis, using the Life Satisfaction Scale (SWLS) technique, it was found that: only 16% of the surveyed respondents consider their life close to ideal or almost close; only 20% of respondents agree or partially agree that their life circumstances are exceptionally favorable; 3) only 18% of respondents were satisfied or partially satisfied with their lives; 4) regarding the question of having everything that is necessary in life, only 23% of respondents answered affirmatively, or rather affirmatively; 5) 27% did not agree or rather did not agree to the question regarding the desire to live their life in the same way. Therefore, based on the results of the first survey, it can be concluded that the majority of clients are not very satisfied with the quality of their own life, which undoubtedly affects their psychological state and social relationships, and confirms the need to improve the quality of palliative services as an important component of supporting their social well-being.
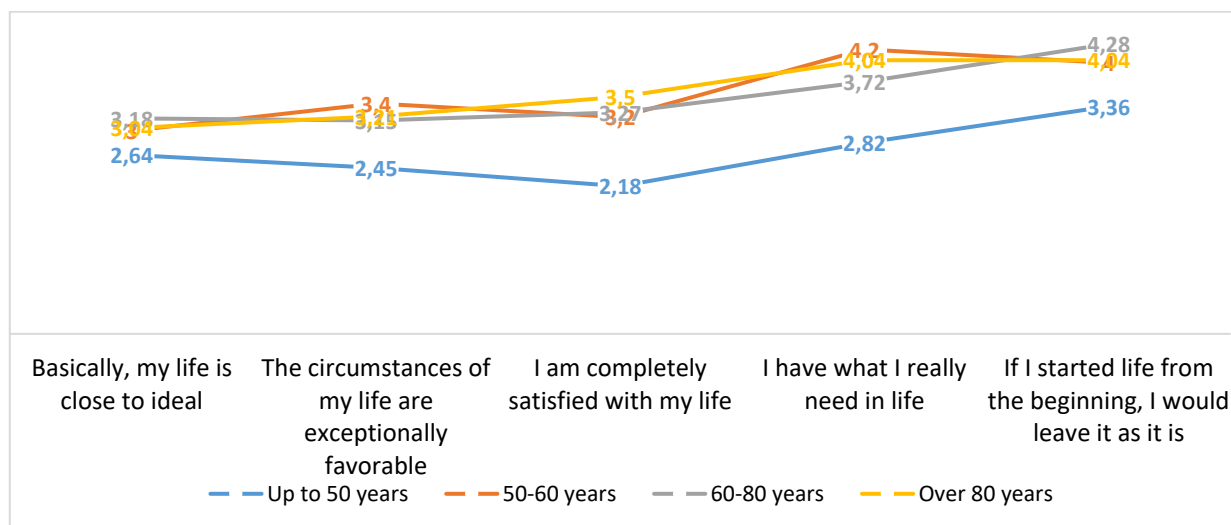
After statistical processing of the results of the survey using the Life Satisfaction Scale (SWLS) methodology and using the method of statistical evaluation of the central tendency of the sample, it was found that the majority of respondents are generally at the stage of uncertainty regarding the quality of their own life, as evidenced by the data shown in Fig. 1.
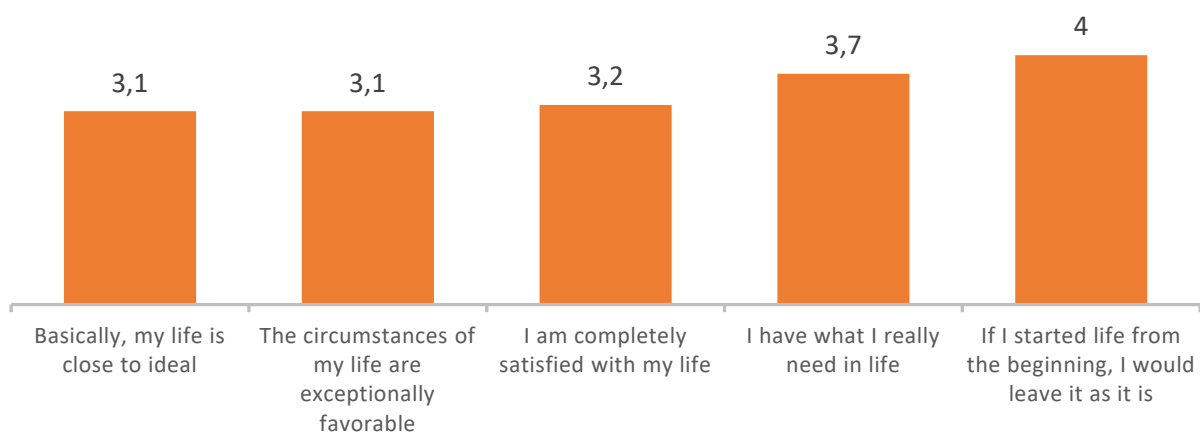
Figure 1 – Distribution of respondents' generalized assessments
regarding the quality of their life (according to the method of statistical evaluation
of the central tendency of the sample)

The analysis of the survey results showed that the majority of respondents rate the quality of their own life with sufficiently low ratings, but there are certain discrepancies regarding the ratings of interviewees of different ages. The processing of the research results showed that the respondents under the age of 50 rated the quality of their life the lowest, even with palliative care, while the respondents aged 50 to 80 rated

the quality of their own life the most optimistically and, even if something could be changed, then would leave everything as it is, which is confirmed by the statistical data shown in Fig. 2.

**Figure 2 – Distribution of respondents' generalized assessments
by age regarding the quality of their life** (according to the method of statistical evaluation
of the central tendency of the sample)

Calculating the Pearson correlation coefficient regarding the presence of a relationship between respondents' answers according to the quality of life criteria defined in the Life Satisfaction Scale (SWLS) methodology allows us to assert that all criteria in the respondents' assessments are closely related to each other and a direct connection between them can be traced. (See table 1).

Table 1

**Pearson's correlation coefficients regarding the relationship
between quality of life criteria in respondents' assessments**
(** – correlation is significant at the 0.01 level)

Quality of life criteria	Basically, my life is close to ideal	The circumstances of my life are exceptionally favorable	I am completely satisfied with my life	I have what I really need in life
Basically, my life is close to ideal	1	0,851**	0,712**	0,614**
The circumstances of my life are exceptionally favorable	0,851**	1	0,761**	0,662**
I am completely satisfied with my life	0,712**	0,761**	1	0,710**
I have what I really need in life	0,614**	0,662**	0,710**	1

The statistical analysis also made it possible to state that the quality of their life is highly related to certain circumstances and that their lives do not have everything that they really need (0.614), but no significant differences were found in the answers of respondents of different genders, at the same time, a significant discrepancy in satisfaction with one's own life is observed in the answers of respondents of different ages (see Table 2).

During the generalization of the results of the second diagnosis according to the method of assessing the needs of the recipient of social services of palliative care, which was carried out in order to determine the level of satisfaction of the needs of clients, as well as to determine the possible prospective directions of their social support in the conditions of palliative care, the following data were obtained: the majority

Table 2

The relationship between quality of life criteria in respondents' assessments by age
(Pearson correlation coefficients)

The relationship between quality of life criteria and the age of respondents	Your age	A positive assessment of all circumstances of life	A high level of satisfaction with one's life	Having everything you really need in life
Basically, my life is close to ideal	Up to 50 years old	0,923	0,708	0,650
	50-60 years old	0,922	0,968	0,645
	60-80 years old	0,805	0,727	0,620
	over 80 years old	0,895	0,686	0,615

of respondents, 82%, answered, that they are fully satisfied with the service they receive; 79% of respondents are completely satisfied with the quality and frequency of service provision; 95% of clients noted that they are completely satisfied with the attitude of social workers; 83% of clients are fully satisfied with the provider's list of social services; 27% of clients wish to improve the quality of social services in the context of martial law. Among the additional social services that recipients of palliative care social services need, the following were identified: general care (49%); rehabilitation aimed at maintaining, as far as possible, a good physical, psychological and social state (21%); psychotherapy (28%); social and psychological support of the family during illness (27%), 15% of respondents have specific additional individual needs. Therefore, based on the results of the second survey, it can be concluded that the quality of the provision of social services of palliative care within the scope of the work of the specialists of the Social Assistance Service "Social Assistance Service" is high.

Statistical processing of the results of the second survey using the method of statistical evaluation of the central tendency of the sample made it possible to state that the respondents were generally satisfied with the quality and frequency of the provision of social services. The respondents gave the highest ratings to the following criteria in the provision of social services: attitude towards oneself in the work of social workers (3.91); conformity of the service to customer needs (3.78); and satisfaction with the quality and frequency of service provision (3.73), which is a confirmation of the generally positive assessment of the quality of social service provision shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 – Distribution of respondents' assessments of the quality
of social services received (according to the method of statistical evaluation
of the central tendency of the sample)

Meanwhile, the relationship between the respondents' comprehensive assessment of the quality of their own life and the quality of social services provision is almost not observed or is observed in the opposite direction. What is connected, in our opinion, first of all, with the respondents' low assessment of the quality of their own life and high assessment of the quality of the provision of social services, which confirms the need to improve the conditions of the quality of life of recipients of palliative services through the provision of palliative care (See Table 3).

Table 3

The relationship between the generalized quality of life criterion in respondents' assessments and the assessment of the quality of social services
(Pearson correlation coefficients)

Relationship between criteria	Evaluation of the quality of the provision of social services			
	Conformity of the social service to the needs of the recipient	Satisfaction with the quality and frequency of social service provision	Satisfaction with the social worker's attitude towards themselves	Satisfied with the provider's list of social services
Comprehensive assessment of quality of life	-0,096	0,002	-0,085	-0,043

Meanwhile, there are differences between the correlation of respondents' assessments of the quality of their own life and the quality of the provision of social services by age. For respondents under the age of 50, the connection is direct and sufficiently strong (0.466). For people aged 50 to 60 years, it is strong, but reversed (- 0.722). For interviewees over 60 years of age, the relationship is not observed (see Table 4).

Table 4

The relationship between the generalized criterion of quality of life in the ratings of respondents by age and the assessment of the quality of the provision of social services
(Pearson correlation coefficients)

Relationship between criteria	Age of respondents	Evaluation of the quality of the provision of social services			
		Conformity of the social service to the needs of the recipient	Satisfaction with the quality and frequency of social service provision	Satisfaction with the social worker's attitude towards themselves	Satisfied with the provider's list of social services
Comprehensive assessment of quality of life	Up to 50 years old	0,466	0,455	0,295	0,319
	50-60 years old	-0,722	-0,297	-0,297	-0,295
	60-80 years old	-0,216	-0,132	0	-0,127
	over 80 years old	0,037	-0,003	-0,333	-0,008

The statistical analysis of the processing of answers regarding the sources of obtaining information about the social service "Palliative care" also made it possible to determine that the largest number of respondents learned about the social service from acquaintances, and only a very small number (2%) received information from the Internet, which confirms the need to develop a quality social service advertising and digital distribution of this information (see Fig. 4).

How did you find out about the social service you receive?
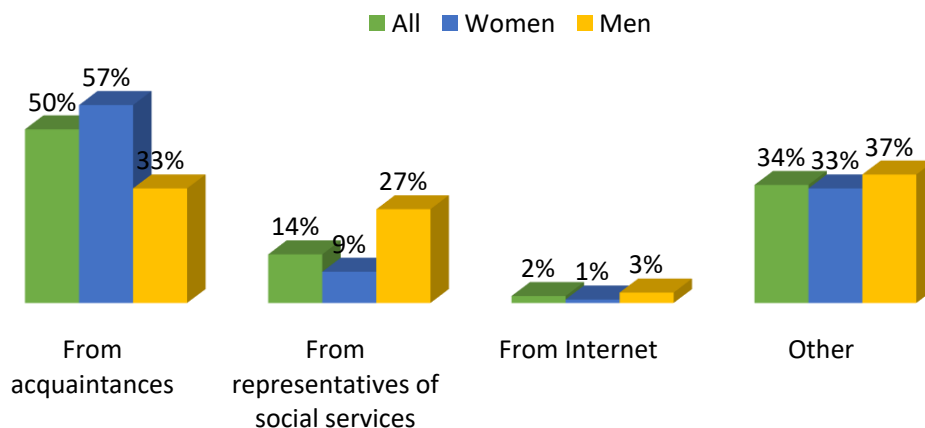
**Figure 4 – Sources of information about social services
in general among respondents and by gender**

Discussion

The conducted research made it possible to confirm the presence of additional social needs of palliative care social service clients (Shcherbakova & Kostina, 2022) in improving their quality of life, especially in the conditions of martial law.

In addition, we saw that there is a particularly vulnerable category of clients (respondents under the age of 50) who need to expand the range of social services. The experience of multi-component intervention, the creation of activity groups, formal support groups, the organization of informal social activities (Bradley, Lloyd-Williams & Dowrick, 2018), as well as the provision of social services using the experience of compassionate community connectors that spread social support in the community on a volunteer basis, can be useful here (Aoun, et al., 2022).

Conclusions

Therefore, based on the obtained research results, and taking into account the additional needs of palliative care social service recipients, it can be determined that the appropriate social service is an important condition for preserving the health and maintaining the social well-being of the aged and elderly people, especially in the conditions of martial law. The following are the promising areas of activity of specialists in the social sector that will be able to improve the quality of providing palliative care services: increasing the list of services related to general care and social and psychological support of the family; the addition of social rehabilitation and psychotherapy services as important aspects of maintaining the state of social well-being, especially in the conditions of martial law; involvement of volunteers from available resources of the community to increase the breadth of coverage of social services, especially in terms of creating additional social support centers.

There is an important direction of further research in identifying the possibilities of combining the efforts of specialized social institutions of hospice and palliative care of state and communal forms of ownership in interaction with the public sector at the level of the territorial community through the implementation of complex social projects and programs.

in conducting research within the educational program of the second (master's) level of higher education in the specialty 231 "Social work" within the educational and professional program "Social pedagogy".

Conflicts of Interests. None.

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Acknowledgements

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